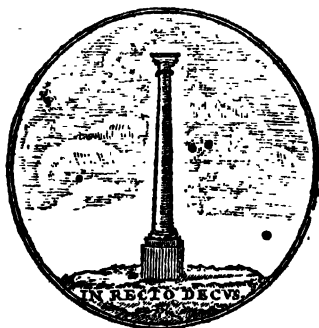

THE
MODERN PART
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Universal History,
FROM THE
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.
VOL. XXIII.

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Modern History :

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Universal History.

B O O K XIX.

G H A P. IV.

*The History of France, from the Reign of Clovis
to that of Lewis the Fifteenth.*

S E C T. I.

*The first or Merovingian Race of Kings to their Ex-
tinction.*

THE rise or origin of all nations is naturally ob-
scure; that of the *Franks* is particularly so: all of this
that can be said of it is founded chiefly in conjecture, and deriving its credit from a comparison with the former
or concurrence of circumstances, falls short of certainty, part of
and is at most but probable ^a. What can be said worth this work,
considering, upon this perplexed subject, the reader has and the history of

^a Preface Pere DANIEL sur l'Histoire de France. Histoire
& Geographie ancienne & moderne, par M. D'AUDIFFRET,
tom. ii. p. 13. Nouvelle Histoire de France, par M. LOUIS
LE GENDRE, p. 4, 5.

the Franks seen in the former part of this work very clearly and correctly Clovis. rectly stated ^b. There, likewise, may be found what has been transmitted to posterity, with the greatest appearance of truth, concerning their four first kings, under whom they contested the dominion of *Gaul* with the *Romans*, who were then possessed of it, viz. *Pharamond*, *Clodio*, *Marovius*, and *Childeric* ^c. It is very doubtful, whether the third of these princes was brother, or son, or kinsman, or of quite another family from his predecessor. The last has been held most probable, because the first line of the kings of the *Franks* in *Gallia* were from him stiled *Merovingian*, which looks as if he was the founder of a new family at least, if not of the monarchy ^d. This indeed has by some learned men been bestowed on his son, while other learned critics, with a great modern historian ^e, ascribe this honour wholly to *Clovis*, and affirm, that to him the honour is due, of laying the foundation of that empire, which has subsisted so long, and been extended so far. It is for this reason, that the reign of *Clovis* is also to be found in the former part of this work; so that we might enter on this section with the division of his dominions amongst his four sons: but as in this there would be something very abrupt, and as we must be frequently referring to what passed under the reign of their father, we are persuaded it will be more for the reader's ease, as well as our own, to enter upon our task by a very succinct recapitulation of his history.

Clovis de- *CLODOVEUS*, as he is called by *Gregory of Tours*, *Clo-*
fracts Sy- *vis*, as he is usually stiled, or *Louis*, for it is the same name
agrius, p *vis* differently written, succeeded his father *Childeric*, at the
an end to age of fifteen. The first five years of his government, for
to the Ro- any thing we know, were spent in peace; but, at the ex-
*man pow-*piration of that time, he had perfected all his preparations
er in for attacking the *Romans* in *Gaul*. They were then go-
Gaul, and verned by *Syagrius*, whom the *Franks*, at least, stiled their
substitutes king, and he had fixed his residence at *Soissons*. *Sigibert*,
his own. one of the chiefs or kings of the *Franks*, made himself ma-
 ster of *Cologne*, where it is probable that *Clovis* passed the

^b Universal History, b. iv. c. xxviii. sect. v. ^c Historiæ Francorum Ecclesiasticæ lib. x. auctore S. FL. GREGORIO Ep. Turonensis. FREDEGARII Scholastici Epitome & Chronicon. HADRIANI VALESII gesta Francorum. Histoire Critique de l'Établissement de la Monarchie Francoise, par l'Abbe Du Bos. ^d HADRIANI VALESII gesta Francorum, p. 144, 145. ^e Hist. de France, par le P. G. DANIEL, tom. i. p. 4.

C. 4. *The History of France.*

Rhine, and, through the forest of *Ardennes*, marched directly towards *Soissons*. *Syagrius*, having a numerous army under his command, gave him battle, in which *Chararic*, one of the chiefs of the *Franks*, and nearly related to *Clovis*, is said to have kept his troops entire, till he saw the *Romans* begin to break, whom he charged with great vivacity in their retreat; so that being totally defeated and dispersed, *Syagrius* fled to *Toulouse*, and put himself under the protection of *Alaric*, king of the *Visigoths* ^f; who, apprehensive of the spirit and success of *Clovis*, some time after delivered him up; and the monarch of the *Franks*, keeping him some time in prison, where, by giving him false hopes, he wrought upon him to facilitate his conquest, when he was of no farther use in that respect, caused him to be privately beheaded ^g. This was followed by the entire reduction of his dominions, which put an end to the power of the *Romans* in *Gaul*, and left the *Franks* in full possession of all the countries between the *Rhine* and the *Loire*. The power he had gained by the sword, he laboured to establish by a mild and equitable government, in which his subjects of all nations might find their account; and, at this time, as some very able judges believe, he caused the salique law to be made public ^h (A). While *Clovis*

489.

^f GREGOR. Turon. lib. ii. c. 27.
laestici Epitome & Chronicon, lib. ii.

^g FREDEGARII Scholastici
^h HADRIANI VALESII gesta Francorum, lib. iii.

(A) There is no part of the modern history that stands more in need of explanatory remarks than this which lies before us, and therefore we conceive it our duty to afford the reader all the assistance we can in this way; but, at the same time, we must intreat him to bear in memory, that we write notes, not dissertations, which must excuse our being very succinct; that we propose what appears to us most probable; and that we pretend not to dictate, but to leave all to his own judgment and better information. And

lastly, that the personal history of these monarchs of the first race, their marriages and posterity, are thrown into the notes, that the thread of the narrative might remain as uniform as possible. These points premised, we propose in this note to speak of the Salique Law. The *Franks*, before their irruption into *Gaul*, inhabited a part of *Germany*, which, in the old geographical tables, is from thence denominated *Francia*; and, by some authors, is called *Old France*, and, by others, the *Germanic-France*, to distinguish

A.D. 472. *Clovis* was thus employed, *Basin*, king of *Thuringia*, attacked the country of the *Franks* on the other side the *Rhine*, and treated the people with extreme cruelty; of which *Clovis* was

it from the country which now bears the same name (1). The *Franks* were composed of several tribes or clans, each of which had its particular chief. Thus, at the same time that *Clovis* was king of the *Salians*, *Sigebert* reigned in the same quality over the *Ripuarrians*, and other princes over other tribes (2). Each of these tribes had their particular customs, which being collected and reduced to writing, formed the code of their laws; and hence it is most probable, that what is stiled the *Salique Law* received that name, from being the code of the customs that prevailed amongst the *Salians* (3). What we have now is not strictly speaking the *Salique Law*, because it is not the entire code, but an abstract of it. There are two editions; the first printed from a manuscript in the abbey of *Fulde*, by the care of *John Basil*, herald, in 1557, and the other later, as comprehending the alterations and additions made by several kings; but they agree very well in the main, and shew very clearly, that they were the customs which prevailed amongst a barbarous and warlike people, in order to keep some kind of interior order, and to prevent their turning their swords, at every turn,

against each other. This abstract is divided into seventy-one titles, heads, or articles, penned in miserable *Latin*, full of barbarous words, borrowed from different languages, but which proves its authenticity, from their being found in the most ancient charters, chronicles, and records (4). They prescribe punishment for murder, theft, injuries, and all the various kinds of violence, to which such fierce and rude nations are commonly addicted. There is not so much as a single word of priests, sacrifices, or any thing that respects religion, either Christian or Pagan. It is not easy, or rather it is impossible, to fix their origin: some attribute them to *Pharamond*, others believe them still more ancient; however, it seems to be generally agreed, that *Clovis* published them in the state they now stand in, or rather gave his sanction to that code from which this abstract is made (5). They are become chiefly famous from a few lines in the sixty-second title, which we will give the reader as they stand there: "De Terra vero *Salica* nulla portio hæreditatis transit in mulierem, sed hoc virilis sexus acquirit hoc est filii in ipsa hæreditate succedunt." i. e. In respect to *Salic*

(1) *Histoire critique de l'établissement de la Monarchie Francoise*, par l'Abbe Du Bos. (2) *Hadriani Valesii gesta Francorum*, lib. iii. (3) *Dissertation sur l'Origine des Loix Saliques*, par M. l'Abbe de Vertot. *Histoire de France*, par le P. G. Daniel. (4) *In Editione Lindenbrogii & Pissians.* (5) *P. Daniel*, tom. i. p. 12.

was no sooner informed, than he marched against him with a great force, defeated his army, and reduced his subjects to submit to become his tributaries ¹.

GREG. Tur. l. ii. cap. 27.

Salic Lands, no part of it shall ever be inherited by a woman, but being acquired by the males, males only shall be capable of the succession (6). It has been urged, that this law disabled the daughters from inheriting the crown of *France*; in which, if there be any truth, it must be by construction. Our business, at present, shall be to inquire into and explain what these Salique lands were. The *Salians*, as we before observed, were only one tribe or clan of the *Franks*; and, at the time *Clowis* invaded *Gaul*, their whole force consisted of but three thousand fighting men, and the whole strength of the associated clans did not exceed twenty, or twenty-four thousand at most. When they were fixed in their conquests, the king rewarded eminent services by a grant of lands, but subject to military aids. These lands thus granted, were the lands mentioned in the law, and such an estate was stiled, *Terra Salica*, *Terre Salique*, or land held according to the Salic custom: these estates were opposed to another kind of estates, which were stiled allodial, and might be acquired by descent, by marriage, or by purchase. It is to these estates that the article which we have just cited properly belongs, as appears from the very title *de Alode*, *de l'Alieu*, or of *Allodials*. This law

consists of six short paragraphs, five of which regard the succession to such estates, and in them the females are to the full as much favoured as the males, and then comes the sixth paragraph by way of exception. "But in respect to Salic land, no part of it shall ever be inherited by a woman, but being acquired by the males, males only shall be capable of the succession." The English reader is now in a condition to judge for himself of the meaning of this law, and how far it may be extended by construction (7). We will only add two remarks; the first is, that the *Roman* emperor *Alexander Severus* had made grants of the very same nature to his soldiers, which custom had been followed by his successors: and some of the *French* lawyers are of opinion, that as these lands fell in, they were granted out again by *Clowis* and his successors to *Salians* (8). Our second remark is, that the subjects of these princes being of different descents, such as *Gauls*, *Burgundians*, as well as *Franks*, they lived under their separate laws, and hence, in the old writers, there is a distinction between nation and people; the former word being restrained to the *Franks*, and the latter implying subjects in general (9).

(6) *Pactus Leg. Sal. Exord.* p. 107.

Saliquis, par Vertot.

(8) *Lampridius in Alexandro*, p. 202.

(7) *Dissertation sur l'Origine des Loix Saliques*, par Vertot.

(9) *Histoire*

critique de l'établissement de la Monarchie Francoise, par l'Abbé Du Bos.

Esposée THE situation of his dominions, and the circumstances of his affairs, obliged him to have an ambassador almost constantly in the court of *Gondebaud*, king of *Burgundy*, and this brought to his knowledge the fame of his niece, who, in point of beauty, virtue, and other accomplishments, was esteemed the most illustrious princess of that age, whom, not without difficulty, he obtained ^k (B). St. *Gregory of Tours* calls her *Chrotildis*, but by modern writers she

Clotildis becomes a Christian, receives the ensigns of magistracy, and defeats *Alaric*.

^k HINCMAR in vit. S. Remig.

(B) *Gundiac*, king of the *Burgundians*, married the sister of the famous *Ricimer*, whom we have had frequent occasion to mention, in the former part of this history, and had by her *Gondebald*, *Godegisiles*, *Chilperic*, called also *Hilperic*, and *Godemar* (1). They divided among them the countries subject to the *Burgundians*; for *Chilperic* is styled by *Sidonius*, tetrarch; and by *Jornandes*, king. *Chilperic* and *Godemar* joining against *Gondebald* drove him out, and seized on his dominions; but *Gondebald* having in the end recovered them, found means to dispatch his two brothers, with their issue male (2). He likewise extended his cruelties so far, as to cause his brother *Chilperic's* queen to be bound with a heavy stone about her neck, and thrown into a well (3). This princess, as *Sidonius* tells us, was a woman of great prudence, and had such an influence over her husband, that, alluding to the *Roman* history, he styles her another *Tanaquil*.

By her wisdom, and affable behaviour, she qualified the natural severity and ruggedness of her husband's disposition, by which she preserved the lives of many innocent persons, and was from thence generally respected and beloved (4). By this princess, *Chilperic* left two daughters, who were both banished by *Gondebald*, or rather kept under confinement, in a castle, at some distance from the court. *Mercuriana* the elder, embraced the state of virginity, the other was *Clotildis*, of whom we are to speak in this note (5). It is probable, that not being able to resist the power of the *Franks*, and suspecting that his niece would omit nothing to inspire *Clowis* with her resentment against himself and his family, *Gondebaud*, or *Gondebald*, might be very averse to the marriage. But the stories we are told of the methods taken by *Clowis* to solicit her affection, and the rings exchanged between them, carry in them the air of romance (6). We might say

(1) *Historia Francorum Ecclesiastica*, libri x. auctore S. Fl. Gregorio, Ep. Turonensi, lib. ii. cap. 28. (2) *Solii Apollinaris Sidonii Episcopi Avernorum Epistolæ*, p. 55. *Jornandes Episcop. Rerum Gotb. cap. xlv.* (3) *Gregor. Turon. lib. ii. cap. 28.* (4) *Sidon. lib. v. epist. vii.* (5) *Gregor. Turon. lib. ii. cap. 28.* (6) *Fredegarii Scholastici Epitome & Chronicæ, cap. xxi. xx. Gesta Regum Francorum, cap. xi.*

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she is called *Clotilde*, or *Clotildis*, and was a zealous Christian. Her endeavour to convert the king were not at first very successful; on the contrary, the death of her eldest son *Ingomer*, soon after he was baptized, made an upward impression on the mind of *Clovis*, which was heightened by the dangerous sickness of *Clodomir* his second son, soon after he was initiated into the Christian faith, from which however he recovered¹. The *Allemands*, a numerous and potent nation, passing the *Rhine*, suddenly wasted the country about *Cologne* in a most barbarous manner. *Sigibert* demanded the assistance of *Clovis*, who marched with a great army to his relief, and, as soon as he had joined his forces, gave the enemy battle at a place called *Tolbiac*, where, on the point of being defeated, *Clovis* made a vow, that, if Providence granted him the victory, he would become a Christian. His prayers being heard, the king caused himself to be instructed in the faith, and was, at length, baptized by *St. Remy*, bishop of *Rheims*, which gave great satisfaction to the *Gauls*, and at *Rome*, as most of the princes in *Europe* were at that time *Arians*^m. As for the miracles that are said to have attended this ceremony, we find no hints of

¹ GREGOR. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 28. Du Bos Histoire Critique, p. 365. ^m Gesta Francorum, cap. xv. GREG. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 31.

say the same thing of *Gondebald* sending horsemen after his niece when on the road to the court of *Clovis*, her apprehension of this, and her quitting the chariot she was in, to make her escape more securely on horseback, but that it seems to be countenanced by the most authentic historian we have (7); and that the improbability of these facts arises solely from the contrariety between the manners of that age and our own, which, in the reason of things, ought to have no great weight (8). These are particulars in themselves of such a

nature, and of so little moment, that we should not have given them a place here, if we had not been persuaded, that they are in some measure a key to this history; for *Clotildis* resembled her mother, and by her prudence and complaisance came to have a great influence over *Clovis*, and for some years after his death, in a great measure, commanded the *Franks*, in the name of her sons, whom she irritated against her own family, and at length brought both that and her country to destruction (9).

(7) Gregor. Turon. lib. ii. cap. 28. (8) Hist. critique Monarchie Francoise, par Du Bos. (9) See the subsequent part of the history, and all the ancient historians already cited.

them in the more ancient authors (C). Sometime after, *Clovis* reduced *Armorica*, or *Brittany*, and afterwards made war against the *Burgundians*, in which he had for his ally *Theodoric*

C) We have a very circumstantial account of the baptizing of *Clovis*, by *St. Gregory of Tours*, who lived near his time; we have a letter written to him by the bishop of *Vienne*, to felicitate him upon his conversion; and we have another long letter of a bishop, concerning the miracles wrought by *St. Remy*, or *Remigius*, bishop of *Rheims*; in all which there is not one syllable of the holy vial (1). The story was first broached, in the ninth century, by *Hincmar*, archbishop of *Rheims*, in his life of that saint; and what he relates is this: the holy prelate not finding the oil when he was to use it, had recourse to heaven, begging, with a short but fervent prayer, that the want of what was necessary, to accomplish the ceremony, might, by some means or other, be supplied. He had scarce done, when a dove, exceeding the very snow in whiteness, was seen carrying a phial filled with oil, which the bishop had no sooner received than the dove disappeared, and was never afterwards seen. With this oil *Remigius* anointed the king, and the odour it spread was sweet, beyond imagination or expression (2). All that can be said in support of this rela-

tion, is, that *Hincmar* took it from an ancient life of that holy person, or rather might have taken it from thence. But the misfortune is, that this life had been read by *Gregory of Tours*, and yet he says nothing of this amazing miracle, though he magnifies the sanctity of *Remigius*, and tells us, that he wrought miracles, and even raised a person from the dead (3). It is in vain to cite a crowd of authors, or even of offices and liturgies of later date (4), since all we find therein must depend upon the authority of *Hincmar*, and what sort of an authority his is may in a few words be shewn. That he was very inaccurate appears from hence, that he places the baptism of *Clovis* on the *Saturday* before *Easter*, whereas it is certain, that he was baptized at *Christmas* (5). He was so credulous, that he tells us of another miracle wrought by the same prelate, in favour of the same king, which would be still more wonderful, if it was not absolutely ridiculous. He asserts, that *St. Remy* gave to *Clovis* a bottle of wine, which served him and all his family, nay, and all his army too; and which had this admirable property, that it would never diminish, but when Providence meant

(1) *Greg. Turon. lib. ii. cap. 37. epist. Auit. ad Clod. Du Chesne, tom. i. p. 834. Epist. Nicet. ad Clovisum: ntib, ibid. p. 855.* (2) *Hincmar vita Remigii op. Du Chesne, tom. i. p. 524.*

(3) *Greg. Turon. lib. ii. cap. 31.* (4) *Agnoini Monachi inclyti Cœnoblis S. Germani libri quinque de gestis Francorum, lib. i. cap. 16. Gregor. magni lib. v. epist. 6. Martib. Paris. ad Ann. 1254, 1257. Flod. Hist. Eccl. Rhem. lib. i. cap. 13.* (5) *Hincmar vita Remigii, Auit. epist. xii. Ed. t. Sirmondii. p. 94.*

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Theodoric, king of the *Ostrogoths* ⁿ; *Alaric* taking umbrage A.D. 500. at the great power of *Clovis*, and finding a disposition in his own subjects, who were Catholics, to revolt to him, engaged in a war, the fate of which was decided by a general

ⁿ FREDEGARII Scholastici Epitome & Chronicon, cap. xv. GREG. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 33.

meant to restrain the success of his arms; so that it was not only an inexhaustible cordial, but a kind of prophetic barometer (6). This is but one instance out of many absurd and idle stories reported by this single champion of the holy vial; but it is such an instance as will certainly destroy his credit with every reasonable man, and oblige us to pity those who, after reading such things, will pretend to believe them. It is surprising, that, in the midst of so many miracles, we have not one word said of this holy bishop remonstrating to *Clovis* against those numberless acts of injustice and cruelty which he was continually committing. Miracles wrought in favour of such a man was but confirming him in his vices, by strengthening his power; and St. Remy would have done infinitely more for his subjects and himself, if he had wrought one miracle to restrain him, and convince him, that whatever authority he might have on earth, he was to answer for the abuse of it to him by whom it was bestowed. It is far from being impossible, on the contrary it is highly probable, that this

good bishop might not be negligent in his duty, but might admonish the king on various occasions (7), of which however the monks have preserved us no remembrance, as being entirely bent on supporting and extending the power of the church, which they preferred to the honour and welfare of religion. Those who admire them most readily admit; for a very learned and judicious writer, who would notwithstanding be thought to believe the miracle of the holy phial, in order to answer the objection drawn from the silence of *Gregory of Tours*, hints, that he might be induced to let it pass in silence, to avoid raising the credit and supremacy of the see of *Rheims*, and giving it thereby an advantage over his own church of *Tours* (8). We say nothing of the banner covered with *fleurs de lis*, or, as we write them, *flower de lucas*, put into *Clovis's* own hand by angels, or of the *orristain* brought by the same conveyance, because these are given up by the *French* historians, and indeed some make no scruple of giving up the vial at *Rheims* (9).

(6) *Hincmar vita Remigii, Du Chesne, tom. i. p. 527.* (7) *Greg. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 31.* (8) *Dissertation sur l'Origine des Loix Saliques, par M. l'Abbe de Vertot.* (9) *Nouvelle Histoire de France, par M. Louis le Gendre, tom. i. p. 31, 32, 33. Histoire de France, par M. Gualens, tom. i. p. 9, 10.*

509. A.D. battle in the plains of *Vouillé* near *Poitiers*, where his forces were totally defeated, and himself killed in the field °. His ambition led *Clovis* to push his success a little too far; in consequence, of which the *Franks* were soundly beaten before *Arles* by the forces of *Theodoric*; soon after which a general peace was made, in which the *Burgundians* and the *Vijgoths* were included P.

His ambition prompts him to destroy all the little kings and chieftains of the Franks.

510.

THE fame of his victories having penetrated as far as *Constantinople*, the emperor *Anastafius* sent him a diadem and a purple robe, with the title of *Patrician*, *Consul*, or *Augustus*, it does not clearly appear which ¶. However, it was very kindly accepted, and the king caused himself to be invested with these pompous ornaments, in a very solemn manner: it may be both princes had their views, and that these were very different. The emperor might propose preserving a title to the *Gauls*, now the possession was lost, by the conferring, and the acceptance of these honours; whereas the monarch of the *Franks* might consider this as an association in the empire, or at least desire it should be so considered by the inhabitants of the conquered countries. When he perceived that this had taken effect, he began to undermine the chiefs of other tribes, that he might leave all the *Franks* possessed to his own posterity. He began with *Sigibert*, king of *Cologne*, by hinting to his son *Chloderic*, that he spun the thread of his life a little too long; upon which *Chloderic* caused him to be put to death; but as he was busy in taking possession of his treasures, he was stabbed by one of his own retinue, and *Clovis* appearing immediately after with an army, left no room to doubt, that he directed the last murder, and was not ignorant of the first †. He seized by treachery *Chararic*, king of *Cambray*, and his son, caused them both to be shaved, the old man to be ordained a priest, and the young one a deacon. This is the first instance of rendering a prince incapable of wearing a crown by taking off his hair: and the son having intimated to his father that it would grow again, and then they might take their revenge, *Clovis*, to prevent that, ordered that they should lose their heads †. He engaged, by great promises, the ministers and captains of *Ragnacharius* to deliver

° ISIDOR. Chron. GREG. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 37. P MA-
RIUS in Chron. JORNANDES Episcop. de Regnorum ac tempo-
rum successionibus M. Aurelii Cassiodori variarum, lib. xii.
¶ GREG. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 38. † Aimoini Monachi inclyti
Cœnopii S. Germani libri quinque de gestis Francorum, cap.
xvii, xviii. GREG. Tur. lib. ii. c. 40. HADRIANI VALESII
gesta Francorum. † GREG. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 41.

both him and his brother *Richarius* into his hands; and after reproaching them for offering themselves to be chained, he dispatched them with his battle-axe. Those who had betrayed them, complaining, that the money or presents he gave them was only copper gilt, he told them, that he always paid traitors in that coin ^t.

HE removed the seat of his government first from *Tour-nay* to *Soissons*, and from thence to *Paris*, which he made the seat of his empire. He held a council at *Orleans*, at which several bishops were present, and a letter written by them to the king, on that occasion, is still extant ^u. He founded several monasteries, and built some churches; for these reasons, and because he professed the Catholic religion, the prelates were strongly attached to him, which was one great instrument of his success. He deceased in the month of *November*, in the year of our LORD five hundred and eleven, and was interred in the church of *St. Peter and Paul* at *Paris*, which now bears the name of *St. Genevieve*, where his tomb is still to be seen ^v. He lived forty-five, and reigned thirty years. Authors are much divided as to his character: some admire him as a great captain; others commend him as a consummate politician; and some have been so complaisant as to stile him a saint ^x. A late writer comes nearer to the truth: he says, he was a very great prince, and a very wicked man ^y. His courage and his abilities, no doubt, were very remarkable, and his good fortune rather more conspicuous; but his morals were certainly detestable: to excuse these, is not the business of an historian; to dwell upon them would be invidious; but, without incurring this censure, we may affirm, that his boundless ambition, and the desire of securing to his own family the sovereignty of the *Franks*, which hitherto had been shared with the chiefs of their several tribes, was the source of those vices which tarnish his character, and leave other nations no great reason to regret the glory some writers would assume, from having this prince for the founder of their empire.

THE sons of *Clovis* were four, amongst whom were divided all the dominions which their father had acquired. The eldest, whose name was *Thieri*, or *Theodoric*, was about

The four sons of Clovis share his dominions.

^t Ibid. c. 42. ^u SIRMOND Concil. Gall. t. i. ^v GREG. Turon. lib. ii. cap. 43. ^x De la Sainteté du Roi Clovis, avec les preuves & les autorités, & un abrégé de sa vie, par JEAN SAVARON, lieutenant general de CLERMONT, Paris, Fol. 1621. ^y Histoire de France, par M. CHALONS, vol. i. p. 15.

twenty-six years of age, born before his father's marriage with *Clotilda*; whence some modern writers stile him a bastard, of which there is no proof. He had the eastern part of his father's dominions for his share, and, because that was his capital, had the title of king of *Metz*. *Clodomir*, the eldest son of *Clovis* by his queen, was about sixteen, and he had the kingdom of *Orleans*. *Childebert* and *Clotaire* were infants; the former had the kingdom of *Paris*, and the latter that of *Soissons*, under the tutelage of their mother. But though *Gregory* of *Tours* says this was a very equal division, yet it is not easy to assign the manner in which it was made, or the provinces of which each of their shares consisted ². The authority of *Clotilda*, founded chiefly in her prudence, preserved the dominions of the *Franks* in peace for the first seven years after the death of *Clovis*, if we except a small dispute between *Theodoric* king of the *Ostrogoths*, and *Thieri* king of *Metz*, which was compromised upon terms not very advantageous to the latter: for this some conjectural reasons have been given, which we have not room to mention, and which are not of importance enough to create any obscurity in the course of our narration. It is however probable from thence, that the having so formidable a neighbour as *Theodoric* might contribute not a little to the tranquillity of this new empire.

A Danish
fleet and
army de-
feated, and
Thuringia re-
duced under
the domi-
nion of
Herman-
froi.

§ 20.

A NUMEROUS fleet, with a potent army of *Danes* on board, arrived at the mouth of the *Meuse*, and their king *Cochiliac*, having landed his forces, began to waste all the adjacent country with fire and sword; upon which *Thieri* sent an army against him, under the command of his son *Theodobert*, who had likewise the direction of a fleet that was also appointed to act against the *Danes*. In this expedition he acquitted himself with great reputation, defeated these cruel invaders on shore, beat their navy at sea, killed their king, compelled them to dismiss their prisoners, and to retire with the utmost precipitation ². His father engaged soon after in a war less honourable, and, though attended with success, less advantageous. *Hermanfroi*, king of *Thuringia*, had, by the persuasion of his wife *Amalberga*, destroyed his brother *Berthaire*, and seized his part of their father's territories, and by her persuasion he meditated the like treatment towards *Balderic*, his only surviving brother,

² GREG. TUR. lib. iii. cap. 1. Agathie Scholastici de Imperatoris Justiniani rebus libri v. lib. i. ^a GREG. TUR. lib. iii. cap. 3. Gesta Reg. Francorum, cap. 19.

who was apprized of his intentions, and kept upon his guard. *Hermanfroi*, thereupon, applied himself to the king of *Metz*, and offered him half his brother's dominions, if he would join in this enterprize. He consented to this, and, in conjunction with his new ally, gave battle to *Balderic*, whose army being defeated, and himself killed on the spot, his brother seized all, and left *Thieri* no other recompence than the consciousness of having embarked in so foul an action. A prince of his spirit and temper could not help feeling and resenting this usage; but perceiving *Hermanfroi* in full possession of *Thuringia*, whereas he had only a part of his father's kingdoms, he stifled his indignation, till an opportunity should offer of indulging it in its full extent ^b.

GONDEBAUD, king of *Burgundy*, who had murdered *Chilperic* his brother, and the father of queen *Clotildis*, being dead, left his dominions to his sons *Sigismund* and *Godemar*, against whom, her sons being now grown up, the widow of *Clotildis* engaged them to make war. There was a circumstance, which rendered *Sigismund* odious to his own subjects; of which a full account being given, in another place, there is no need we should repeat it here ^c. The dispute was very unequal, and the forces of *Sigismund* quickly beat. The *Sigisfranks* plundering the country without mercy, the people partly out of spite to the author of their misfortunes, and partly in hopes of pacifying the victors, seized upon the unfortunate *Sigismund*, who had cut off his long hair, and put on the dress of a hermit, and delivered him, together with his queen, and the two princes his sons, into the hands of *Clodimir*. He, after detaining them some time in prison at *Orleans*, upon the report of *Godemar's* being proclaimed king of the *Burgundians*, resolved to put them to death ^d. *Avitus*, abbot of *Mici*, interposed in their behalf, and went so far as to promise the king victory, if he spared these miserable creatures; but in vain; they were thrown into a deep pit, by way of retaliation, *Chilperic* having suffered the same treatment from his brother *Gondebaud*. The universal pity that followed this outrageous act of cruelty procured *Sigismund*, who in other respects did not deserve it, the reputation of a saint ^e. *Clodimir*, for it does not appear that his brethren took any share in this second war, entered the country of the *Burgundians* with his army, and gave battle to

^b GREG. Tur. lib. iii. cap. iv. *Authore vitæ Theod. Abb. Rhemens.* ^c *Gesta Reg. francorum*, cap. 20. *Universal History*, Book IV. chap. xxviii. sect. 6. ^d *MARIUS Aventii in Chron.* ^e GREG. Tur. lib. iii. cap. 6. *Passio S. Sigismundi.*

Godemar, in which he was defeated. But *Clodomir* pursuing indiscreetly, was surrounded and slain, and his head fixed on a pike, and carried about in triumph by his enemies, who believed that this would have struck the *Franks* with despair; but, on the contrary, it inspired them with so great fury, that, after destroying the greatest part of his army, they obliged *Godemar* to quit the field of battle ^f. *Clodomir* left behind him three sons, notwithstanding which his brethren took possession of his dominions, under the specious pretence of being guardians to his children; and how honourably they discharged that trust will hereafter appear.

Thieri, king of *Metz*, seeing the power of the *Ostro-goths* much lessened by the death of king *Theodoric*, thought it a proper time to make *Hermanfroi* feel the weight of his vengeance; and having engaged his brother *Clotaire*, king of *Soissons*, to assist him, they, at the time agreed upon between them, entered the country of *Thuringia*, with two potent armies. They joined soon after they had passed the *Rhine*, and their force was quickly augmented by another powerful corps of troops under *Theodobert* ^g. However, *Hermanfroi* had time enough to assemble the whole force of his dominions, and to dispose all things in the best manner for their reception. The allies found him, therefore, with his army ranged in order of battle, with a spacious plain in front, and a steep and rapid river in his rear. They formed with all the diligence possible, expecting they should have been attacked, but perceiving the *Thuringians* remained firm, they advanced to charge them. *Hermanfroi* had caused several large pits to be made in the front of his army, which were covered again with turf, and numbers of the *Franks* falling into them, were miserably slain. *Clotaire*, as soon as he perceived this, gave a signal to halt, and soon after passing with his cavalry through the spaces between the pits, pushed the *Thuringians* with such vigour that they soon fell into confusion. *Theodobert* followed his uncle's example with the infantry, and *Thieri* taking them in flank with his forces, the route became general, and the river behind them preventing their retreat, the far greatest part of them were either killed or drowned ^h. The queen *Amalberga* was conveyed to a place of safety by her brother *Theodad*; and *Hermanfroi* having with difficulty made his escape, fled from place to place in disguise. In consequence of this defeat, the capital

^f *Gesta Regum Francorum*, cap. 21.
lib. iii. cap. vi.

^g *GREG. TUR.*
^h *Gesta Regum Francorum*, cap. xxii.

was taken, and the country in general destroyed without mercy. Soon after this victory, *Thieri* invited his brother to a private conference; but *Clotaire*, as he entered the hall, perceiving mens feet behind a piece of tapestry, suspected, not without reason, a design to murder him; and stopping a little, made a signal for his attendants to advance, which they did in good time. *Thieri* caressed him extremely, presented him with a large silver bason, and proposed to him many things for their common benefit, to which he listened with great complaisance, but retired from the audience with a full resolution never to run a hazard of the like kind again. *Thieri*, at the close of the campaign, declared, that having avenged his breach of faith, *Hermanfroi* might meet him with safety at *Tolbiac*, in order to treat of peace. Thither accordingly he came, was kindly received, and the king walking with him upon the ramparts, advanced a little before him, when a person placed behind, for that purpose, threw him over into the ditch, where he was smothered. Thus his spacious territories became feudatory to *Thieri* ^k.

CHILDEBERT, king of *Paris*, while his brothers were thus employed, was embarked in another war, of the cause and event of which having given a full account in the last chapter, we shall be as brief as possible here. His sister *Clotilda* had espoused *Amalaric*, king of the *Visigoths* in *Spain*, and being a zealous Catholic, and he an obstinate *Arian*, they were quickly upon such bad terms as induced *Childebert* to take up arms for her deliverance. In his march towards *Septimania*, or that district of *Gaul* still in the possession of the *Goths*, a false report reached his ear, of his brother *Thieri*'s being defeated, and killed in *Thuringia*, which tempted him to make a short turn into *Auvergne*, a country belonging to his brother; and the capital being betrayed into his hands, he took possession of it, and had just received the oaths of the inhabitants when he was informed of the truth, and that, instead of being defeated and dead, *Thieri* was alive and victorious: he quitted his new conquest, therefore, with silence and shame; and, to efface the memory of it, recurred to his first expedition, in which he was as prosperous as he could desire; for having routed *Amalaric* in battle, and made himself master of *Narbonne*, the king of the *Visigoths* being slain by a conspiracy of his own subjects, his sister was restored to him, but died in her

¹ GREG. TUR. lib. iii. cap. 7.
de Gothico Bello.

^k PROCOPII Cæsariensis
¹ GREG. TUR. lib. iii. cap. 9. PROCOPII
Cæsariensis de Gothico Bello, lib. i. cap. 13.

way to *Paris*, whither *Childebert* returned in triumph, his army loaded with plunder, amongst which was a great quantity of rich church plate, that, by his command, was distributed to the cathedrals in his dominions; by which he gained the love of the clergy, and the esteem of the prelates^m. His brother *Clotaire* congratulated him on the success of his enterprise, and the two brothers entered into a close alliance, being equally afraid of *Thieri*, to whom notwithstanding they proposed a reconciliation, provided he would assist them in a war against the *Burgundians*, which they had now more than ever at heart. As this did not suit his scheme of policy, he refused to comply with their demand; upon which, to secure themselves from any disturbance, they excited a sedition amongst his troops by their intrigues, and fomented a rebellion against him in *Auvergne*, into which country he was thereby constrained to send the power of his forces under the command of his son *Theodobert*. Having thus provided sufficient employment for him, they continued with all possible diligence their preparations against *Godemar*, who, while they were embarked in other expeditions, had gradually recovered his whole country, and was, at this instant, assembling all his forces to defend itⁿ.

The war of Burgundy, of Auvergne, and the revolt and murder of Munderic. THE two brothers, *Childebert* and *Clotaire*, entered the country of their enemies with a superior army, and laid siege to *Autun*; of which, after a gallant defence, they made themselves masters, and proceeded next to reduce *Vienne*: which they found a work of greater difficulty, but which notwithstanding they accomplished at last; and being determined to keep what had cost them so dear, they put an end to the campaign, by taking winter quarters in the country adjacent^o. *Thieri*, in the mean time, finding the war of

Auvergne would prove a dangerous and troublesome business, went thither in person, as believing that his own temper and experience would suit better with an employment of such a nature, than the youth, and perhaps the gentleness and generosity, of his son's disposition. At first, he acted with great roughness and severity, which, on a sudden, under pretence of a dream, or vision, he relaxed, and by a display of mercy to his subjects in despair, brought them to a submission, into which they would not have been so easily forced^p. Yet when he thought this arduous affair in a manner

^m ISIDOR. Hispal: GREG. Tur. M. AURELIJ CASSIODORI variarum. ⁿ GREG. Tur. lib. iii. cap. xi. ^o M. AURELIJ CASSIODORI variarum, lib. ii. GREG. Tur. 1 b. iii. c. xi.

^p HADRIANI VALESII gesta Franc. GREG. Tur. 1. iii. c. xii.

over, as having made his entry into *Auvergne*, where he contented himself with punishing the family of the senator *Arcadius*, who had betrayed it to *Childebert*, he found his work was to be begun again. A great lord of that country, whose name was *Munderic*, pretending that he was of the royal family of *Clovis*, not only took up arms, but assumed likewise the title of king, and quickly drew together an army, composed chiefly of those who had been ruined by the licentiousness of the king's troops. *Thieri* attempted first to get him into his power by negotiation, but that failed him, for his character was too well known; he blocked him up in *Vitri*, which was then a strong place. The garrison being numerous, and composed of men absolutely desperate, the defence was obstinate, as might be expected. Upon this, the king sent a domestic of his, a man of great cunning, whose name was *Argesile*, to practise once more upon *Munderic*; and he having first represented his danger in very strong terms, and afterwards swearing at the high altar that he should have a free pardon, prevailed on him to render the place. As they came out together, with a few of *Munderic's* attendants, some of *Thieri's* soldiers half-armed gathered about them; upon which *Argesile* cried out in an angry tone, "Who do you stare at? did you never see *Munderic* before?" At which signal they attacked him. *Munderic*, who had a short spear in his hand, turning on his guide, "Perjured traitor, said he, I know I shall die, but lead thou the way;" and so pinned him to the earth; but being surrounded, himself and his servants were quickly cut to pieces. *Thieri* having reduced *Auvergne* a second time, left *Theodebert* with a competent number of forces to settle the country, and returned himself to *Metz*, having in his mind still greater projects, and burning with a desire to expell the *Ostrogoths* and the *Visigoths* out of the provinces they still possessed in *Gaul*, esteeming, according to the maxim of his family, that they possessed nothing where they did not possess all.

THE queen-dowager *Clotildis*, being at *Paris* with her Clotaire; grandsons, *Gunthaire*, *Theodobald*, and *Cleodoalde*, the sons of *by the ad-* *Clotaire*, and having pressed her son *Childebert* to do these *vice of* orphans justice, he, seeming to acquiesce in her demand, sent *Childebert, mur-*

9 AIMOINI Monachi inclyti Cœnobii S. Germani libri quinque de gestis Francorum, t. ii. c. 8. GREG. Turon. l. iii. c. 13. Histoire de la Maison d'Auvergne, par M. BALUZE, tom. i. vers la Fin. GREG. Tur. iii. c. 11.

for his brother *Clotaire* to regulate the method of putting them into possession of their dominions. After this interview, the two brothers sent to demand the young princes, whom the grandmother delivered without the least suspicion, saying, that she should forget the loss of her sons, in seeing them reign¹. Her surprize was great, at hearing they were put under a guard; but her apprehensions were still more heightened, when *Arcadius*, the senator of *Auvergne*, who betrayed that city to *Childebert*, brought her from that prince a pair of scissars and a sword, and bid her chuse which instrument she pleased. Confused at so horrid a message, she answered, "I had rather see my children dead, than shaven;" which being reported to the two kings, *Clotaire* immediately dispatched *Theodobald*, who was about ten years old, with his dagger². *Gunthaire*, who was about seven, embraced the knees of his uncle *Childebert*, who was so much moved thereat, as to intreat *Clotaire* to spare him; but the brutal prince cried out, "It was by thy instigation that I entered on this bloody scene, die thyself, or let me finish what I have begun." *Childebert* affrighted, stepped out of his way, and he instantly dispatched the child. But during this short dispute, the attendants of *Childebert* conveyed away *Clodoalde*; at which the furious *Clotaire* was so provoked, that he caused all the tutors and domestics who attended the children to be destroyed³. As to *Clodoalde*, he became a monk, and for his innocent life being reputed a saint, left his name to the village of *St. Cloud* near *Paris*⁴. It might be imagined, that *Thieri*, who had no hand in these murders, would have revenged them, but having his share of their dominions, he was reconciled to his brethren, and entered into an alliance with *Clotaire* for driving the *Ostrogoths* out of *Gaul*; in order to share the countries they held between them⁵.

While *Thieri* is acting against the Visigoths, *Childebert* and *Clotaire* complete In order to execute this great design, *Clotaire* ordered his son *Gunthier* to march with an army on the side of *Rodez*, while *Theodobert* with his father *Thieri*'s forces, acted from that of *Auvergne*. But, as soon as the war was begun, *Gunthier*, without any apparent cause, retired, and left *Theodobert* to carry it on as he could⁶. This young prince, in the progress of his expedition, was with a lady, whose name was *Deuteria*, a married woman, but who had beauty and wit, though not youth to recommend her; and of her

¹ GREG. TUR. l. iii. c. 18.

Epitome & Chronicon.

² FREDEGARII Scholastici

³ GREG. TURON. l. iii. c. 18.

⁴ FREDEGARII Scholastici Epitome & Chronicon.

⁵ GREG.

⁶ Tur. ubi supra.

⁷ ADON. Breviar. Chron.

he was so enamoured, that, after a campaign not very ac-^{the con} tive, he retired into *Auvergne*, and put his troops into win-^{quest} ter quarters^a. His father *Thieri* had committed the civil ad-^{Burgun-} ministrations of this province, after its reduction, to *Sigivalde*; who believing the people were not like to obtain much re-^{D. 534} dress at court, had oppressed them in the most grievous manner; of which *Thieri* being informed, caused him to be seized and sent to court, where, upon full proof, he was beheaded. But believing that his son *Givalde* might, some time or other, endeavour to revenge his father's death, an order was dispatched to *Theodobert* to seize and execute him also. The prince, who had been this young man's godfather, sent for him, and, having shewed him his father's orders, advised him to withdraw, and not to return into his own country again, so long as the king lived^b. In the mean time, *Childebert* and *Clotaire* finished the reduction of *Burgundy*, in which some say *Godemar* was killed, and others affirm that he retired into *Spain*, and from thence to *Africa*^c. The necessity of employing their troops in this war, might be one reason for recalling *Gunthier*; but there was another; *Thieri* king of *Metz* was fallen into a declining state of health, and the two brothers had such intelligence in his dominions, that they had hopes of supplanting their nephew, to which they thought his being embarrassed in the war with the *Ostrogoths* might very probably contribute. But *Theodobert* being informed in time of their contrivances, returned so speedily that he disappointed them, and, upon his father's death, was proclaimed, and put into possession of all his dominions^d. He was not a little chagrined at the usage he met with, and the danger he had escaped, but was prudent enough to dissemble it.

CHILDEBERT, who was naturally a timorous prince, *Childe-* fearing the resentment of his nephew, and, at the same time *bert finds* hating his brother, resolved to reconcile himself to the for-^{it necessa-} mer, and to make him forget, if possible, the attempt he^{ry to re-} had made to his prejudice; *Theodobert* came readily into all^{concile} this, and obtained a share in the division of *Burgundy*. He^{himself to} afterwards accepted an invitation to *Paris*, where he was^{Theodo-} both kindly and magnificently treated, and, at the same^{bert the} time, *Childebert* declared him his heir^{successor of}. In *Italy*, *Amala-* *Thieri*. *Thieri*.
zunta, the daughter of *Theodoric*, after the death of her

^a GREG. TURON. l. ii.
libri xii. l. ii. ep. i.

^b GREG. TURON. l. iii.

^c M. AURELI CASIOD. variar.

^d HARMAR. Contractus in Chron.

^e ADON. Breviar. Chron.

D. 536. first husband, espoused *Theodad* her cousin, who, through jealousy and ingratitude, imprisoned and put her to death, which gave a colourable pretence to the emperor *Justinian* to undertake the expulsion of the *Ostrogoths* out of *Italy*^f. To facilitate this, he set on foot a negotiation with the three monarchs of the *Franks*, in order to obtain their assistance; and, by a dexterous management of this negotiation, they drew to themselves immense treasures in subsidies and presents; but this did not hinder their negotiating at the same time privately with *Theodad*, who offered them the provinces his nation still retained in *Gaul*. His conduct was so bad that his people revolted and killed him, bestowing the crown upon *Witiges*, whose only title was being a brave man and an experienced officer; but to fortify this, he married the princess *Matanzunta*, the daughter of the deceased queen, and by him the negotiation was perfected, in consequence of which *Provence* was delivered up to the *Franks*^g. *Childebert* had *Arles* for his share; *Metz* fell to that of *Clotaire*. *Theodobert*, after the treaty was concluded, set up a demand for himself. He pretended, that his family having subdued the *Allemands* in *Germany*, derived from thence a title to the countries those people had conquered and possessed on the frontiers of *Gaul*, and, upon this pretence, the *Rhetian Alps*, or the country of the *Grisons*, was yielded to him^h. At the very time this agreement was concluded and executed, *Justinian* depending on his promises, had adopted him, as a mark of his affection and esteemⁱ. We may have leave to treat this double-dealing as base and scandalous, since these and even harsher epithets are bestowed by a *French* historian, who with great spirit and impartiality has given a just representation of these reigns^k; which remark it was necessary to make, in order to prevent any suspicion of our having misrepresented them.

Theodobert's irruption into Italy. To push this matter to the utmost, *Theodobert*, by affording new hopes to *Justinian*, obtained a concession from him of the same provinces that had been yielded by the *Ostrogoths*; so that now all claims of the emperors to any part of *Gaul* being extinct, it was universally considered as the patrimony of the *Franks*^l. *Belizarius* having managed

^f PROCOPI. Cæsariensis de Gothico Bello, l. ii. ^g MARIUS AVERIC. in Chron. ^h AGATHANG. Scholastici de Imperatoris Justiniani rebus, libri v. lib. ii. ⁱ PROCOPII Cæsariensis de Gothico Bello, l. ii. ^k LE GENDRE, tom. i.
^l ADON. Breviar. Chron.

the war in *Italy* very successfully, and brought the power A.D. 539. of the *Goths*, notwithstanding the courage and conduct of *Witiges*, to the very last gasp. *Law* with amazement *Theodobert* pass the *Alps* with an army of one hundred thousand men, with which he traversed *Italy*, ruining and plundering the country wherever he came. He had before sent a corps of some thousand *Burgundians*, as auxiliaries to the *Goths*; and though they did them little service, yet they flattered themselves that he was come in person, with this potent army, to rescue them from destruction; while, on the other hand, *Belizarius* grounding his expectations on the late treaty, flattered himself that the *Franks* would act as auxiliaries to the empire. *Theodobert* disappointed both; he attacked and cut to pieces the *Goths*, who received him as friends, and immediately after defeated a part of the imperial forces. It is difficult to conceive what his design was, except loading his army with plunder; with which view he made himself master of *Genoa*, ransacked it, and then finding his forces much diminished by sickness he quitted *Italy*, leaving one of his generals, with a sufficient body of forces, to secure the passes. *Belizarius* having shut up *Witiges* in the city of *Ravenna*, and held him there closely besieged, the monarchs of the *Franks* sent him the strongest assurances of relief, and *Theodobert* made preparations for entering *Italy* again, with a great army, for that purpose. But *Witiges* prevented this, by surrendering the city and his person to *Belizarius*, who sent him to *Constantinople*, where, with the title of *Patrician*, he spent the remainder of his days in quiet. This shews, however, that he had conceived a just diffidence of the *Franks*, and would not trust them in any treaty.

As they had no longer any foreign war to employ them, *Childebert* the *Franks*, unable to remain quiet, fell out among themselves; *Clotaire*, as some writers say, was the aggressor, by making an irruption into the territories of *Childebert* with a small body of forces. His brother, being supported by *Theodobert*, marched against him with such diligence that they surprized him, at the entrance of the forest of *Bretagne*, on the banks of the river *Seine*. He cut down the trees on every side, in order to embarrass his enemies, and to form a kind of halcy fortification about his camp. *Childebert* and *Theodobert*, much superior to him in numbers,

disposed all things for attacking him by break of day, when there arose so violent a storm of thunder, lightning and rain, that *Childebert*, who was naturally mild, regarding it as a miracle, sent to offer his brother peace, which was quickly concluded on equal terms *. Some time after a council was held at *Orleans*, and from several of the canons made therein it clearly appears, that many of the *Franks* remained to this time *Pagans*, and that many more had a kind of mixed religion, professing the faith of Christians, and yet practising many *Pagan* ceremonies and superstitions: the body of the *Salique* Law was also reviewed, reformed, and augmented.

Childebert and Clotaire make an irruption into Spain and are thoroughly beaten by the Visigoths.
A.D. 543.

To give an evident testimony of the sincerity of their reconciliation, and, at the same time, to find some employment for a nation unable to remain long at rest, the two brothers *Childebert* and *Clotaire* determined to attack the *Visigoths*, as being desirous to have the *Pyrenees*, as well as the *Alps* for the boundaries of their dominions †. While they were employed in this expedition, *Theodobert* directed his attention to the affairs of *Italy*. *Childebert* and *Clotaire* penetrated as far as *Saragossa* almost without resistance, and their army having enriched themselves with the pillage of those opulent countries, they determined to return: most of the *French* writers speak of this retreat as performed with great courage and conduct; but the *Spanish* writers assert, with much more appearance of truth, that the two brothers did not retire till their forces were totally defeated by the *Gothic* general *Tudiscles*, and that few or none of them had found their way home, if avarice, which is the growth of all climes and all nations, had not induced an eminent officer among the *Goths* to leave open one of the passages of the *Pyrenees* a day and a night, in consideration of an imminent reward, notwithstanding which the year of their army was cut to pieces ‡. It is however said, that the *Franks* had, in some measure, their revenge, in deserting, with considerable laughter, a *Spanish* army that had been transported into *Languedoc* by sea; but as this point has been elsewhere explained, there is no need of detaining the reader any longer upon it here, more especially as both parties seemed now to be at least weary of the war, if not inclined to peace §; and the affairs of *Italy* drew once more their most serious attention, upon the old prin-

* GREG. TURON. l. iii. c. 28. FREDERABII Scholastici Epistome & Chronicon. † GREG. TURON. ‡ ISIDOR. HISPAN. in Chron. § FESTUS AVIENUS.

ciple of fishing in troubled waters, and aggrandizing themselves at the expence of others. A maxim which rendered them equally formidable and detestable to their neighbours, who have not failed to set out the ill usage they met with from them in peace, as well as war, in the strongest colours.

THEODOBERT began with negotiating again with the emperor *Justinian*, from whom he procured the most authentic renunciations of the rights of the empire to those provinces and places, which, in the depth of their distress, the *Ostrogoths* had been forced to yield, and which he had also ceded, though not with an expresse demission of the sovereignty; and thus the claim on one side, and the possession on the other being relinquished, the *Franks* became the legal masters of those maritime parts of *Gaul*, which the power of *Theodoric* had protected against the ambition of *Clovis*. But *Theodobert's* views went farther; he negotiated likewise with *Totila*, who had in some measure restored the affairs of the *Goths* in *Italy*, and was willing to try what could be had from him. But this brave and generous prince, though he sought the friendship of the *Franks*, sought it in an honourable and noble way, and demanded the daughter of *Theodobert* in marriage, which that monarch rejected with an air of contempt; for as the *Ostrogoths* proposed to expell the *Imperialists*, and to preserve by arms the countries which by arms had been acquired; and as, on the other hand, the *Imperialists* proposed the extirpation of the *Ostrogoths*, that the emperors might enter again into the exercise of their authority in *Italy*; so *Theodobert* aimed at the destruction of both, that he might substitute the empire of the *Franks* in *Italy*, as his ancestors had done in *Gaul*. His lieutenant *Bucelin* proceeded to the execution of this design, by extending his conquest through the country of *Liguria*, along the sea-coast, while *Theodobert* projected a diversion by an irruption into the dominions of *Justinian*, that might have brought his forces, and those of his allies, into the neighbourhood of *Constantinople*. Princes of his character seldom want resources; from being the friend and ally, he was become the mortal enemy, of *Justinian*; interest dictated the measure, which was to be covered by a pretended zeal for glory. The emperor, elated by the victories which his generals had obtained, assumed, after the ancient *Roman* manner, a variety of surnames, and amongst

A.D. 548.

* GREG. Tur. l. iii. * PROCOPII Cæs. de Gothico Bello, iv. 27. * APON. Breviar. Chron.

them inserted *Franciscus*, as if he had been the conqueror of the *Franks*. *Theodobert*, who wanted such an opportunity, seized it eagerly, remonstrated in high terms at *Constantinople*, and attempted to associate in an alliance all the northern nations, that had been outraged by the same unreasonable overflowing of imperial vanity^y. But, in the midst of these vast designs, which *Theodobert* might have found it very difficult to execute, he was removed by death, to the great grief of the *Franks*, and to the no small joy of their neighbours, all of whom dreaded his great abilities, which were affected by no other motives than ambition and interest.

His son
Theode-
balde suc-
ceeds, and
dies after
a short
reign
without
issue.

THEODEBALDE, or *Thibaut*, the only son of *Theodobert*, though a youth in the fourteenth year of his age, and the legitimacy of whose birth there might have been some objection, succeeded to his father's dominions without trouble or dispute, which was, in a great measure, owing to the wise precautions which his father had taken, and the firm attachment to his family shewn by the generals who commanded the troops, and who, if they had acted upon other principles, might have created a great deal of confusion^z. The emperor *Justinian* sent a splendid embassy to his court, in hopes of engaging those who had the direction of this young king's affairs, to enter into his views, instead of pursuing those of his father. The ministers of *Theodebalde* acted, however, as if their old master had been alive, and had dictated to them the rules of their behaviour. They treated the imperial ambassadors with all possible respect, gave them, in the name of the young king, a very favourable answer, and sent an ambassador also to *Constantinople*, fraught with pacific instructions, from whence, as in times past, they drew great advantages; for the Greek emperor never negotiated with the *Franks* without supporting the propositions he made with considerable preference^b. But when *Justinian* thought himself sure of this martial and enterprising nation, he found himself more deceived than ever; for *Bucelin* and *Leutharis*, at the head of prodigious numbers of *Franks*, entered *Italy*, and pretending that they acted on their own heads, and without receiving any orders from their court, put^c out of the emperor's

^y AGATHIÆ Scholastici de Imperatoris Justiniani rebus, l. i. & GREG. TUON. l. iii. c. 34. AGATHIÆ Scholastici de Imperatoris Justiniani rebus, l. i. ^z PROCOPII Cæs. de Gothico Bello, l. iv. ^b AGATHIÆ Schol. de Imperatoris Justiniani rebus, l. i.

power to know what might be expected from them, or how to deal with them^c. His general *Narses* delivered him from these difficulties by the courage and conduct he shew'd, in the management of a war, which had put a period to the sovereignty of the *Ostrogoths*, and gave a check to the impetuosity of the *French*, who suffered likewise by the misunderstanding between their generals, who were both *Alemanni* by birth; and one of whom, *Leutharis*, had practis'd with the *Ostrogoths*, to grant them what assistance lay in his power, provided they would acknowledge him for their king, and which ended in the destruction of both^d. In A.D. 555: the mean time, *Theodebald*, after a short and inactive reign, breathed his last at *Confligine*, when, according to the rule of succession which then prevail'd, his dominions should have been divided between his two great uncles (D), his other principalities and even fiefdoms among the *Franks* usually were.

BUT

^c *MARIUS* Aventic. in Chron. cap. 9.

^d *GREG.* Turon. lib. iv.

(D) *Theodowaldus*, as the old historian calls him, or *Theodobald*, as he is commonly called, or *Thibaut*, for it is the same name, succeeded his father, though he was paralytic, which those who maintain the crown to have been, in these times, strictly hereditary, insist upon as a very strong proof (1). Immediately after the death of his father, there happened a sedition, in which *Partibianus*, who was looked upon to have been the deviser of some oppressive taxes, in *Theodobert's* time, was put to death; for which the king is much blamed by modern historians, as a weak and pusillanimous prince (2). But if we consider, that he was under fourteen, he may perhaps stand excus'd, tho' we should not put the reader in mind of his infirmity. It may be, however, that this was not the case, and that the king might act on another motive; for though his body was crazy, yet his mind seem'd to have been tolerably sound, from the following story told of him, by *Gregory* of *Tours*, who says, at the same time, that it excited a general dislike to him amongst his courtiers, ought to have been added in a parenthesis. The king was talking one day, he tells us, of ministers who abused their trust, and plundered the people, and expressed himself to this purpose. There was a man who had some excellent wine, which he kept in a vessel that had a narrow neck, and a large body, which being left open,

(1) *Mar.* Aventic. Chron. *Greg.* Turon. lib. iii. cap. 36. *Memoire pour établir que le Royaume de France a été successivement héréditaire dans la première Race, par M. de Faussemont.*

(2) *Louis le Gendre*, tom. i. p. 127.

Clotaire
records in
Austrasia.

BUT *Clotaire*, king of *Soissons*, who, of all the sons of *Clotaire*, inherited most of his father's spirit, having a puissant army on foot, went in person to *Metz*, and by a mixture of arguments, promises, and threats, so wrought upon the nobles, that they acknowledged him for the sole successor of his nephew. *Childebert*, king of *Paris*, who was the elder brother, affected the character of a pious prince, and had his attention, at this time, occupied chiefly by ecclesiastical affairs. He was, however, far from being void of ambition; and though he could not immediately devise a method of redressing or revenging it, he was sufficiently sensible of the injustice that had been done him. He resolved not to let slip any opportunity of this kind, and it was not long before such an opportunity offered; for by aggrandizing his power, the security and the safety of *Clotaire's* monarchy were far from being rendered more stable. But whether the troubles he met with proceeded immediately from the turbulence and mutability of part of his new subjects, or whether they were not, in part at least, ex-

^e FREDEGARIJ Scholastici Epitome & Chronic. ^f GREG. Turon. lib. iv. cap. x.

open, a serpent got in, and drank so plentifully, that she was unable to get out again. The owner of the wine came, and seeing the serpent wreathing and twisting about, there is but one way filthy creature, said he, to slip through this narrow passage, and that is to disgorge (3). He espoused *Waldrada*, whom *Gregory* calls *Valdotrada*, the younger daughter of *Wacon*, king of the *balets*, by whom he had no sue. Some say, that he queathed the kingdom by will to his great uncle *Clotaire*; but if he had a power of doing this, what became of the right of succession? for that, as the Greek historian plainly says, was in his great uncles jointly (4).

It is much more probable, that *Clotaire* secured the succession by his intrigues, in which it is very likely he was strenuously assisted by the queen-dowager, whom he married. A wife more or less, in such cases, these kings of the race of *Clotaire* did not stand upon; however the bishops, either of their own accord, or because the king was willing to be rid of her, interposed; and so she was divorced: but that her services might not go wholly unrewarded, she was, a third time, married in marriage to *Adon*, duke of *Bavaria* (5), that is governor of the *Bavarians*, and not prince of that country, as we now understand it.

(3) *Greg. Turon. lib. iv. cap. ix. peratoris Justiniani rebus, lib. ii. cap. 51.*
lib. iv. cap. 9. Goss. Reg. Franc.

(4) *Agathia Scholastici de Adon. Gibron.*

(5) *Greg.*

cited by some acts of severity or oppression of his own, does not clearly appear^a; the historians of these times dwelling often on trivial, and omitting entirely circumstances of importance.

THE Saxons, who were tributaries to *Charlemagne*, and *Theobalde*, threw off the yoke, and prevailed on the *Thuringians* to take the same step. He marched against them with an army composed of veteran well-disciplined troops, and by their assistance gained a complete victory; upon which the rebels submitted, on the best terms they could obtain^b. He did not long enjoy this satisfaction; for he had scarce withdrawn his forces out of that country before they revolted again. *Charlemagne* was extremely provoked at this, and, having reinforced his troops, marched against them a second time, giving out, that he intended nothing less than to extirpate those whom duty could not restrain, or clemency recall; but he did this only with a view to shorten the war, and to prevent an effusion of blood, by bringing them to a speedy submission. The Saxons, as if they had known his intention, sent to intreat his pardon, offered immense contributions, and to be content with whatever terms he thought fit to impose, which the king was very well inclined to accept; but his army would hear of nothing but slaughter: they had figured to themselves the total destruction of a country, by which they were to be loaded with plunder; and they could not bear to see the king's coffers filled with what they had destined to enrich themselves. *Clotaire* was forced to comply with their humour, and to attack the Saxons in their retrenchments, who made so desperate a resistance, as not only obliged the *Franks* to retire, but took from them all inclination of attacking them again^c. *Clotaire* being left at liberty to pursue his own sentiments, granted them such terms as this change of circumstances required. This was a great, but not his sole misfortune. He had five sons; and the eldest of these, whose name was *Chramnes*, he had sent to command in *Austrasie*: he was a young prince who did not want parts; but the vivacity of his temper, and his inordinate love of pleasure, made even the good qualities he possessed turn to the prejudice of his father and himself. *Clotaire* had assigned him a very sage and sober person for his assistant and prime minister, but the virtues which recommended him to

^a ADON. Breviar. Chron. Gesta Regum Francorum, c. xxviii.

^b FREDEGARII Epitome & Chronicon.

^c ADON. Breviar. Chron.

the father, rendered him disagreeable to the son; he disregarded him therefore, and bestowed his confidence on a man of his own character, which had so untoward an influence on his actions as obliged his father to recall him^k. *Chrambert* disobeyed to indiscretion; and, having married the daughter of a powerful nobleman, took up arms against his father. *Chilichert*, pleased with this occasion, promised him assistance, and, by his intrigues, engaged the Saxons to rebel the third time, which obliged *Clotaire* to turn his views and his forces on that side; but, however, he sent a considerable body of forces, commanded by two of his sons, to reduce their brother^l. They managed the war like young men, and, upon a false rumour of their father's death, spread out of policy by their brother, retired. This changed the face of affairs in respect to *Chrambert*; and his uncle, to favour his interest, made an irruption into *Champagne*; but they very suddenly changed again by *Chilichert*'s falling sick at *Paris*, on his return from that expedition; of which sickness he quickly died^m (E); and, as he was little beloved, was but little regretted.

CLOTAIRE,

^k *Gesta Regum Francorum.*

^l *ABON. Breviar. Chron.*

^m *GREG. Turon. lib. iv. MARIUS Aventic. in Chron.*

(E) *Childebert* was in all respects a prince very unequal, and in all probability it is owing to this, that we find such different characters of him, in ancient and modern histories. The truth is, he did not deserve a good, and, at the same time, it would be unjust to give him a bad character (6). In point of morals he was not irreproachable than any of his brethren; for he was a lover of order and justice, and governed his people mildly (7). He was, according to the mode of the times, extremely pious; that is, he built hospitals, convents, and churches. Four councils held at *Orleans*, one

at *Arles*, and two at *Paris*, under his auspices, are yet stronger proofs of this; but that which seems to be the strongest of all is, his obliging pope *Pelagius*, of whose principles he had some suspicion, to send him his confession of faith; of which the French historians boast as a point of great consequence (8). But with all these good he had a great many ill qualities; he was a fickle, and delicate.

the murder of his nephews, the sons of *Clodomir*, though he afterwards relented; he encouraged his nephew *Chrambert* to take up arms against his father, and yet it does

(6) *Gregor. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 20. Marius in Chronicis, Mezeray, Le Gendre, P. Daniel.*

(7) *Fredogarii Scholastici Epitom. & Chronicon, Marius in Chronicis.*

(8) *Fortunat. lib. ii. carm. ii.*

CLOTAIRE, by the death of his brother, united all the Clotaire's dominions of *Clovis* in his own possession, and his son, becoming himself unable to resist his power, had recourse to his father's clemency. His father forgave him, and advised him to have so, for the future, as that he might forget the past; the admonition was, seasonable and salutary, but ineffectual. The king would not suddenly trust him with power, and to him a private life was insupportable. He began therefore to intrigue afresh; and having engaged the count of *Bretagna* to embrace his interest, he broke out into a second rebellion. *Clotaire* marched against him without loss of time. The count, his protector, advised him to withdraw from the army, for the security of his person, while he gave the king battle; but the prince, though defective in other respects, wanted not courage, and therefore, rejecting this advice, appeared at the head of the troops, and shewed an intrepidity which had been laudable in a better cause. It is said, that, before the armies engaged, *Clotaire* put up his prayers to the Supreme Being, that he would assist him as he did *David* against *Absalom*: the dispute was short and bloody; the *Bretons* were beaten, and their count killed. Upon which *Chramnes* determined to make his escape, but perceiving that the quarter, where his wife and family were, had been surrounded by his father's forces, he attempted to rescue them, and in that attempt was taken. In this condition, they were all thrust into a thatched cottage near the field; of which the king was no sooner informed, than he ordered it to be set on fire on all sides; so that all within perished in the flames, though some say, that *Chramnes* was first strangled. The king, at his return from this expedition, made great offerings at the

A.D. 560.

GREG. TURON. l. iv. c. 20. ° VINANTII FORTU-
NATI Episcopi Pictaviensis Epist. l. vi. carm. i. P Gesta
Regum Francorum. 9 FREDEG. Epit. Chron.

does not appear he attempted to make him his successor, and then banished (1). This is the first instance that occurs of the setting aside daughters; but whether it was done by custom, by virtue of any law, or by downright force, is very far from being clear.

(9) Greg. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 20. Fredegarii Scholastici Epitome & Chron. Maius in Ch. misis.
(1) Greg. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 20.

shrine of St. Martin of Tours, and performed many other acts of devotion, according to the mode of those times; he made also some political regulations for the benefit of his subjects, and the security of his posterity; but while he was employed, he was seized with a fever, while hunting in the neighbourhood of Compiègne, which carried him to the grave in a few days. He is said to have cried out, When very near his end, how puissant is the King of heaven, who thus at his pleasure removes the greatest kings upon earth. He had enjoyed the regal dignity fifty-one years, and was without doubt one of the most fortunate monarchs that hitherto had occupied the throne of the Franks; in whom many great qualities were conspicuous, which might have rendered his name immortal, if they had not been obscured by many odious vices.

The dominions of Clotaire are divided by lot amongst his four sons.

THE empire of the Franks, upon the demise of Clotaire, descended to his four sons, Caribert, Gratraud, Sigebert and Chilperic. It does not appear, that any division was made by him; but very soon after his decease Chilperic, the most restless and enterprising of his sons, went with a strong party of his friends to Braime in Champagne, a country palace of his father's, where he knew his treasures remained, and having seized upon these, and distributed a part to the nobility and people, in the dominions of his uncle Chilperic, he was by them conducted in triumph to Paris, and there seated on the throne. This was in itself a bold measure, and conducted with spirit, but in the end it proved altogether vain. The other three princes, assisted by the prelates and nobility, quickly assembled such a force as compelled Chilperic and his faction to abandon their enterprize, and to put things in the same state in which they were at the king's death. After this, according to custom, which seems to be the sole law among the Franks, the distribution was made by lot; by which means Caribert, who was the eldest, had the kingdom of Paris, Gratraud, the second, had Orleans, Sigebert had Metz, or the kingdom of Austrasia, and Chilperic, the younger, was forced to be content with Soissons. Provence and Aquitaine were not comprehended in this division, but seem to have been possessed by all of them in common, and, which must appear

* ADON. Breviar. Chron.

* Gesta Regum Francorum.

* GREG. Turon. l. iv. c. 21.

* GREG. Turon. l. iv.

c. 22.

* Gesta Regum Francorum, c. xxix. ADONIS Archiep. Viennensis Breviarium Chrothcorum ab origine Mundi ad sua usque Tempora.

* GREG. Turon. l. iv. c. 22.

strange, the empire of the *Franks*, though thus divided, continued for some years in peace, that is within itself; for the news of *Clotaire's* death, and the disturbance raised by *Chilperic*, no sooner reached the barbarous nations, the frontiers of the *Germanic France*, than they began, for vast expectations of bettering their own condition by taking advantage of this division and disorder ^y.

THE author of this invasion is commonly styled the *Sigebert Cagan*, or more properly, the *Khan* of the *Abares*, ^{defeats the} barbarous nation, said to be the remains of the *Huns*, ^{Huns, and} who, having served with credit in the imperial armies, had lands ^{after-} assigned them, on the banks of the *Danube*, by the emperor *Justinian* ^{wards his} ^{brother} ^{Chilperic,} ^{who in-} ^{invaded his} ^{dominions.} These people were not only remarkably brave, and hardy to the last degree, but, at the same time, so hideous in their persons, that their very appearance struck strong who beheld them with terror: in stature they exceeded the common race of men, their limbs half-naked, and of an unusual size, their hair long and platted with cords, their faces squalid, and their voice hoarse and disagreeable. They fell first into the country of *Thuringia*; the inhabitants of which being always averse to the yoke of the *Franks*, received them favourably, and very readily joined them ^{A.D 563.} *Sigebert*, a gallant young prince, then about twenty-six years of age, knowing that his future peace must depend upon the conduct and success of this expedition, laboured all he could to raise a numerous army, and to lessen the apprehensions they were under from the reports spread of their terrible enemies. He succeeded in this; and, instead of waiting for these bold invaders, he marched to attack them in *Thuringia*, took his measures with the coolness and skill of a great captain, and exposed himself, at the beginning of the action, like a private man, that his example might encourage his troops, and prevent all danger of a panic ^b. The *Huns*, were beat by superiority of discipline, in spite of their ferocity and strength. *Sigebert* prosecuted his victory to the utmost, pursuing the *Huns* till he forced them to pass the *Elbe* with precipitation, yet accepted the first proposition made by their king for concluding a peace ^c. He was induced to this by the news that his brother *Chilperic* had invaded his dominions, and taken *Rheims*, and some other places in the neighbour-

^y ADONIS Breviar. Chron. 'GREG. TURON. l. iv. c. 23.

^z PRISCUS RHÆTOR.

^a VENANTII FORTUNATI Episcopi Pictavensis Epistolæ, l. vi. c. 3.

^b GREG. TURON.

^c ADON. Breviar. Chron.

hood; and, therefore, as soon as his treaty with the *Huns* was concluded, he repassed the *Rhine*, and with his victorious army invested *Soissons*, the capital of *Chilperic's* dominions, of which he became master, and of the person of his eldest son *Theodobert*; he defeated, likewise, *Chilperic* himself in battle, and not only recovered all the places he had taken; but despoiled him, likewise, of the best part of his dominions. The two eldest brothers interposed upon this, and *Sigebert*, under their mediation, not only concluded a peace, but abandoned his conquests, and set *Theodobert* at liberty, whom he loaded with presents, but exacted from him an oath, that he would never bear arms against him more^d; and thus the empire of the *Franks* was again restored to quiet.

He mar-
ries Bru-
nehaut,
daughter
to Atha-
nagilde,
and suc-
ceeds with
his bre-
thren to
Caribert,
king of Pa-
ris.

THIS *Sigebert* was incontestably the most prudent as well as the bravest of the sons of *Clotaire*; and, therefore, perceiving how much all his brethren had sunk themselves in the opinion of their subjects, as well as with foreign nations, by their intemperance, and, more especially, by their mean and unequal marriages, he determined to avoid that blemish, and to give a good example to those from whom he should have received it. With this view, by the advice of his council, he sent *Gogon* mayor of the palace (*Maire du Palais*) which, at this time, implied prime minister, but came afterwards to signify both that and generalissimo, to procure for him *Brunechilde*, or more commonly *Brunehaut*, daughter to *Athanagilde*, king of the *Visigoths*. This princess was easily obtained; and *Gogon* brought her into *France* with a magnificent equipage and immense treasure^e. Her birth, her beauty, and her behaviour, which was perfectly affable and modest, and her speedy conversion from the *Arian* heresy to the Catholic faith, rendered her the delight of her subjects, and raised the character of *Sigebert* extremely. Soon after died *Caribert*, king of *Paris*^f (F). His

^d GREG. Turon. l. iv. c. 23. ADON. Breviar. Chron.

^e VENANTII Aventic. Episcopi Pictaviensis Epist. l. vii. c. 1. FREDEGARII Scholastici Epitome Chronicon; c. 42. ADONIS Breviar. Chron.

(F) *Charibert*, or *Caribert*, notwithstanding the dissolute life he led, which did not hinder his being highly complimented by some relates (2), though, for the honour of religion,

(2) Fortunat. lib. vi. cap. 4.

His dominions were divided amongst his brethren, but in so strange a manner, that we should run the hazard of deceiving ourselves and the reader if we should attempt to explain it; only this is certain, that they agreed that the city of *Paris* should be given to none of them, but be possessed in common, and they required three of the greatest prelates in their dominions to curse, in the most solemn manner, whichever of these kings should, at any time, presume to enter it without the consent of the other two &c.

§ GREG. Turon. lib. iv. c. 40. *Gesta Regum Franc. l. xxxi.*

ligion, there were others who would not prostitute their consciences, but took an honest liberty of remonstrating, in the strongest terms, against his unchristian and unprincely vices (3). His first wife was *Ingoberge*, who survived him nineteen years, and by whom he had *Edilberge*, or *Berta*, by the Saxons stiled *Emma*, who espoused *Ethelbert*, king of *Kent*, and was very instrumental in converting him to christianity (4). Queen *Ingoberge* had two servants, the daughters of a wool-comber, with whom the king fell in love, and married first the younger of the two, whose name was *Mircseur*; and tho' she was exquisitely handsome, this did not hinder his taking a third wife, *Theudechilde*, the daughter of a shepherd, who brought him a son, which, however, quickly died (5). *Germanus*, bishop of *Paris*, excommunicated him very sharply for these scandalous actions, and more especially for his repudiating his lawful queen. *Charibert*, however, so little regarded the good prelate's admonitions, that he took the wool-comber's elder daughter *Marcouese* out of a convent,

and married her likewise. On which *Germanus* excommunicated him; but it does not appear the king was ever reclaimed (6). He was a very learned and polite prince, spoke *Latin* elegantly, kept his treaties punctually, caused justice to be strictly administered throughout his dominions, and was highly respected by his neighbours. Besides his four wives, he must have had concubines, for he left behind him two natural daughters, *Bertosiede* and *Crodielle*, who became nuns (7). His widow *Theudechilde*, who by his bounty had amassed immense treasures, wrote to his brother *Gontran*, that all she had was at his service, provided that with her wealth he took her person. *Gontran* encouraged her to come to him; but, instead of marrying her, seized a part of her riches, and put her into a convent; from which she endeavoured to make her escape, in order to fly into *Spain*; but was prevented by the vigilance of the abbess, and compelled to spend the remainder of her days in a cloister, much against her will (8).

(3) *Gregor. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 26.* (4) *Chronicon Saxonicum, p. 25.*
 (5) *Fredegarii Scholastici Epitome & Chronicon.* (6) *Greg. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 26.* (7) *Gesta Regum Francorum. Fredegarii Scholastici Epitome & Chronicon.* (8) *Greg. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 26.*

Chilperic *espouses* CHILPERIC, king of *Gallwintha, the eldest sister of Brunehaut, and afterwards murders her.* *Soissons*, jealous of his brother in all respects, saw with regret the great reputation he had acquired, and therefore resolved to alter, at least in appearance, his own course of life, and to espouse the elder sister of Brunehaut, who was reputed little inferior to her in beauty, and, in all other respects, at least, her equal. As soon as he had taken this resolution, he sent to demand that princess from her father, but the negotiation proved harder than he expected ^h (G). It was however at length accomplished;

^h GREG. Turon. lib. i. cap. 68.

(G) In this note we are to give the character of *Fredegonde*, which is extremely necessary to the right understanding of this part of the history, as she made a far greater figure in her time than any of the monarchs of the *Franks*. She was the daughter of a peasant, in that part of *France* now called *Picardy*, and, in all probability, her education corresponded with her descent; so that she must have stood equally indebted to nature for her capacity as well as beauty; and, which very rarely happens, they were illustrious in the same degree. *Chilperic* took her for his concubine when they were both very young; and though he was extremely enamoured of her, yet he married *Anaovera*, who was likewise a finished beauty, but was far from having the parts of *Fredegonde*, who, in compliance with the king's will, and to serve her own purposes, made no scruple of waiting of her; or of taking all the methods possible to gain her favour and confidence, which that innocent and unsuspecting prince easily bestowed (g). *Fredegonde* believing she had ob-

tained such an ascendancy over *Chilperic* as might induce him to make her the partner of his throne, as well as of his bed, if it was empty, contrived to put this in his power. In order to which, when one of the queen's daughters was to be baptized, she prevailed on a lady, who was to be the godmother, to make the ceremony wait, and then taking advantage of the queen's impatience, proposed, as there was no body present worthy of the honour, that she should herself hold the child, as the king himself was sponsor, which she inadvertently did. *Fredegonde*, when she next saw *Chilperic*, told him, that he had now no queen, for, according to the discipline of that age, a kind of spiritual, or rather ecclesiastical kindred, was contracted between those who answered for a child at the font, which rendered a marriage between them unlawful. Upon this slight and silly pretence the queen was dismissed the court, and sent to a convent (1), to the great satisfaction of *Chilperic* as well as *Fredegonde*; but they acted upon different motives: the king was struck with the

^h (h) *Fredgaard Scholastici Episcopi & Chancery. incipit Caenon. S. Germani de gestis Francorum, cap. 37.*

(1) *Aimoini Monachi*

complished ; and, before the arrival of the princess *Galswintha*, he dismissed from court his mistress *Fredegonde*, and took some other steps of the same nature, which were extremely acceptable to his subjects, to whom, in many respects, he was become highly obnoxious. The queen, who brought with her immense treasures from *Spain*, and who made it her whole study to please the king, made herself, for a time, entirely acceptable ; but, by degrees, *Chilperic* suffered *Fredegonde* to appear at court, and was suspected to have renewed his intercourse with her, which gave the queen such distaste, that she intreated *Chilperic's* leave to return into her own country, offering to leave behind her all she had brought from thence¹. The king rejected this proposal, because he thought it would render him odious ; but,

¹ ADONIS Breviar. Chron.

the marriage of his brother *Sigebert* to a princess of *Spain*, and resolved to follow his example. For the present, therefore, the politics of *Fredegonde* were not only unsuccessful, but produced an event directly opposite to her wishes ; but she dissembled her chagrin, and began to weave her devices anew. She was a woman, who with infinite address and intrigue could appear the most simple and sincere in her behaviour : by an affected tenderness, and a constant complaisance, she retained the affections of *Chilperic*, who was the most mutable man in the world. At the same time she held him by her arts, she governed him by her capacity : his ambition inspired him with projects, which he wanted abilities to execute ; *Fredegonde* pointed out the means, and taught him how to conduct them. She was his mistress, his confident, and his minister ; and she was content to be these, that she might be

his queen (2). She had certainly great talents, as the bitterness of her enemies allow, but, in spite of all the apologies that have been made for her, she had certainly many of the blackest vices. She was covetous, cruel, envious, vindictive, and lewd, but she knew how to conceal all these detestable qualities under the veil of state policy, and even of religion. There was one vice she could not hide ; and this taught the court and the world to pry into all the rest, and perhaps to publish more wicked things of her than were true. This predominant vice was pride, a thing inseparable from mean birth, when elevated not by merit, but by fortune. It may be corrected by good sense, it will be extinguished by religion ; but where these are not united, it will sooner or later break out ; and haughtiness in such persons is ever insupportable, ~~as~~ being without any foundation.

(2) *Greg. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 28.*

at the same time, he framed and executed a design, which covered him with indelible ignominy. He cajoled the poor queen in such a manner as to dissipate her suspicions, and when they seemed to live in the utmost harmony, she was found dead in her bed ^k. He appeared inconsolable upon this, which he would have had taken for a sudden death; whereas it was known that the queen was strangled, and, upon his publicly espousing *Fredegonde* soon after, it was
 A.D 567. suspected he did the murder with his own hands. *Brune-*
haut not only stirred up her husband *Sigebert* to revenge
 the murder, but demanded justice also of *Gontran* king of
Orleans, or, as he was now stiled, of *Burgundy*; and the
 confederate kings, in a very short space, conquered a great
 part of *Chilperic's* dominions, when, of a sudden, they made
 peace, *Chilperic* consenting that *Brunehaut* should enjoy the
 places which, upon the marriage, he had bestowed upon
 the deceased queen her sister; and these were *Bordeaux*,
Limoges, *Cahors*, *Bigorre*, and the town of *Bearn*, now
 called *Lescar* ^l.

The Huns THIS war was scarce finished before the *Huns* made a
invade the new irruption into the dominions of the king of *Austrasia*,
dominions who immediately marched with an army to oppose them;
of the but he was not so successful as at the beginning of his
Franks on reign. The ancient historians say, that by magical arts the
the one side *Franks* were so terrified, that they abandoned their monarch;
and the but it will appear, in the sequel, that *Sigebert* ought rather
Lom- to be esteemed a magician than they, who, seeing that his
bards on troops would not act, called to his assistance those engines
the other. of witchcraft that affect alike the barbarous and the polite;
 that is, he distributed presents so plentifully, and, in a con-
 ference he had with a king of the *Abares*, touched his humour
 so happily, and made him so thoroughly sensible of his libe-
 rality, that they swore a perpetual friendship ^m. In their re-
 treat, the *Huns* found themselves embarrassed in a woody
 country, without provisions, where they might have been
 easily and totally cut off. Thither *Sigebert* directed his
 march with vast herds of live cattle, and all kinds of neces-
 saries; and took care that they should be plentifully sup-
 plied till they arrived in their own territories: an action,
 of which the *Huns* had so strong a sense, that they never
 disturbed his dominions after ⁿ. While he was thus em-
 ployed, the *Lombards*, who had lately got possession of *Italy*,

^k Gesta Regum Francorum, c. xxxi. ADON. Breviar. Chron.

^l GREG. TURON. lib. iv. cap. 28. ^m ADONIS Breviar. Chron.

GREG. Tur. lib. iv. c. 29. ⁿ ADON. Breviar. Chron.

made an irruption into *Burgundy*, where they did a great deal of mischief, till they were defeated by *Mummol*, who commanded king *Contran*'s forces. The *Lombards* had carried into *Italy* a body of twenty thousand *Saxons*, with their wives and children, who they promised should share their fortune; but, when this exceeded their own expectation, they became so enamoured of their new conquest as absolutely to refuse any settlement to the *Saxons*, who threw themselves into the country of *Burgundy*, where they were defeated by the same general with great loss. The next year, they entered the same country a little before harvest, and traversed it in as short a time as they were able, in hopes of gaining their own, and proceeding from thence into their old country, professing themselves subjects to the king of *Austrasia*; but this *Mummol* prevented, and obliged them to make satisfaction, in money and rich furniture, for the depredations they had committed. He then permitted them to return home, where they found the *Suevi* in possession, by whom they were in a great measure cut off and destroyed ^P.

A.D. 569.

AFTER the return of *Sigebert* to *Metz*, having some pretensions on the city of *Arles*, he caused it to be taken, in some measure by surprize, from his brother *Contran*, who quickly recovered it, and who soon after made a peace, and an alliance against his brother *Chilperic*, who, during this war, had made himself master of several places in *Sigebert*'s territories: for these he had paid very dear, if, about some quarrel as to ecclesiastical jurisdictions, *Contran* had not broke again with *Sigebert*, whose forces being entirely defeated by *Clouis*, the youngest son of *Chilperic*, he found himself under a necessity of bringing a numerous army of his *German* subjects into the field, and, putting himself at their head, marched to repair this loss. *Contran*, terrified at their appearance, joined his forces to those of *Chilperic*, in order to cover the *Seine*, which they did very effectually. *Sigebert* opened to himself a passage, by acquainting *Contran*, that, if he persisted in this measure, he would make an irruption into *Burgundy*; upon which *Contran* abandoning *Chilperic*, he was in a short time reduced so low, that he was obliged to send to his brother for peace; to which *Sigebert*, as he had formerly done, readily consented. But his army, who were for the most part *Pagani*, who had

and *Chilperic* often break with, and as often make peace with each other.
570.

574.

* GREG. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 28. PAUL. Diacon. lib. ii. iii.
^P GREG. Tur. lib. iv. cap. 36. [†] ADONIS Breviar. Chron.
[†] GREG. Tur. lib. iv. cap. 42.

already acquired both booty and slaves, and who had promised themselves the plunder of the best part of *France*, continued as soon as they knew the peace was signed ¹. *Sigebert*, who had a strong corps of *Franks*, put them immediately under arms, rode in person to the mutineers, seized some of the chiefs, and caused them to be stoned; on which the rest submitted, and, receiving good words and presents, returned again into their own country, to the great satisfaction of the *Franks*, who were subjects of the same prince ¹.

Sigebert is assassinated before Tournay, which changes the whole face of affairs. THE peace had not subsisted a year, when *Chilperic*, burning with impatience to renew the war, procured an interview with his brother *Gontran*, in which he laboured to persuade him, that, as his own situation was extremely precarious, and depended rather on the moderation of *Sigebert*, than any power he had to maintain himself; so the moment himself or his posterity should be subdued, the dominions of *Gontran* would be held by no better tenure. This alarmed him exceedingly, insomuch that he promised *Chilperic* to support him with all his forces. The king of *Soissons*, on this promise, made an irruption into *Champagne*, and laid all the country waste with fire and sword; *Sigebert* was so much provoked at this, that he recalled the forces he had dismissed, and dispatched, at the same time, two of his generals, with a body of his best troops, to meet prince *Theodobert*, son to *Chilperic*, who, with a numerous army, was marching into the neighbourhood of *Paris* ². In the course of his march, however, the best part of his forces deserted him, and, in this distress, he was attacked by *Sigebert's* generals, who cut him, and a few lords who remained firm to him, in pieces. This news threw *Chilperic* into great consternation, more especially when he saw his subjects took no share in his distress, but seemed rather pleased with what had happened, and no longer paid a ready obedience to his order. But what increased his perplexity, to a degree that was insupportable, was *Gontran's* acting as he did before, and making, as soon as the ill news came, a separate peace ³. To prevent worse consequences, he retired with his forces to *Tournay*, and, having fortified the place in the best manner he was able, determined to make his last efforts for its defence. *Sigebert*, with a potent and victorious army, entered *Paris* in triumph, and, after compelling the subjects of the kingdom of *Soissons* to

A.D. 575.

¹ ADON. Breviar. Chron.

ADON. Breviar. Chron.

² SIRMOND. Concil. Gal. tom. i.

³ GREG. Tur. l. iv. c. 44.

⁴ GREG. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 51.

swear allegiance to him, he continued his march to *Tournay*, which he invested, notwithstanding the warmest applications were made to him and *Brunehaut*, by prelates of the first rank, in order to pacify their resentments, and dispose them to offer *Chilperic* some terms of peace ^x. In this state of things, *Fredegonde* prevailed on two desperate villains to undertake the murder of *Sigibert*, which they effected with great ease; for, going into his camp, and pretending that they had matters of great importance to communicate to him, the king gave them audience, and, while he listened to a feigned tale they told him, they buried both their daggers in his bowels ^y. Two lords, who were at some distance, advancing to seize the assassins, one was killed, and the other grievously wounded; but the guards, taking the alarm, came to their relief, and, seeing what had happened, cut those execrable wretches to pieces on the spot ^z. Thus fell the most accomplished prince of the *Franks*, when about forty years of age, and in the fourteenth of his reign ^a. His army, thereupon, immediately raised the siege, and retired, as fast as possible, into *Austrasia*.

CHILPERIC, or rather *Fredegonde*, as soon as this dreadful blow was struck, sent to *Paris*, in order to seize the widow, the children, and the treasures of *Sigibert*. *Gondebaud*, one of the ablest generals of the deceased king, made his escape out of that city, and carried with him privately *Childebert*, the only son of his master, then about five years of age, whom he conveyed safely to *Metz*, where the nobility proclaimed him king of *Austrasia*. *Brunehaut*, with her two daughters *Ingurda* and *Clodowinda*, were confined, and an immense mass of treasure seized ^b. On the arrival of *Chilperic* at *Paris*, he ordered *Brunehaut* to remove to *Rouen*, where she had the city for her prison, but he took from her both her daughters. Some time after, he sent his son prince *Meroveus*, with a considerable body of forces, to *Tours*. His conduct was such as surprized the *Franks*, and alarmed his father; for, instead of executing his orders, he went to *Rouen*; and the bishop of that city, whose name was *Pretextatus*, was prevailed upon to solemnize a marriage, between him and *Brunehaut*, who was still a young woman, and most amazingly handsome ^c. *Chilperic*, upon receiving this

^x GREG. TUR. I. iv. c. 52.

^y Gesta Reg. Franc. c. xxxi.

^z GREG. TUR. I. iv. c. 51.

^a VENANTIUS FORTUNATUS Ep. Pictaviensis Epist. I. vii.

^b FREDEGARII Scholast. Epitome & Chronicon, c. 57.

^c VENANTIUS FORTUNATUS Pictaviensis Epist. lib. vi. carm. 6.

news, by the advice of his queen, marched thither immediately, and the prince and his consort, not being able to assemble any force to oppose him, took sanctuary; but, upon a solemn promise of safety, they quitted it, to throw themselves at the king's feet. *Chilperic* entertained them kindly, caused them, for several days, to eat with him at his own table, then carried his son with him to *Soissons*, and sent *Brunehaut* and her two daughters back to *Metz*, under pretence of complying with the demand which *Childebert*, by the advice of his council, had made, that his mother and sisters should be set at liberty, though in truth he was afraid to suffer her to remain in his dominions ^d.

The unfortunate prince Meroveus betrayed, taken, and murdered.
A.D. 577.

BRUNEHAUT was no sooner returned into the kingdom of *Austrasia*, than she began to meditate revenge against *Chilperic*, in appearance, whom she stiled, murderer of his brother, and her husband; but, in reality, against *Fredegonde*; for these two ambitious princesses were irreconcilable enemies to each other, and the whole nation of the *Franks* were, for many years, the victims of their passions. It is not easy to conceive how the lords of *Austrasia*, who were extremely jealous of *Brunehaut*, came to adopt this measure; but it is certain they did; and that *Godin*, one of their generals, at the head of a considerable army, marched directly to *Soissons*, in hopes of surprising *Fredegonde*; but she having timely notice, made her escape. *Godin*, however, caused the city to be invested, knowing that prince *Meroveus* was still there, and would not be displeased if it fell into his hands ^e. *Chilperic* marched with what troops he could assemble to save his capital, and, after engaging and beating the troops of *Austrasia*, compelled them to raise the siege. In order to prosecute this victory, he sent *Dulier*, one of his generals, with a great army, to invade the enemy's country: upon which, *Gontran*, taking his nephew under his protection, sent his general *Mummol* to oppose *Didier*, whom he routed, and killed him twenty-five thousand men ^f. *Chilperic*, who attributed all his misfortunes to *Meroveus*, caused that unhappy prince to be seized, and shaved, who, notwithstanding, made his escape, and took shelter in the church of *St. Martin* at *Tours*; from whence, with infinite difficulty, he found means to withdraw into the kingdom of *Austrasia*, where *Brunehaut* would have protected him, if it had been in her power; but the jealousy of the nobles was too strong, that he was obliged to

^d GREG. TUR. l. v. c. 3.

^e GREG. TUR. l. v. c. 14.

^f APON. Breviar. Chron.

withdraw, and to hide himself where he could ^g. *Chilperic* then turned his vengeance against *Pretextatus*, bishop of *Rouen*, whom he accused, in person, before an assembly of bishops, of treason, and other enormous crimes; but the prelate defended himself so well, that his brethren could not be prevailed upon, by intreaties, promises, or threatenings, to condemn him; notwithstanding which, *Chilperic* sent him into banishment ^h. *Meroveus* was not long after betrayed, and made prisoner; but, as they were conveying him to a fortress, where he was to remain in confinement, a person, who was near him, ran him through the body; of which he died upon the spot. It was given out, that he was slain by a servant of his at his own earnest request; but this was generally looked upon as an artifice to cover *Fredegonde* from the reproach of having caused her son-in-law to be assassinated.

As two of the sons of queen *Audouera* were now removed out of her way, *Fredegonde* looked upon the destruction of *Glovis* as the single step wanting to transfer the succession to her own sons; of whom she had three ^k. But while she meditated the means of effecting this, a very strange event happened, which had almost brought about her own. One *Leudaste*, who had been removed from the government of *Tours* for oppression, framed, in conjunction with *Riculphe*, an ecclesiastic, of that diocese, an accusation against *St. Gregory*, then bishop, and the great historian of this period, as if he should have thrown out a charge against the queen of committing adultery with the bishop of *Bourdeaux*: they likewise added, that he had entered into intrigues for betraying the city to the king of *Austrasia*. The king suspected the first part of this information, and paid no credit to the latter ^l. He left it, notwithstanding, to be examined by an assembly of bishops, who, upon *Gregory's* swearing, in the most solemn manner, that he never said any such thing, declared him innocent. *Leudaste* made his escape in time; but *Riculphe*, being in prison, was put to the torture, who confessed, that the true design was not against the bishop, but against the queen; on a supposition that *Chilperic* would have believed the charge, and have either put her to death, or banished her; and, in that case, *Leudaste* intended to have assassinated him, with the

^g ADON, Breviar. Chron.

^h ADON. Breviar. Chron.

ⁱ GREG. TUR. l. v. c. 49. ^k Gesta Regum Francorum.

^l & Chron. con.

three young princes, and to have set *Glovis* upon the throne; but it was not so much as pretended, that he was at all privy to this conspiracy ^m. *Chilperic* had, about this time, a dispute with *Varoc*, count of *Bretagne*, who refused to do him homage: he sent a body of troops against him, which were defeated, and consented afterwards to a treaty, which did him no great honour. This want of spirit, which was not very consistent with his character, might, very probably, be owing to the untoward situation of his affairs, which was such as might have perplexed a wiser prince. His brother and his nephew lived in strict union, and both had no great reason to be well pleased with him; his subjects had been so harraßed with taxes, through his own avarice, and that of *Fredegonde*, that they were miserably poor, and universally discontented. His son *Glovis* abhorred *Fredegonde*, and made no secret of his aversion. To increase his embarrassments, the seasons were, for a long time, so unfavourable, that famine and pestilence threatened at the same time ⁿ. The king and queen were both attacked with the epidemic disease that then raged, and both escaped; but their three sons *Clodobert*, *Samson*, and *Dagobert*, were attacked by this dangerous disease, which staggered even the fortitude of *Fredegonde*, whom all historians allow to have been, in her temper, one of the firmest women that ever lived. She had not only recourse to processions, public prayers, and all the exterior modes of religion then in fashion, but also prevailed upon the king to remit various taxes, and to throw the rolls of some heavy impositions into the fire: notwithstanding all which, these children died, upon which the queen resumed her former fortitude ^o.

Clovis the last of Chilperic's sons by queen Audouera is murdered, and afterwards his mother. THE sight of *Clovis*, who was now become his father's sole heir, was more uneasy to her than ever: the great court paid him by persons of all ranks excited her envy; and the threats, which, like a young man, he sometimes threw out, alarmed her so much, that she practised various methods to remove him, and even went so far as to send him into the most infected provinces, in hopes the prevailing malady might dispatch him. At length, her design became so apparent, that some of those obsequious wretches, who are the disgrace of courts, to make themselves agreeable to her who ruled all things, charged the prince with procuring the destruction of her children. To give some colour to this strange tale, they affirmed, that he was in love with a young

^m GREG. TUR. l. v. c. 50.

ⁿ FREDEGARII Chronicon.

^o GREG. TUR. l. v. c. 35.

person, whose mother was a witch, and that the three young princes were destroyed by her incantations: upon which incredible, as well as improbable story, the prince was confined, the young woman treated in the most shameful manner, and the old one, after being racked into a confession, condemned ^p. Prince *Clovis*, being entirely delivered up to her resentment, she sent him to the castle of *Noisy*, on the other side the *Marne*, where he was found, a few days after, extended in his apartment, with a wound in his breast, and a bloody dagger lying by him, to countenance a report, which was spread, as if he had fallen by his own hand. But reflecting afterwards, that *Chilperic* might possibly learn the truth, and, suspecting his own safety, recall his queen *Audouera*, who, though banished his court, was not entirely banished his heart, she, to compleat her design, and to fix that absolute dominion she had so long enjoyed, caused her likewise to be removed out of the world ^q. Thus *Chilperic* was left alone in the hands of an ambitious and cruel woman, who, by degrees, had dispatched his whole family.

THE young king of *Austrasia* seemed to be born to unusual good fortune; though raised to the throne while a child, though his mother was excluded from the government, and though, from the disputes incident to minority, his councils were in a great measure distracted; yet, instead of being in any distress or danger, he lived in splendor and security ^r. His uncle *Contran*, king of *Burgundy*, being without children, considered him as his heir, sent for him to his court, shewed him as his successor to his people, and caressed him in such a manner, that *Chilperic*, and even *Fredegonde*, were afraid to give him any disturbance, knowing that the *Austrasians* and the *Burgundians* united would be an over-match for all the forces they could raise; besides, *Chilperic* was again embarrassed with the count of *Bretagne* ^s. By degrees the scene changed; the bishop of *Rheims* gained the ascendancy in the council at *Metz*, and he had such a spleen at *Lupus*, duke of *Champagne*, as divided the whole kingdom into two factions, queen *Brunehaut* siding with the duke, who likewise stood well with the king of *Burgundy*. This led the bishop of *Rheims* to suggest to the regency of *Austrasia*, that *Chilperic* was the king's uncle as well as *Contran*; that he had likewise no children; and that, notwithstanding the professions of the former, he still kept the

^p *Gesta Regum Francorum.*

^q *GREG. TUR. l. v. c. 40.*

^r *MARIUS in Chron. GREG. TURON. l. v.*

^s *ADONIS*

Chronicon.

moiety of *Marseilles*, which he had seized upon the death of *Sigebert*. He advised, therefore, that *Childebert* should make a league with his uncle *Chilperic*, for the recovery of *Marseilles*; and, at the same time, recover *Poitiers*, which that monarch had seized, because it was convenient to him. *Chilperic* entered readily into the league, but avoided the restitution, by saying, that *Childebert* would quickly inherit that and the rest of his dominions^t. This war might have been fatal to *Gontran*, if *Childebert* could have acted with the same vigour as his uncle *Chilperic* did; but this the factions in his dominions prevented. However, *Chilperic* prosecuted the war with such spirit and success, that *Gontran* was glad to make peace upon hard terms; and the king of *Soissons* took care that one article of the peace should be the restitution of the moiety of *Marseilles* to his nephew^u. This policy gained him a great interest amongst the *Austrasians*, with whom he held a constant correspondence.

The death
of Chil-
peric, king
of Sois-
sons, by
the stroke
of some
assassins.

CHILPERIC, of all the kings of the *Franks*, was the most considered in foreign nations, and had the greatest respect paid him; which induced him to pique himself upon his magnificence, and in which, it is also probable, he gratified *Fredegonde*, whose address was so great, that she kept a fair correspondence with *Childebert*, or at least with those who had the direction of his affairs; insomuch that he negotiated a new league with *Chilperic* against *Gontran*, who had seized again the moiety of *Marseilles*, which he had so lately restored. But this war was not over fortunate. *Childebert* did not perform what might be expected from a good ally. *Gontran* gained some advantage over the troops of the king of *Soissons*, in the battle of *Melun*; upon which a peace was concluded, and *Childebert* was again put into possession of his share of *Marseilles*^w. By this time the queen-dowager *Brunebaut* had regained the ascendancy in *Childebert*'s cabinet, whom she engaged in a close alliance with his uncle, the king of *Burgundy*, with an intent to despoil *Chilperic* of the best part of his dominions. The king of *Soissons* judged it best to act upon the defensive; and therefore he retired to *Cambray* with his treasures, and ordered all his generals to put their forces into the most defensible places, upon a supposition that this formidable alliance would not subsist long^x. In this turn of his affairs, he had the consolation

A.D. 583.

• VENANTII FORTUNATI Episc. Pictaviensis Epist. lib. vii. c. 7, 8, 9. GREG. Tur. l. vi. c. 14. ^u FREDEGARII Schol. Epitome & Chronicon. ^w GREG. Tur. l. vi. c. 31. ^x FREDEGARII Schol. Epitome & Chron. AIMON.

of seeing a son born, and of marrying his daughter, the princess *Rigunthe*, to *Regared*, son to the king of the *Visigoths* ¹. But while he was occupied with these and other cares, a sudden and sad end was put to his days, at a juncture when his affairs were in the most critical situation. For, being at the castle of *Chelbes*, a country-house about four leagues from *Paris*, and taking there the diversion of hunting, he returned one evening, somewhat late, and as he was dismounting from his horse, and leaning his hand upon the shoulder of one of his domestics, he received two stabs with a long knife, one under the armpit, and the other in the belly : of which wounds he died upon the spot, and the assassins made their escape ; neither is it clear by what intrigues he was brought to this strange end ² (H).

A.D. 584.

FREDEGONDE

¹ ADON. Chron. ² GREG. TUR. l. vi. c. 46. ADONIS Chron. *Gesta Regum Francorum*, c. xxxv.

(H) In respect to the death of *Chilperic*, the fault of modern historians is to speak of the author of it with any kind of certainty, since it is out of all doubt that, at the time it happened, either it was not known, or those who knew it durst not publish it. The prelate of *Tours* gives us not the least hint of his own opinion (3). The author, nearest in point of time to him, is very explicit ; he says, that he was assassinated by the command of *Brunebaut*, and affirms, that the name of him who did it was *Faucon* (4). Yet this is not likely to be true, since, if it had been so, *Fredegonde* must have known it, and, as the reader will see in the history, she charged another person with it, which cost him his life. The truth is, this happened before *Brunebaut* began to practise those wicked actions, with which most historians charge

her. Another historian is as confident, that *Fredegonde* herself was the author of her husband's death (5). This must appear very improbable from the circumstances in which she was left ; but this improbability is taken away by the story he tells, provided that story be not thought a greater improbability. It amounts to this : the king, before he went to the chace, came accidentally into the queen's apartment, and found her washing her face ; upon which he touched her neck with the switch he had in his hand. The queen, without turning her head, cried, *Ah, Landry*, is it you ! is the king gone ? The tone, in which this was spoken, affected *Chilperic* so much, that, in turning out of the room, he muttered somewhat, which alarmed the queen to such a degree, that she sent immediately for her gallant, and represented their common danger

(3) Greg. Tur lib. vi. cap. 46. *Regum Francorum*. c. 12.

(4) *Fredeg. Chron.* c. 39.

() *Gesta*

Gontran **FREDEGONDE** found herself in a most distressed condition, deserted by most of those she had raised, and insulted by those she had formerly treated ill; her son, who was then no more than four months old, was then at *Tournay*, by *Chilperic's* appointment: those who were entrusted with his treasures carried them to *Childebert* at *Metz*; the better part of her own she had bestowed upon her daughter, and these

king of
Burgundy
takes Fre-
degonde
and her son
under his
protection.

danger in so strong a light, as produced the stabbing the king when he returned in the evening from hunting. The silence of *Gregory of Tours*, who was no friend to *Fredegonde*, is a great argument that nothing of this sort was reported at that time; and he is so absolutely silent, that the very name of *Landry* does not occur in his history. He deals, however, very roundly with the character of *Chilperic*, whom he styles the *Nero* and the *Herod* of his time, alluding to his tyranny in point of government, and the cruelties he exercised upon his own children (6). He resembled that prince in other respects, since he was setting himself up for a legislator in spiritual as well as civil affairs. He conceived of himself so highly, that he thought of putting an end, by an edict of his own penning, to the disputes between the *Orthodox* and the *Arians*; from which scheme he was with difficulty dissuaded (7). He invented four letters, which he directed should be added to the alphabet, and ordered, that where they would have occurred, in ancient books, the letters originally used should be neatly erased, and these of his

invention substituted; but these letters of his were so little relished, that, except what *Gregory of Tours* suggests, it is not at this day very well known what they were (8). He composed, likewise, two or three volumes upon different subjects; and, amongst these royal labours, there were a great many poems, which, we are assured, were very bad; and, in all probability, they must have been so, since they had the misfortune to be considered in that light, in an age when very bad performances were esteemed excellent (9). The bishop of *Poitiers*, indeed, has a better opinion of them, and has bestowed some commendations upon this prince, which, perhaps, would have had a better effect, if he had not been inclined to commend all princes (1). As to *Chilperic's* first queen, and his issue by her, all that we need to say of them has been interwoven in the history. With respect to the second, *Galswintha*, we may say the same thing, and as to the history of *Fredegonde*, besides what has been already mentioned, we shall be obliged to treat of her and her issue in another place (2).

(6) *Gregor. Turon. lib. v. cap. 46.* (7) *Greg. Turon. lib. v. cap. 44.* (8) *Venantius Fortunatus, lib. ix. of Fredeg. Chron. tom. i. p. 275.* (9) *Greg. Tur. lib. v. cap. 44. lib. vi. cap. 46.* (1) *Venant. lib. ix. cap. 1, 2, 3.* (2) See Note (1).

were seized by *Didier*, who commanded the escort that was to attend her into *Spain*; and her daughter, after some confinement at *Toulouse*, was brought back in a contemptuous manner to *Paris*; to which city she herself repaired, with the few persons of distinction who still followed her fortune ^a. The character of this princess was unshaken fortitude; and she displayed it, in the highest degree, upon this occasion. She addressed herself to *Gontran*, king of *Burgundy*, and, in the most humble manner, intreated him to become the protector of an unhappy widow, and of an orphan king, who was also his nephew. *Gontran* gave her good words, and marched directly to *Paris* with his army, and, upon mature deliberation, consented to what she desired; whether on the motive of duty, compassion, or policy, is very uncertain. On the other hand, *Childebert*, king of *Austria*, either from his own disposition, or through the persuasion of his mother *Brunehaut*, marched also to *Paris*; but *Gontran* caused the gates to be shut against him, and treated very cavalierly the ambassadors sent him by that prince ^b. They demanded, in their master's name, a share in the dominions of *Chilperic*, and that *Fredegonde* should be delivered up to be punished, for a multitude of crimes, which they laid to her charge. *Gontran* told them, that the dominions of *Chilperic* were to be inherited by his son, and that he yielded no credit to the stories they told him of his widow. He added, that, immediately on his brother's death, he had promised to defend them, and that he meant to keep his word. The ambassadors replied, that they were glad to find him a prince of such punctuality; and therefore hoped he would keep his treaties as well as his word. *Gontran*, exceedingly provoked at this behaviour, produced a treaty that *Childebert* had made with *Chilperic* to deprive him of his dominions, which had been put into his hands by *Fredegonde*; upbraiding them with their corruption and oppressions, charging them with betraying their master, and telling them, that whatever he had he would keep, even if it did of right belong to his nephew, as believing it to be safer in his hands than theirs. All things seemed now tending towards a rupture; but the heats on both sides were quickly qualified, by the breaking out of a scheme which had been long in agitation, and which tended to no less than setting up a new king ^c.

^a GREG. TUR. l. vii. c. 4, 5. *Gesta Regum Francorum*, ubi supra. ^b AIMON. ADON. Chron. ^c FREDEGARII Scholastici Epi to me & Chronicon. AIMON.

Gondebaut, as the compass of this period, and the most difficult to explain; but, at the same time, it is one of the most curious and instructive. The ministers, in the several courts of the kings of the *Franks*, found themselves less powerful, and less at their ease, than they could wish, and this chiefly through that balance, which either the piety or the policy of *Gontran* had established, and which *Chilperic*, before his death, began to comprehend and admire. The confederates, therefore, resolved to confer the title of king upon *Gondebaut*, who was generally esteemed to be the son of *Clotaire*; and they took their measures with more prudence, and with a greater measure of foresight, than has been common in such intrigues. These conspirators were duke *Didier* and duke *Mummol*, with duke *Boson*, who had been raised by the favour of king *Childbert*, and, in his turn, had been trusted by and betrayed every one of the monarchs who then reigned over the *Franks*. This man had been sent by the rest to *Constantinople*, to bring over this son of *Clotaire*, whom he cheated with the promise of a crown; and to whom, either out of friendship, or to embroil the affairs of the *Franks*, the Greek emperor *Tiberius* freely gave an immense treasure *. Soon after the return of *Boson*, *Gondebaut* followed him, as he had promised, and landed at *Marseilles*; the bishop of which city, whose name was *Theodorus*, received him very respectfully, and furnished him with the carriages requisite for him and his train to proceed to *Avignon*, of which *Mummol* was governor. He was no sooner gone, than *Boson* caused the bishop to be arrested, and charged him with treason, that he might seize the treasures of *Gondebaut*, which he divided with the governor of *Marseilles*; but, at the same time, hinted to the conspirators, under-hand, that he did this only to save appearances †. While he was intriguing with all the courts, without the least intention of being true to any, he was, with all his family, seized by the order of king *Gontran*, and conducted prisoner to *Paris*. There he accused *Mummol* of being the author of the whole contrivance, and offered to betray him into the king's hands, leaving his son an hostage for the execution of his promise. which, though he endeavoured with great address, yet he was not able to perform. In the mean time *Childebert*, by the advice of queen *Brunebaut*, and some of his council, in order to mortify the king of *Burgundy*, drew *Gondebaut*

* GREG. Tur. l. vii. c. 10. † FREDEGARII Scholastici
Epitome & Chronicon. ADON. Chron.

out of the retreat which he had chosen, upon the loss of his treasures, and put him at the head of a numerous army, commanded under him by duke *Mummol*, who, at *Brive-la-Gaillarde*, in the *Limousins*, proclaimed him king, and, in quality of his brother, the true heir of *Chilperic*, in the realm of *Soissons*; and, by the assistance of *Didier*, put him in the possession of a great part of the kingdom; by which his credit and his spirits were so raised, that he sent ambassadors to *Gontran*, to demand restitution of all the rest. These the king of *Burgundy*, without ceremony, seized as rebels, put them to the torture, and drew from them an entire discovery of the whole intrigue; a step bold and well timed, by which his dignity was secured ^f.

UPON these discoveries, *Gontran* invited his nephew *Childebert* to come, and make him a visit, assuring him, that he would find in him, not only the affection of an uncle, but the tenderness of a father, and the candour of a friend. ^{disabuses} *Childebert*, and ^{engages} *him to assist in suppressing* *Gondebaut*. Many of the great lords of *Austrasia* opposed this journey with great warmth, alleging, that the king ought not to hazard himself, in the power of a monarch, with whom he stood already upon ill terms; but *Childebert*, now in his fifteenth year, decided for himself, and went, with a small retinue, to the court of his uncle. *Gontran* began, very roundly, with the performance of his promise; shewed him publicly to the people as his heir; carried him to the review of his army; put the javelin, that was in his own hand, into his; desired them to consider *Childebert*, for the future, not as his nephew, but as his son; and restored to him freely all the places to which he had any claim ^g. He next acquainted him, that he was surrounded by traitors; that some of the principal persons in his cabinet were in the interests of *Gondebaut*; and, particularly, advised him to beware of the queen-dowager *Brunchaut*, and the bishop of *Rheims*. The two kings were speedily and sincerely reconciled; and this was no sooner known than *Didier* abandoned the party of *Gondebaut*, and made his peace with the king of *Burgundy*; the captains, and most of the troops, that were subjects to the king of *Austrasia*, took the same method. So that *Gondebaut*, with *Mummol*, and those who still remained firm, made choice of the fortress of *Comminge*, very strong by situation, and well fortified for those times, in which they determined to stand a siege ^h. It was

Gontran
disabuses
Childebert, and
engages
him to assist in suppressing
Gondebaut.

A.D. 585.

^f GREG. Tur. lib. vii. cap. 14. ^g FREDEGARII Scholastici Epitome & Chronicon. . ADON. Chron. ^h Gesta Regum Francorum.

not long before, *Leudegifile*, who commanded the forces of *Gontran*, arrived before the place, invested it, and carried on the siege with all the activity and vigour that the art of war, as it then stood, would allow; but, however, with no great success: for the besieged, being well supplied with all things, and the soldiers looking upon their case to be desperate, neglected nothing that might contribute to a good defence, and shewed so much skill and resolution, that *Leudegifile* began to doubt of the success of his undertaking. There were, however, those about him, who suggested, that other methods might be found, more sure and more speedy than those he had hitherto practised. Having once taken the resolution of following their advice, he left the management of these schemes entirely to those who contrived them, and who were grown expert in the management of such intricate contrivances, by an almost perpetual practice of such intrigues, without any restraint from principle or conscience.

Gondebaut is betrayed by Mummol, who is afterwards put to death, by the orders of Gontran. *Boson* was the principal author of these new measures, which consisted in negotiating with *Mummol*, to seize the unfortunate *Gondebaut*, and to deliver him up. *Mummol* knew how obnoxious he was to his old master *Gontran*, and would not, therefore, listen to any thing, till *Leudegifile* swore, in the most solemn manner, that he would employ his most zealous endeavours to procure an indemnity for this lord. When he was once brought over, he quickly seduced the other chiefs, men of abandoned characters, who had embarked in this business solely with a view to profit, and who were, therefore, ready to abandon it, when they perceived this was to be found on the other side. As soon as they had made their own terms, they cut the matter very short with their master; they told him, that it was in vain to stay, till the garrison should be reduced to extremity; that, therefore, it would be best to surrender in time; and that *Gontran* would not probably imbrue his hands in the blood of his brother. Though much surprized at this address, *Gondebaut* endeavoured to make them sensible of the weakness of this expedient; to which they replied, that arguments came too late, and that their measures were taken. They used him very rudely, hurried him to the gates, and there delivered him to *Ollon*, count of *Berry*, and duke *Boson*. As they rode with him to the camp, the count, in

¹ FREDEGARII Scholastici Epitome & Chron. AIMOINI Monachi irelyti Canobii. S. GERMANI de gestis Francorum.
* GREG. Tur. lib. vii. c. 38.

crossing a hollow way, jostled him from his horse. As soon as he recovered his feet, he endeavoured to make his escape back to the city; but *Esron* threw a great stone at his head, which beat him to the earth, and broke his skull. *Mummol* and his confederates, having first secured the treasures of this unfortunate phantom of royalty, next betrayed their army, by letting in the troops of *Leudegisile* in the night, who slaughtered the best part of them, and plundered the place¹. For these glorious exploits, *Mummol* and his associates were exceedingly caressed, and splendidly feasted; but, in the mean time, *Leudegisile* had sent to *Gontran* for instructions, and no sooner received his answer, "That with men who kept no faith, no faith was to be kept," than he took the shortest method of rewarding them according to their deserts. A mutiny was excited amongst *Mummol*'s own guards, who killed him after a desperate resistance; almost all the rest of these traitors were dispatched by the general's command: and thus an end was put to a revolt, that might have been attended with great danger, since both *Brunehaut* and *Fredegonde* had their eyes upon *Gondebaut*; the former for herself, and the latter for her daughter *Rigunthe*; so that if *Mummol* had listened to his remonstrances, it is not impossible his affairs might have changed their aspect once again^m.

GONTRAN, who now began to consider himself as the *Gontran* monarch of the *Franks*, and believed himself secure on the *restrains* side of his nephew *Childebert*, resolved to put the affairs of *Frede-* the kingdom of *Soissons* into some order; and, with this *gonde*, view, appointed a council of regency to assist *Fredegonde* in *and in-* the administration of affairs; a circumstance of attention *quires into* which she would willingly have spared himⁿ. He took another step, which, it is likely, was as unwelcome. He desired to know, if she could give him no light as to the death of her husband, which he was inclined to punish, as *the murder of* the most effectual means of securing herself. The queen, *and after* *the body of* *Clovis* not in the least disconcerted, said, that, at the time of his death, she had some suspicions of his chamberlain *Berulfe*; and that she apprehended they were but too just, as he had withdrawn himself since, and secreted her husband's treasures. This man had been formerly a favourite of the queen's; but, upon the death of her husband, believing that she was absolutely undone, had abandoned her party,

¹ *Gesta Regum Francorum. FREDEGARII Scholast. Epitome & Chronicon.* ^m *GRÆG. Tur. lib. vii. c. 39.* ⁿ *Gesta Regum Francorum.*

which she took this method of revenging. *Berulfe* immediately took shelter at the tomb of St. *Martin* of *Tours*; and, in process of time, being persuaded to leave that sanctuary, was murdered, and all his estate confiscated; but those who tell us this do not inform us, that the world was at all better satisfied as to the manner of his master's death^o. *Fredegonde*, growing doubtful of her own and of her son's situation, devised what she thought an effectual method of embarrassing *Gontran*, with his nephew *Childebert*, and his mother *Brunehaut*, whom she suspected of having advised those troublesome enquiries, which had^c been lately made. With this view, she intreated the king of *Burgundy* would become godfather to his nephew, which was, in those days, regarded as a closer tie than that of blood; to which *Gontran* yielded, and came, for that purpose, to *Paris*. *Fredegonde*, however, having carried her point, with respect to the court of *Metz*, put off the ceremony, being afraid to trust her son in the power of his uncle, for fear he should be taken from her^p. At this *Gontran* was so much provoked, that he declared publicly he would give himself no farther trouble about a child, which he had good reason to doubt was none of his brother's, but the bastard of some of his courtiers. By this declaration *Fredegonde* was so much alarmed, that she publicly made oath of the legitimacy of her son, and brought three bishops, and three hundred of the nobility, who swore to the belief of what she had sworn^q. This did not wholly deliver the queen from her inquietudes, because *Gontran* shewed a great desire to pay the last funeral honours to his nephews *Meroveus* and *Clovis*, who were considered as the victims of her ambition, and the body of the latter not to be found; at length, a poor fisherman, upon the promise of the king's protection, acquainted him, that the body of prince *Clovis*, having been interred in the chapel of a certain convent, was taken up again, by *Fredegonde*'s orders, and thrown into the river *Marne*, where being intangled in his nets, and known by his long hair, he buried it in a private place known only to himself. The king, under pretence of hunting, went to the very spot; and, being convinced that the body was that of his nephew, caused it to be transported to *Paris*, and, with that of his brother *Meroveus*, to be interred with great solemnity^r.

^o GREG. TUR. l. vii.

^q FREDEGARII Chron.

^p Gesta Regum Francorum.

^r GREG. TUR. l. viii. c. 10.

A WAR broke out, about this time, with the *Visigoths*, *Contran* which continued, with great obstinacy, for several years; the true cause of which seems to be very obscure. • The ancient historians, both of *France* and *Spain*, ascribe it to the ill usage of the princess *Ingonde*, the daughter of *Brunehaut* and the sister of *Childebert*; and there is no doubt that this was the pretence; but it is very extraordinary, that *Contran* should pursue this war with such inflexible obstinacy, in spite of repeated defeats, in spite of the repeated assurances, that king *Reccared* gave of his having no concern in the ill treatment of that princess, and in spite of the danger to which he thought his own life exposed, by the practices of *Fredegonde*, who immediately entered into a secret correspondence with the *Visigoths*, and was suspected of undertaking various black designs in their favour; the proofs of which, however, are not very clear *. It is most likely, that *Contran* was desirous of expelling the *Visigoths* out of *France* entirely; and possibly might think it his interest to keep up a war, on that side, to find employment for *Didier*, *Boson*, and some other malignant spirits, who might have cut out new troubles for him in time of peace. Whatever the cause was, he remained inflexible in maintaining this war, even after his nephew *Childebert*, who, strictly speaking, was the principal in it, had, by the advice of his mother, who was always a *Spaniard* in her heart, concluded a separate peace †.

THE great object of the king of *Burgundy's* politics was to keep the balance even, and to retain both *Brunehaut* and *Fredegonde* in a strict state of dependance; and this he found it impossible to do, without seeming to incline sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other. *Brunehaut* was once so much in his favour, that he negotiated with her personally, and concluded a long treaty, which is still extant, and bears the name of the treaty of *Andlau*; by which he regulated many points of importance, in regard to the intricate claims that arose as to the succession of his brothers. At this time he was jealous, or at least appeared to be very jealous, of *Fredegonde*, and of her practices against his life; but that artful princess soon turned the tables, and found means to give him as strong or stronger suspicions of *Brunehaut*, insinuating, that she had not only contracted her daughter to the king of *Spain*, but was likewise negotiating a match for herself at *Constantinople* with the eldest son of *Gondebaut*, whose pretensions she meant to revive; but when this came

* FREDEG. Chron.

† AIMON. GREG. Tur. l. viii. c. 35.

* FREDEG. Chron. GREG. Tur. l. ix. c. 20.

to be known to the court of *Metz*, the queen, who was now in full possession of the regency, and governed her son as if he had been still in his infancy, purged herself in such a manner as gave full satisfaction to the king of *Burgundy* ^w. We should account these but light and trivial matters, unworthy of being preserved in history, if we did not reflect, that *Sigebert* and *Chilberic* had been actually dispatched by assassins; so that *Contran* was not alarmed without cause, and such was the misery and malignity of these times, that when the ambassadors of *Childebert* were once sent to expostulate with *Contran*, who, as we have observed before, treated them but roughly, they, amongst other things, told him, that he ought to soften his language, and give their master satisfaction, since the poniards were not yet lost that had been exercised in correcting his brethren: ^x. These are very strange and very disagreeable facts; but they are such as characterise this age, and give us proper ideas of their policy and manners; of which we may collect some farther notions from transactions of greater importance.

Childebert, king of Austrasia, avails himself of the disputes between the Greeks and the Lombards.

THE emperor *Maurice*, being desirous of expelling the Lombards out of *Italy*, in the same manner that his predecessor *Justinian* had depressed the *Ostrogoths*, sought to make an alliance, for that purpose, with the *Franks*. *Contran* being still embarrassed in his war with *Spain*, the emperor concluded a subsidiary treaty with *Childebert*, who promised his assistance, in consideration of a large sum of money; and, accordingly sent, at different times, several armies into *Italy*, but none with any great success; for some were destroyed by sickness, other beaten by the *Lombards*, with whom truces were sometimes concluded; in which *Childebert*, likewise, found his advantage, and of which the emperor bitterly complained, as contrary to those alliances which had cost him so dear ^y. *Childebert*, as the *French* historians say, being conscious that he did not complain without cause, and that he had sold peace on one side as dear as he had done war on the other, did not aggravate the dispute by frivolous apologies, but remained silent, till such time as the necessities of the *Greeks* obliged them to forget past disappointments, and make fresh offers for future assistance. At length, under the mediation of *Contran*, he concluded a peace with the *Lombards*; by which he secured an annual subsidy, which is the more extraordinary, since it is, on all hands, allowed, that, notwithstanding several numerous armies of

^w AIMON. ^x GREG. TURON. FREDEG. CHRON. AIMON.

^y Gesta Regum Francorum.

Franks entered Italy, and one particularly, commanded by twenty general officers, yet they had never been successful. The situation of their country giving them an easy access, and their affording them such critical diversions, when engaged with other enemies, compelled the Lombards to purchase quiet upon any terms, which, having the presence of his uncle's mediation, *Childebert* sold them upon high terms, notwithstanding his contrary engagements with the emperor, and though *Brunchaut* opposed this treaty, because her grandson *Athanasilde* was protected, and subsisted in a manner suitable to his birth at *Constantinople*; for which she professed herself highly obliged, and gave, upon all occasions, very warm testimonies of her gratitude². It was this correspondence with the court of *Constantinople* that afforded *Fredegonde* an opportunity of instilling jealousies into *Gontran*, that the queen-dowager of *Austrasia* held a constant intercourse with the family of *Gondebaut*, which, though it might be false, was, however, far from being improbable.

In the midst of these foreign wars, the court of *Metz* was distracted by factions, and the king's person more than once in danger from conspiracies. He was still a young man without experience; and all who served him, in any considerable station, thought they had a right to govern him; to which if he did not submit, they considered it as an injury, and had recourse to methods, which, if they were not in all ages too common to be denied, reason would teach us to think incredible. Duke *Raucinde*, who was the most powerful of the *Austrasian* nobility, was at the head of this plot, and was directed and supported by *Fredegonde*. He had gained two other great men, duke *Ursion* and duke *Berthefrede*: their scheme was to poison king *Childebert*, and, when this was once done, to proclaim his eldest son *Theodobert*, and to govern in his name. His younger son *Thierry*, scarce out of his cradle, was to be put under the care of the other two conspirators, who, with the assistance of *Fredegonde*, were to depose *Gontran*, and put their pupil upon the throne of *Burgundy*². This black design was brought almost to the very point of execution; when *Gontran*, who had his spies about the person of *Fredegonde*, discovered it; and that the mother and consort of *Childebert* were to be banished and imprisoned. He gave upon this a hint to *Childebert* to find some pretence for meeting him; and, at their

² FREDEGARII Schol. Epitome & Chron. l. ix. c. 9.

² GREG. Tur.

interview, gave him a full account of the matter. At his return, *Childebert* sent for *Raucinde*, who, by this time, had improved the original plan of his detestable project; and by giving out amongst his friends that he was himself the son of *Clotaire*, had paved his way to the throne. When the king sent for him, therefore, confiding in his own great power, and the multitude of his friends, he went boldly to court, and, in a long audience, discovered no signs of apprehension or confusion. But as he came out of the king's apartment, the gates of the palace were shut, and by some persons, posted properly for the purpose, he was cut to pieces ^b. In the mean time, some of the king's servants were sent to his house, where they seized his papers, in which were the clearest testimonies of his guilt, and his wealth, which was superior to the contents of the royal treasury. The dukes *Urson* and *Berthefrede*, no sooner saw his fate, than they took up arms, and endeavoured to retire out of *Childebert's* dominions; but he sent *Godegisile*, the son of duke *Lupus*, with an army to suppress them, which, after an obstinate resistance, he performed, and both the conspirators were killed ^c.

Another
conspiracy
in the same
court,
which
proves fa-
tal to the
bishop of
Rheims.

OUT of the ashes of this, there quickly sprang up another contrivance, in which were embarked the constable *Su- negisile*, the referendary (or, as we now stile him, chancellor), *Gallus*, and *Septimina* who was governess to the young princes: Their aim was to persuade *Childebert* to send his mother into exile, to repudiate his wife, and to govern the kingdom by their advice; and, if in this they could not prevail, *Septimina* undertook to poison him. The queen, tho' she is represented as a woman of no parts, discovered this plot, by comparing certain expressions that *Septimina* let fall ^d. The king caused the constable to be put to the torture, when he accused *Giles*, bishop of *Rheims*, as being the original author of both plots. This prelate, being seized, was brought before an assembly of bishops, where it was proved, that he had forged grants, and corresponded with *Chilperic*, that he had represented queen *Brunebaut* in his letter in the blackest light, and, in one of his letters, said plainly, that, without cutting the root, there was no hopes of seeing the branch wither; and that, pretending to have full powers from *Childebert*, he had concluded in his name, but without his knowledge, a treaty with *Chilperic* for dethroning *Gentran*. The bishops were unwilling to condemn, and yet

^b FREDEG. Chron.
Chron.

^c GREG. Tur. l. ix.

^d FREDEG.

were unable to acquit him; they desired he might have some days given him to make his defence. At the end of that time, the bishop told them plainly, that he had nothing to say, so much as an excuse; that he had betrayed the king, abused his authority, excited all the confusion that had for many years happened amongst the *Franks*; and had no merit to plead, but freely confessing himself the author of all these mischiefs. Upon this he was degraded, and left to the king's mercy, who banished him to *Straßburgh* and allowed him a handsome maintenance. As these disgraces were made by the other criminals, he would not put them to death, but deprived them of their employments, and sent them into banishment.

FREDEGONDE, whose maxim it was to keep *Contran* continually employed, excited the count of *Bretagne* to seize *Rennes* and *Nantes*, though these towns really belonged to her son, and *Contran* entered into the war only as his guardian. She assisted the count therein, underhand, in such a manner that much blood was spilt; but at length this count, whose name was *Warroc*, was constrained to submit, and to acknowledge himself feudatory to the son of *Chilperic*. While she was acting this double part, with respect to the *Bretons* and the king of *Burgundy*, she was, likewise, managing a new design against the king of *Austrasia*, which failed; and if the officer, intrusted with the command of *Childebert's* troops, had done his duty, she had paid very dearly for all her dark intrigues. For, being at *Tournay*, she caused three of the principal persons in the city to be murdered at a feast: upon which the people rose in a tumultuous manner, and sent to *Childebert* for assistance, which if it had come in time she had been taken prisoner. This was not her only escape; for her son falling sick, she saw herself in extreme peril: on which she had recourse, as her custom was, to acts of devotion; and, amongst the rest, prevailed upon the count *de Bretagne* to release the *Franks* that were prisoners in her dominions, which was the clearest proof that could be of her interest and correspondence with him. The child, however, recovered, and she went to *Paris* to visit him. She renewed her solicitations from thence to *Contran*, who kept his court at *Chalons*, beseeching him to perform the promise he had made her six years before, of being sponsor at her son's baptism; to which, at

* GREG. TUR. l. ix. c. 37.

TUR. l. ix. c. 38.

FREDEG. Chron.

† FREDEG. Chron. GREG.

* AIMON. GREG. TURON. l. x. c. 27.

the request of the bishops, to whom he could refuse nothing, the good old king assented^a. This alarmed the court of *Austrasia*, and *Childebert* immediately dispatched ambassadors to put his uncle in mind of the engagements subsisting between them^b. *Gontran* reminded them of many things done by his nephew, which were not very consistent with those engagements, particularly the surprizing of *Soissons*; which he had just reason to look upon as an invasion of that dignity, which, in virtue of his birth, and of his years, he was entitled to among the *Franks*; but added, at the same time, that his nephew had nothing to fear; that he meant to perform his engagements strictly; that the young prince was the son of his brother; and that he could not refuse to do for him what might be expected by any lord of his household. He assisted, therefore, at the ceremony, and gave the young prince the name of *Clotaire*, adding, that he wished him the wisdom, courage, and good fortune of his grandfather, whose name he bore. He afterwards entertained him at his own table, and, having made the child rich presents, and received some from him, returned to *Chalons*. This is the last event recorded by *Gregory of Tours*, the father of the *French* history, and, perhaps, this is the reason that we know nothing of what was done in the two last years of *Gontran's* life, who, some would have us believe, became a monk; but for this there is no sufficient authority. He deceased at *Chalons*, on the twenty-eighth of *March*, in the year five hundred ninety-three, when he had reigned thirty-two, and lived upwards of three-score years^c.

After a trouble-
some reign
Childebert, king
of *Austrasia*, dies a
young
man.

CHILDEBERT, without any opposition, succeeded, pursuant to the testament of *Gontran*, to his dominions, which comprehended all that was then stiled *Burgundy*, together with the kingdom of *Orleans*, the best part of that of *Paris*, and their dependencies; but *Soissons* and some other places fell again under the dominion of *Clotaire*, to whose territories they of right belonged. How this happened, the *French* history no where informs us; but it is most likely that *Fredegonde*, in virtue of some intelligence she had in those places, surprized them, since we find that *Childebert* immediately raised an army, and entered into a war to recover them^k. The truth seems to be, that the affairs of the *Franks* were now entirely directed by these two queens, who mortally hated each other, and who willingly sacrificed the subjects of

^a GREG. TUR. l. x. c. 28.
FRED. Chron.

^b *Gesta Regum Francorum*.
^c *Gesta Regum Francorum*, c. 36.

their respective sons, and even those sons, to the gratification of their passions. The forces of *Childebert* were very numerous, commanded by two generals, *Gondebaud* and *Vintrion*, whom he directed first to recover *Soissons*, and then to pursue *Fredegonde* wherever she retired; so as to deliver her into his hands alive or dead. *Fredegonde* little regarded this threat, though her forces were much inferior to the king of *Austrasia*'s; instead, therefore, of shutting herself in any fortress, she marched directly towards the enemy, and surprized them near *Frouci*, on the little river *Scièvre*; at no great distance from *Soissons*. At the beginning of the action, she passed between the ranks with her son, intreated the soldiers to defend their prince, and assured them of his and her gratitude¹. The fact is in itself very extraordinary; but the historian, who thought to heighten it, by assuring us, that *Clotaire* was then at his mother's breast^m, has only destroyed his own credit, since the young king was then in the tenth year of his age. After a long and bloody engagement, the *Austrasians* were defeated, with the loss of thirty thousand men. We are not told what loss the army of *Fredegonde* sustained; but it must have been, in all likelihood, very great; since we find she lay quiet for two years, depending on the diversions she excited by the *Bretons* on one side, and the *Varnes*, a barbarous nation, who possessed the country about *Leyden*, on the other. Against the count of *Bretagne* *Childebert* sent the flower of his forces, to whom the count gave battle; in which both parties behaved with equal bravery, and with equal success; by which the two armies were so much weakened, that the war was for the present, suspended. *Childebert* was more fortunate against the *Varnes*, whom he not only reduced, but extirpated; so that, from this time, they ceased to be a nation, or at least we meet with nothing more of them in history. In a short space after this victory, *Childebert* breathed his last, in the twenty-sixth year of his age, and the twentieth of his reignⁿ. His queen did not survive him long; and as this threw the government entirely into the hands of *Brunchant*, some have charged her with poisoning them both; but as this is destitute of evidence on one side, so it is highly improbable on the other.

A.D. 596.

THEODOBERT was declared king of *Austrasia*, being *Frede-* then in the eleventh year of his age, and *Thierri*, who was *gonde as-* in his tenth, was sent to reside at *Orleans*, with the title of *ter estab-* *blishing*

¹ FREDEG. Chron. c. 14. PAUL. Diacon. l. iv. c. 4. ^m FREDEG. Chron. c. 26.

her son king of *Burgundy*, having the bishop of *Autun* for his governor, and *Garnier* for the mayor of his palace. *Brune-haut* resided with her eldest grandson at *Metz*; notwithstanding which, she governed the kingdom of *Burgundy*, as appears by letters, full of compliments, written to her by pope *Gregory the Great*, with the most absolute power ⁿ.

A.D. 597. *Fredegonde* would not suffer so remarkable an event, as the death of *Childebert*, to pass, without taking some advantage: having, by her arts, raised some disturbances on the side of *Italy*, and engaged the *Abares* to threaten *Austrasia* with an invasion, she, with the best body of troops she was able to bring into the field, made herself mistress of *Paris*, and some other places of consequence on the *Seine*. *Brune-haut*, though she loved not war, could not be a tame spectator of such an action as this; and therefore directed the best part of the forces in *Austrasia* to begin their march for *Paris*. It was not the custom of *Fredegonde* to give her enemies time to find her; she marched without delay to meet the troops of her rival, and gave them a total defeat. What the consequences might have been of this second victory, gained by a princess of so active and so enterprising a spirit, we can only conjecture; but, in all probability, she would have pushed her good fortune, at the expence of *Brune-haut* at least, if not of her grand-children, if she had not been prevented by death, when she had governed her husband and her son for near thirty years ^o (I).

By

ⁿ PAUL. Diacon. l. iv. c. 12.
Gesta Regum Francorum.

^o FREDG. Chron. c. 27.

(I) We have already spoken of the character of *Fredegonde*, and, in the course of the history, of the many execrable actions of which she was guilty, at least with which she was charged. There remain, however, some things necessary to be said here. That she was a woman of strong passions, and capable, under their influence, of doing the wickedest actions, is certain, if there be any faith due to history. Amongst these, there is none that can shew her

in so strong a light as the case of *Pretextatus* bishop of *Rouen*. It has been mentioned in the text, that he married *Meroveus* to *Brune-haut*, and that for this he was banished by *Chilperic*, after whose death he was restored by *Gontran* (3). This prelate, as he officiated at the altar on the Lord's Day, was stabbed, without any of his clergy interposing to stop the assassin. As soon as he came home, *Fredegonde* went to make him a visit, accompanied by

(3) *Hadriani Valesii gesta Francorum*,

several

By the death of her rival, *Brunebaut* seemed to have attained, not only to the height of her hopes, but of her wishes. She was undoubtedly a princess endowed with many great qualities, but these were diminished by a variety of foibles; and, as far as we can judge from history, tho' in beauty, behaviour, and conversation, she might exceed *Fredegonde*, yet in point of penetration, solidity of judgment, and steadiness in action, she was much inferior to her. Her conduct in *Austrasia*, and in the direction of *Burgundy*;

several lords, and told him, how glad she should be to see the criminal apprehended. "The criminal, said the bishop, is no other than the person who has filled the whole kingdom with crimes, who has murdered kings, and shed rivers of innocent blood." The queen pretended not to understand him, but offered her physicians; which so provoked the dying bishop, that he told her, "You are yourself the person who caused me to be assassinated, who have been practised in the blackest crimes, who in this world will be universally cursed, and severely punished in the next." One of the lords who accompanied her took the liberty of saying, that such enormous crimes ought to be enquired into with all the strictness possible, and punished in the most exemplary manner. This lord did not live to return home; for the queen inviting him to take a collation with her, he was poisoned in the first morsel he eat, and died in an hour (4). *Gontran* sent commissioners to enquire into the bishop's murder; but she had the address to gain the nobility to

declare against this as the effects of *Gontran's* ambition, and as an intrusion on the rights of their king (5). She caused a slave, however, to be apprehended, who actually killed the bishop, and, after chastising him severely, delivered him up to the nephew of that prelate, who caused him to be put to the torture: on which he confessed, that *Fredegonde* gave him an hundred shillings, that *Melantius* gave him fifty, and the archdeacon fifty more. This *Melantius* had intruded himself into the bishopric of *Rouen*, when *Pretexatus* was banished; and this very man, notwithstanding this charge, *Fredegonde* made bishop again in his room (6). By the way, it will not be amiss to mention, that the bishop of *Baieux*, as soon as he was informed of the fact, caused all the churches in *Rouen* to be shut up, and forbid the celebration of divine service, till such time as this fact should be enquired into, which some think is the first instance of an interdict (7). Another singular instance of her passion and appetite to vengeance occurs in her conduct towards her daughter

(4) *Greg. Tar. l. viii. c. 31.*
 (6) *Greg. Magn. Epist. l. ix. ep. 51.*

(5) *Hadriani Valesii Gesta Francorum.*
 (7) *Hist. de Fr. par le P. G. Daniel.*

Burgundy, for some time, was truly laudable; she quieted the *Abares* by presents; she renewed the treaty of peace with the *Lombards*; and seemed to have nothing so much at heart as preserving their dominions in perfect peace, till her grand-children were of age to govern themselves ^P. This may be called the right side of her administration; but there was also a wrong: she governed absolutely, raised and disgraced whom she pleased, and, instead of cultivating the genius of *Theodobert*, if he had any, took pains to amuse him, and none at all to instruct him. She pushed this so far as to suffer him to marry a slave of his father's, who was young and handsome, but without parts or education. In process of time, as will be always the case, where virtue and honour are not the basis of policy, her arts proved fatal to herself. The consort of *Theodobert* had a great deal of affability and good nature, by which she gained the heart entirely of the young king, and rendered herself a fit instrument for the ambitious nobility; who told her, she had great talents for government, and, as may be easily believed, she was quickly inclined to take their words for it. By their persuasion, she undermined the

^P FREDEG. Chron. cap. 19.

ter the princess *Rigunthe*, who, after her return to *Paris*, did not lead the life of a vestal; for which being reproved by *Fredegonde*, she reproached her with the meanness of her birth. The mother pretending to recollect herself, told her, it was against both their interests to differ, and to expose each other; that tho' she had formerly given her immense wealth, most of which was lost, yet she had still something to bestow; and carrying her into her cabinet, opened a large coffer, out of which she took many rich things. At length, as if she had been weary, she bid *Rigunthe* go and take what she pleased. *Fredegonde*, seeing her head in the trunk, pulled the

lid of it upon her, and had broke her neck, if, upon her struggles, some of her attendance had not come in, and rescued the princess (8). With all her vices, and with all her crimes, she was a woman of a surprizing and superior genius, bold without being rash, and shewed great firmness without obstinacy (9). At the time of her demise she was upwards of fifty; her corpse was interred in the church then styled *St. Vincent*, now *St. Germain des Prez*, where her tomb is still preserved, with her figure in *Mosaic*, as the inscription says; but this is not altogether certain, since the inscription is much more modern than the picture (1).

(8) *Greg. Tur. l. ix. c. 34.*
Louis le Grand.

(1) *P. Daniel.*

(9) *Nouvelle Histoire de France, par M.*

queen-dowager in *Theodobert's* opinion, and upon some commo-
 A.D. 599.
 tions, occasioned by the death of duke *Vintrion*, with which
Brunchaut was charged, she engaged the king to consent to
 her being banished. Upon which she withdrew into the
 dominions of *Thierri*, king of *Burgundy*, by whom she was
 very kindly received ¹.

It might have been expected, that her first care would *She pre-*
 have been to have inspired her grandson, and his ministers, *vails with*
 who were firmly attached to her, with a warm sense of the *Thierri*,
 indignity that had been offered her; but, from whatever *king of*
 motive it arose, she pursued a quite contrary conduct. She *Burgun-*
 palliated, in the best manner she was able, what had hap- *dy, to*
 pened at *Metz*, and, instead of exciting jealousies or mis- *make war*
 understandings between the brothers, she engaged *Thierri* *on Clo-*
 to attempt the recovery of *Paris*, and other places on the *taire, who*
Seine, which had been torn from their family, on the death *is also at-*
 of their father; and procured from *Reccared*, king of the *tacked by*
Visigoths, a strong body of auxiliaries. This measure was *Theodo-*
 so acceptable to *Theodobert*, that he likewise raised a nume- *bert.*
 rous army, and, having joined the king of *Burgundy*, they
 marched directly into the territories of *Clotaire*. That
 monarch, remembering his former victories, moved with his
 forces to give them battle ². Their armies engaged near
 the village of *Dorneille*, in the *Senonais*; and perhaps hi-
 600.
 story has scarce recorded an instance of such young cap-
 tains; for the age of the three kings, taken together, did
 not exceed forty. The dispute was obstinate and bloody,
 but the two brothers were victors in the end, the army of
Clotaire being almost entirely cut to pieces. It was with
 some difficulty that he retired, with the broken remains of
 his forces, to *Mehun*, and from thence to *Paris*. He halted
 there but for a very short time; and, finding himself vigo-
 rously pursued, chose for his retreat the forest of *Bretagne*,
 where his grandfather *Clotaire* the first had withdrawn from
 the fury of his two brothers. His forces were so weak and
 so fatigued, that he foresaw, if he was attacked in his re-
 trenchments, they must be defeated and destroyed ³. He
 sent, therefore, to his cousins to demand peace; and though
 the terms they prescribed took from him the best part of his
 dominions, and left him a very precarious tenure in the rest,
 yet he found it necessary to submit, and remained, for some
 time, a quiet spectator of their endeavours to extend the
 dominions of the *Franks* on the other side of the *Rhine* on

¹ *Gesta Regum Francorum*, c. 36. ² *FREDEG. CHRON.*
 c. 20. ³ *Gesta Regum Francorum*, c. 37.

one frontier, and by pushing the fierce nation of *Gascons* on the other ^{1.} His indignation was, however, never the less, from the want of an opportunity to let it appear. *Fredégonde* had taken due care of his education, and had instructed him herself in the art of government; and, particularly, advised him to command his army in person, to hear his ministers with patience, but to take his own measures, and to observe, with the greatest diligence, the causes of his success, and the sources of his disappointments, recommending to him above all things a settled temper of mind, equally superior to the smiles and to the frowns of fortune.

second THE conduct of *Brunebant* had never been extremely regular; but this great flow of prosperity induced her to throw off all restraint, and to make use of that plenitude of power, which was now in her possession, to gratify her desires of every kind. She remembered the mistake she made at *Meiz*; in permitting *Theodobert* to marry, when he was so very young; she thought to correct this, by hindering *Thierry* from marrying at all; but she laid no restraint upon his pleasures; so that by several mistresses he had three natural sons, which so balanced the credit of their respective mothers, that the old queen had nothing to fear. She cast her eyes on a young nobleman, whose name was *Protade*, and whose disposition nearly resembled her own, with a handsome person, and all the accomplishments of a court, great address, and boundless ambition, which she endeavoured to gratify, by making him mayor of the palace; from whence the scandal of those times insinuated he was her gallant. But there was a great obstacle in the way of his preferment. *Bertoalde*, a man in years, of great virtue and distinguished valour, was in possession of this employment, and could not be removed ². However, a pretence being found to send him to the frontiers, *Protade* performed the functions of his office in his absence. *Clotaire*, who had exact information of all that passed, thought he had now a favourable opportunity of surprizing *Bertoalde*, and of making a great impression on the kingdom of *Burgundy*. With this view he sent duke *Landri*, and with him his son prince *Meroveus*, though he was then but in the fifth year of his age, with instructions to surprize *Bertoalde*, who had but a small guard, and then to march directly to *Orleans*, where he knew there were many malecontents. *Landri* did all he could, and indeed all that could be expected, but succeeded in neither. *Bertoalde* made his escape, and threw him-

¹ *FRED. Chron.* c. 20.

² *Gesta Regum Francorum*, c. 37.

self into *Orleans*, which he gallantly defended, till his master *Thierri* came with a potent army to his relief^w. The war was carried on the next spring with great vigour; the king of *Burgundy* at length forcing *Landri* to a battle, near *Estampes*, in the beginning of which *Bertoalde* having discovered the intrigues of the old queen, in a fit of despair threw away his life, and at the same time opened a path to victory for his ungrateful master, which *Thierri* so well improved, that *Landri's* army was entirely beaten, the unfortunate *Maroveus* surrounded, and, as *Clotaire* believed, or affected to believe, massacred, to gratify the hatred of *Brunebaut*. *Thierri* marched on to *Paris*, fully bent on the destruction of his cousin, which appeared indeed inevitable; for *Theodobert* had invaded his dominions on the other side, and the two armies were on the very point of engaging; when the news of the battle of *Estampes* arrived, and produced a very wonderful effect. *Theodobert* became of a sudden jealous of his brother's success, and offered *Clotaire* such terms of peace as he readily accepted; and, being thus delivered from all fear of danger on that side, he quickly obliged the king of *Burgundy* to listen also to terms of accommodation; and thus, very unexpectedly, the nation of the *Franks* was again blessed with peace^x.

A. D.
604.

THIERRI, who wanted not abilities, was extremely provoked at his brother's behaviour, and furnished many things in relation to the peace at *Compeigne*, which had rescued *Clotaire* out of their hands. *Brunebaut*, who, tho' she had long dissembled, never forgave the insult received from *Theodobert* and his ministers, did not fail to heighten the king of *Burgundy's* resentments; and, it is said, went so far, as to assure him that *Theodobert* was not the son of king *Childebert*, but of a gardener, and imposed upon that prince to answer some particular purposes^y. The war being declared, the king took the field with a very numerous army, commanded under him by *Protade* his mayor of the palace. The nobility of *Burgundy* in general disapproved this war highly; and when the armies drew near each other they dealt very plainly with the king, and advised him instead of fighting to treat with king *Theodobert*, since it would be an impious as well as impolitic action to shed the blood of the *Franks* on both sides, merely to gratify the pride of an ambitious minister, and the

A. D.
605.

^w FREDEG. Chron. c. 24.
FRANCORUM, tom. ii.
DIACON, l. iv. c. 31.

^x HADRIANI VALESII gesta
^y FREDEG. Chron. c. 27. PAUL

rage of his imperious mistress. When the king would hear nothing, the soldiers surrounded the tent where the mayor of the palace was playing at chess with the king's physician, in *Thierry's* presence; upon which that monarch ordered one of the lords of his court to go and pacify the troops, by assuring them that he would pay a proper respect to their remonstrances: he thought proper, however, to deliver quite another message, assuring the forces that the king did not enter into their quarrel with *Protade*, but left him to their disposal; on which they entered immediately, and cut him to pieces². *Thierry* saw now the necessity of a peace, which was easily concluded, and in the room of the late unhappy favourite, *Claudius*, who was also a *Gaul* by descent, and a man of abilities and honour, was raised to the post of mayor of the palace. He very honestly represented to his master, that it was time for him to reform the disorders of his court, and to make choice of some princess of equal birth for his queen, to which *Thierry* readily consented, and, at his persuasion, demanded the daughter of *Witeric*, king of the *Visigoths*, whom he obtained, upon condition that his ambassadors should swear that this princess should never be degraded from her dignity³. *Brunehaut*, who could not prevent the marriage from being concluded, had the address to hinder it from being consummated, or even celebrated, by engaging the king's sister to give him a distaste to the *Spanish* princess; who, after bearing a great deal of ill usage for a full year, was sent home upon some frivolous pretence, which irritated the king of the *Visigoths* to the last degree. He endeavoured to negotiate a league with *Clotaire*, *Theodobert*, and the king of the *Lombards*; but *Brunehaut*, by a dextrous distribution of presents, and coining a multitude of plausible excuses, parry'd this blow, and preserved the kingdom in peace, that is with regard to other nations, for otherwise *Thierry* was far from enjoying quiet at home⁴. His subjects in general were highly dissatisfied, and some of the clergy expostulated with him very freely. Amongst these was *Didier* bishop of *Vienne*, who was soon after assassinated, either by the express orders of *Brunehaut*, or by those who thought it would be acceptable to her. The famous *Irish* abbot *Colombanus*, who had the reputation of being a saint and a prophet, was ordered to depart the kingdom, and to return to his own country, for having reproached the queen in very rude terms; and very

A. D.
607.

² FREDEGARII Chron. c. 27.
Spain.

³ FREDEGARII Chron. c. 30.

⁴ See the History of

probably had not escaped so well, if his credit with the people had not been raised to such a pitch, that the taking away his life might have occasioned public confusion c. •

WE have before observed that, in the division of *Childe-Theodobert's* dominions, some districts were detached from the kingdom of *Austrasia*, and added to that of *Burgundy*: these *Theodobert* now demanded by an embassy, and *Thierri* prepared to defend them by force of arms. The nobility of both kingdoms were averse to a war, and constrained the two kings to consent to a conference, attended by an equal number of troops; but *Theodobert*, by a scandalous breach of his faith, brought double the number, and compelled his brother to accept of what terms he pleased. Instead of extinguishing this heightened the flame, for *Thierri* was bent upon revenge; and his nobility conceiving that he had right on his side, concurred in his design of doing himself justice by the sword. One obstacle remained; *Clotaire* had many causes of complaint, and was not likely to let slip so fair an opportunity of mending his condition; it was therefore necessary to secure him by a negotiation, and upon a promise to restore to him what had been taken when the war should be over; he consented to a neutrality. *Thierri* then invaded *Austrasia* with a numerous army, commanded by all the great lords of *Burgundy*. He pushed his conquests as far as *Toul* before he met with his brother *Theodobert's* army; but there, believing he had an advantage, the king of *Austrasia* attacked him with great vigour. The dispute was very obstinate, but in the end the king of *Burgundy* gained a complete victory; in consequence of which he became master of *Metz*, and compelled his brother to take shelter on the other side the *Rhine*. The place *Theodobert* chose for his retreat was *Cologne*, where he laboured to form a new army out of his *German* subjects; and in a short space of time he accomplished it, vast numbers of *Saxons*, *Thuringians*, and other nations, subject or tributary to his crown, repairing to his standards. *Thierri* also having recruited his victorious army, penetrated the forest of *Arden*, and encamped at *Tolbiac*; where *Theodobert*, who believed that his advantage lay in being the aggressor, endeavoured to surprize him. The forces of *Thierri* received those whom they stiled barbarians with great intrepidity, and having stood the first shock, broke and defeated them. *Theodobert* endeavoured to make his escape by passing the *Rhine*, but

c JONAS in vita S. Columbani.
p. 555.

d DU CHESNE, tom. i.

e FRED. Chron. c. 37, 38.

he was taken and carried to *Cologne*, where his brother treated him with the utmost inhumanity, and, after stripping him of all marks of sovereign dignity, sent him to his grandmother at *Chalons*, but caused his son *Meroveus*, tho' a child, to be put to death upon the spot; and some say another likewise, whose name was *Clotaire* ^f. *Brunebaut* had no sooner *Theobert* in her hands, than she ordered him to be shaved; but suspecting afterwards that he might make his escape, and believing herself secure of governing both kingdoms if they remained to *Thierry*, she ordered the unfortunate king of *Austrasia* to be put to death, who was not then above twenty-seven years of age ^g.

The death
of *Thierry*,
and the
miserable
fate of
queen *Brunebaut*.

CLOTAIRE, king of *Soissons*, foreseeing that *Thierry*, proud of his late victory, and relying on the great acquisition that he had made, would infallibly refuse to comply with his promise, thought it both the surest and the wisest way to take possession of what had been consigned to him before his return from his expedition, which he accordingly did. It appeared from the event that he had formed a right judgment; for *Thierry* was no sooner acquainted with it than he dispatched certain persons to summon him to withdraw his forces out of the places he had seized, and, in case he refused, to declare war. *Clotaire*, who expected this, was prepared; and believing it better to fight for the whole than for a part, assembled the whole forces of his dominions, and resolved to give *Thierry* battle ^h. That monarch, who flattered himself with the hopes of becoming the lord of all *France*, began his march with the whole forces of *Austrasia* and *Burgundy*, but in passing by *Metz* he was seized with a dysentery, of which he died in a few days, in the twenty-sixth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign ⁱ (K). *Brunebaut* appeared

^f *Gesta Regum Francorum*, cap. xxxviii. *FREDEG. Chron.*
^g *DE CHESNE*, tom. i. p. 557. ^h *Gesta Regum Francorum*, cap. xxxix. ⁱ *FREDEG. Chron.* cap. xxxix.

(K) At the time of *Theobert's* death, and the destruction of his family, we are told that *Thierry* was so exceedingly struck with the beauty of *Berthaire*, that he was inclined to marry her, which alarmed his grandmother to such a degree, that she presently interposed, and represented in the strongest

terms how much it would tarnish his reputation, if, in the sight of the world, he should be guilty of so flagrant an act of incest, and how much his person and authority might be exposed by taking to his bed the daughter of a prince whom he had deprived of his life, and of his dominions. This opposition

appeared so little disconcerted by this extraordinary event, that it gave occasion to a report that her grandson was poisoned by her orders, which however is very improbable. She caused immediately *Sigebert*, the eldest of his four sons, to be proclaimed king. He was then in the tenth year of his age; and it seems to have been the view of that ambitious princefs to have governed both kingdoms in his name: but *Clotaire* did not leave her so much time as to discover her plan. He had great intelligence in *Auftrasia* and in *Burgundy*: he knew that the nobility in both kingdoms hated *Brunebaut*, and were little attached to the sons of *Thierri*; and therefore he advanced with his army, without giving himself much pain about the forces that *Brunebaut* laboured to assemble, tho' they might easily have been rendered much superior to his own^k. The infatuated *Brunebaut* became an accomplice in her own destruction; she suspected *Garnier*, who was mayor of the palace in *Auftrasia*; but knowing he had a great interest amongst the nations on the other side of the *Rhine*, she confided to him the command of the army, and the person of *Sigebert*; but at the same time sent an order to *Alboin*, who accompanied him, to dispatch *Garnier* as soon as he had rendered the army complete. *Alboin* tore this order to

^k *Gesta Regum Francorum*, lib. xl.

sition irritated *Thierri* to such a degree, that he told his grandmother in a rage that it was her ambition, and not her zeal for his reputation, that induced her to talk after this manner, since, if what she affirmed was true, that *Theodobert* was a supposititious child, *Berthaire* could not be his niece, and that she had no right to upbraid him with murders, in which she had so great a hand⁽¹⁾. This quarrel swelled at last so high, that he was on the point of killing her; and from hence the suspicion arose, that, having made use of him to destroy his brother, she, to secure her person and power, removed

him by poison (2). In the slaughter of his family we have mentioned the escape of his son *Childebert*, which it seems gave infinite disquiet to *Clotaire*; who, as an antient writer tells us, cruelly persecuted a certain pious abbess in the city of *Arles*, upon a rumour that a king was privately educated in her monastery (3). It appeared from hence, that, in the sense of those times, all the children of *Thierri*, whatever their mothers might be, were considered as kings of the *Franks*: however, this unhappy young man was never afterwards discovered.

(1) *Fredég. Chron. c. xli. Append. ad Chron. Greg. Turon. Aimon, lib. iii.*
 (2) *Fredég. Chron. cap. xli. Aimon, lib. iii. Append. ad Chron. Greg. Turon.*
 (3) *Fredég. Chron. cap. xlii. Vita S. Rustic, nn. 17, 18, sec. 2. Bened.*

pieces, which some person, who observed him gathered up; and having put it together, so as that the sense might appear, carried it to *Garnier*, who dissembling his knowledge of what was intended, engaged the nobility both in *Austrasia* and in *Burgundy* to abandon *Brunehaut*, as soon as *Clotaire's* army approached near them. Of *Thierry's* four sons, *Sigebert* and *Corbon* were put to death by *Clotaire's* orders: *Ghildebert* was carried away and never seen afterwards: as for *Maroveus*, to whom *Clotaire* had been sponsor, he sent him into his own dominions, and caused him to be bred up there as a private man¹. In the end, *Brunehaut* herself was betrayed into his hands; and to gratify the nobility, whom she had generally provoked, after the bitterest reproaches, some that were well and others that were ill founded, he suffered her to be led for three days about the camp, and exposed to the clamours and outrages of all who could be mean enough to insult a great queen in her misery. At length she was tied by the leg and the arm to the tail of an untamed horse, which running full speed quickly dashed out her brains; after this her mangled body being taken up by some charitable person, or, as others say, by the foldiers, was consumed to ashes; but these wretched remains afterwards found a tomb, in which they remain at this day^m (L). In succeeding times some attempts have been made to vindicate her memory.

CLO-

¹ FREDEGARII Chron. cap. xl. xli.
FREDEGARII Chron. AÏMON.

^m ADON. Chron.

(L) If we were to take the character of *Brunehaut* from the epistles written to her by *Gregory the Great*, or even from the history of the bishop of *Tours*, we should suppose her a very different person from what other historians represent her. But both these *Gregories* died many years before her, and both had very particular reasons to speak well of her as long as they lived (4). It is true she has been defended by *Mariana*, as being a native of *Spain*, and by *Corsemoy*, a learned and judi-

cious *French* writer; but rhetoric and conjectures will do nothing against facts. We may, and indeed we ought to agree, that those who wrote under the immediate descendants of *Clotaire*, might make their court by exaggerating the wickedness of this princess. We ought also to allow that she was a very extraordinary woman: she founded many monasteries, erected several churches, built many hospitals, raised prodigious causeways, and, in short, was the founder of so many

(4) *Gregor. magn. lib. v. ep. 5, 51, 59, lib. vii. ep. 5. Greg. Turon. lib. x. cap. 1.*

other

CLOTAIRE II. was now the absolute master of the whole Clotaire, empire of the *Franks*, and resolved to continue so. He set-^{sole master} tled the three mayors of the palace, who from this time of ^{the} became a sort of viceroys, and treated the nobility with ^{three king-} much mildness and familiarity. He was not one of those ^{doms of the} refined politicians who put on the appearances of virtues, of ^{Franks,} which they have no feeling in their hearts, but thought the ^{changes his} shortest method best; and that to become a good prince, ^{conduct,} and be- was the most effectual means of being believed so. He esta- ^{comes a} blished that freedom which the great lords were afraid he ^{mild} would suppress, but with it he established the power of the ^{prince.} law, which he observed with great punctuality; for which reason people saw no harm in his requiring the same degree of respect should be shewn to it by others ^a. He might have extended his dominions, but he chose rather to govern them, and to extirpate those vices that, from the licentiousness of the times, were grown both frequent and flagrant. In order to this he held a general council at *Paris*, where he recommended it in a particular manner to the prelates to restore the ancient discipline of the church. He instituted also a kind of parliaments, or courts, held in his palace, for determining what in the *Latin* of those times was stiled *placita*, in *French* *pluds*, and in our own language *pleas* ^o. He carried this so far, that when the governor of the remoter part of *Burgundy* conspired against him, and he had him in his hands, he remitted him to the justice of that court, and by their sentence he was beheaded; and this example prevented any other conspiracy in his reign ^p. He permitted the *Lombards*

^a FREDEGARIJ Chron. cap. xliii. ^o Gesta Regum Fran-
corum. AIMON. ^p FREDEGARIJ Chron. contin. cap. xlv.

other public works, that the monk *Aimon* expresses the utmost amazement that a single queen could perform so many and so great things in such different places; but this shews that she had boundless authority, and immense wealth, at her disposal (5). The tomb of this queen *Brunebaut* is still to be seen in the abbey of *St. Martin* at *Autun*, which she founded, and where in 1632

it was opened, and nothing discovered that could at all discredit the general tradition on this head of what the old historians have asserted, since there were ashes, burnt bones, and the rowel of a spur, which it is known was the custom in those times to fix to the sides of the horses, that were used in such executions, in order to render them the more furious (6).

(5) *Aimon*, lib. iv. P. *Faucher*.
Gesta Regum Francorum, P. *Daniel*.

(6) *Fredeg. Chron.* cap. xlii.

to redeem the annual tribute they paid his predecessors, by laying down the amount of three years at once, for which he is severely censured by modern writers, who think that in this he departed from his dignity: but it seems *Clotaire* thought the dignity of a king consisted in governing his own subjects well, and in being upon good terms with his neighbours⁹.

*Reigns
with glory,
and dies in
peace.*

A. D.
622.

THE king, in order to lessen his fatigues, sent his eldest son *Dagobert* to reside at *Metz*, with the title of king of *Austrasia*, detaching however from thence some districts that lay at a great distance, and some others that were requisite to a due communication between the territories reserved under his own power. He also appointed him for his ministers, *Arnoul*, bishop of *Metz*, and *Pepin*, mayor of the palace in that kingdom¹. His government resembled that of his father's: so that, by the mildness of it, many of the barbarous nations, that hitherto had preferred freedom in woods and morasses, voluntarily submitted themselves, and became his subjects. As soon as he arrived at a proper age, *Clotaire* caused him to be married; and upon that occasion entertained him in a most splendid manner at one of his country palaces, declaring at the same time, that he associated him in the government¹. This did not hinder the young prince from demanding, in a very peremptory manner, that all the cities and districts, formerly belonging to it, should be re-united to the kingdom of *Austrasia*, which highly provoked *Clotaire*. At length this dispute was left to the decision of twelve prelates and barons, who determined that such of the places as lay most conveniently for the young king should be yielded to him, and that he should quit all claim to the rest¹. An insurrection happened among the *Gascons*, which was quickly suppressed, without any effusion of blood; but it was otherwise with the *Saxons*. *Bertcalde*, their duke, despising the pacific temper of the two kings, and having drawn many barbarous nations into his alliance, threw off his dependance on *Dagobert*, and made an irruption into *Austrasia* with a powerful army. The young king marched against him with all the forces that he could immediately assemble, but had the misfortune to be defeated, and very narrowly escaped being killed, his head-piece being cleft by the stroke of a sword. He retired with the remains of his forces to an entrenched camp, and sent to his father for assistance². *Clotaire* marched

⁹ *Gesta Regum Francorum.* ¹ *AIMON.* ² *FREDEG.*
Chron. contin. c. liii. ¹ *Gesta Regum Francorum cap.*
xlvii. ² *FREDEG. Chron. contin. c. liii.*

with all possible haste to join him, and immediately after advanced towards the Saxons, who were encamped on the other side the *Wefer*. The two armies being drawn up in order of battle, *Bertoalde* abused the king in the grossest language, which so provoked *Clotaire*, that he plunged into the river on horseback, followed by his guards and some of the principal nobility, when charging the Saxons with great fury, he killed their duke with his own hand; and having ordered his head to be cut off, caused it to be placed on the top of a pike and carried at the head of his army, the best part of which had by this time passed the river: the enemy were soon routed with prodigious slaughter *. He did not survive this victory many months, but lived and died in full possession of the hearts of his people, as appears from his being stiled in some antient monuments *Clotaire le Grand*, and in others *le Debonnaire* †. On the death of *Garnier*, who was mayor of the palace in *Burgundy*, he summoned the nobility to chuse another: but having intimated his inclinations in a short speech they waved the election, and chose to live under his immediate administration, which was the highest mark of popularity and confidence that they could bestow, and a very singular instance of his policy, who chose to obtain, in the most gentle manner, what he might have taken through the plenitude of his power; but he knew that an absolute monarch must reign in the minds, as well A.D 628. as over the bodies, of his subjects ‡. He died in the forty-fifth year of his life §.

DAGOBERT succeeded his father in the kingdoms of *Neu-Stria* and *Burgundy*, partly through his intrigues, and partly succeeds his through the terror of his army, to the prejudice of his father in younger brother *Charibert*; who, according to the custom, all his dominions, not to say the law, of the *Franks*, ought to have had at least one of these kingdoms †. He had indeed a small party for him: after a feint struggle *Dagobert* prevailed. By the advice of his ministers however he, of his own accord, bestowed on *Charibert* the country between the *Loire* and the *Pyrenees*; upon which he took the title of king of *Aquitaine*, and fixed his residence at *Toulouse* ‡. *Dagobert* began his reign by visiting the kingdom of *Burgundy*, where his father had not been in person since the office of mayor of the palace had and becomes the fourth monarch of France.

* *Gesta Regum Francorum*. *AJMON*,
Chron. P. DANIEL.

† *Gesta Regum Francorum*.

‡ *FREDEG. Chron. Gesta Regum Francorum*.

§ *DAGOBERT, FREDEGARII Chron.*

* *FREDEG.*
‡ *Gesta Regum Francorum*.

been suppressed; and where, having no superior, the nobility had ran into great excesses and disorders: the king applied himself to redressing these, with all the spirit and diligence possible. He was not only accessible, but affable to all sorts of people, and borrowed from his meals, and from his sleep, time to inquire into and redress grievances ^c. But all was not after this manner; for, on his return from this progress, he repudiated his wife, under pretence that she was barren: and having once transgressed the bounds of virtue and religion, he left them every day at a greater distance, inasmuch that he was not ashamed to have three queens at a time ^d. The truth is, that *Arnoul*, bishop of *Metz*, had a great influence over this monarch, who had bred him from a child; and, so long as he remained in the ministry, *Dagobert* retained the character of being the greatest prince that had hitherto reigned over the *Franks*: but *Arnoul* having quitted his see and his employment, for a life of solitude and retirement, *Dagobert* became careless and dissolute, notwithstanding all that *Pepin*, and the remains of the old ministry, could say to restrain him; and yet, by a piece of injustice, but too frequent, the people of *Austrasia* imputed to the ministers all the mischiefs to which they were exposed, and earnestly pressed the king to give up *Pepin* to their resentment; but *Dagobert*, thoroughly acquainted with his innocence, had both the courage and the honour to protect him. *Charibert*, king of *Aquitaine*, dying, *Dagobert* took possession of his dominions, and of his treasures, though he left several children, who were the victims of their uncle's ambition ^e: an action, in all respects, as iniquitous as it was unnatural and inexcusable.

The war
with the
Slavonians
is attended
with many
unforeseen
and untoward
consequences.

ABOUT this time a war broke out with the numerous and potent nation of the *Slavonians*; who, like the *Franks*, were divided into several tribes, occupied a vast country, and were not inferior in valour to any of their neighbours ^f. They had at this time for their king a stranger, who came amongst them at first in no higher character than that of a pedlar; his name was *Samon*; but whether a native of *France* or of *Hainault* is very uncertain. He managed his private affairs so well as to become rich; the *Slavonians* judged from thence that his talents might be useful to the public; they made the trial, and they had no reason to repent it. In compliance with the custom of the country, he married twelve

^c FREDEGARII Chron. Gest. DAGOBERT. ^d Gesta Regum Francorum. ^e FREDEG. Chron. cap. lxxii. ^f Gesta Regum Francorum,

wives, by whom he had twenty-two sons and fifteen daughters. He was wise and brave. *Dagobert* had sent an ambassador to complain of some injuries that had been done to traders who were his subjects^e. This minister was very unfit for his employment. *Samon* expressed a concern for what had happened, and offered to concert proper measures to prevent the like for the future. The *Franks* took this ill, and told *Samon* he might think himself and his people honoured, if they were considered as servants to the king his master. *Samon* answered, with great moderation, that they should not disdain that title, provided the king honoured them with his friendship. Friendship! replied the *Frank*, What friendship can there be between Christians, worshippers of the true God, and such pagan dogs as you and your subjects? Be it so, friend, said *Samon*; but since it is your custom to cheat, to abuse, and to insult us, you must not wonder we make use of our teeth, who are dogs, or that we bite you as often as you deserve it. Upon the representation of this accomplished minister, *Dagobert*, having first engaged the *Allemands* and the *Lombards* to act as his allies, began the war, in which he was very far from being successful^h. This gave him such an aversion to these barbarous people as produced an action, which did no great credit either to his religious or political principles. The *Bulgarians* being ill-treated by the *Abares*, with whom they had hitherto lived united as if they had been but one people, took shelter, to the number of nine thousand, in the country of the *Bavarians*, who were subjects to *Dagobert*, and desired to put themselves under his protection. They had winter-quarters given them for the present, and a promise that lands should be assigned them; but from a jealousy, or rather timidity, unworthy of a great prince, orders were sent to the *Bavarians* to cut them off as they lay dispersed through their country; which was so completely executed, that not above seven hundred escaped, who threw themselves into the territories of the *Sclavonians*ⁱ. About this juncture *Dagobert* assisted *Sisenand* to mount the throne of *Spain*, on a promise that he should send him the famous gold basin weighing five hundred pounds, which the *Roman* general *Aetius* presented to *Torismund*, king of the *Goths*; but he, not being able to keep his word, was obliged to compromise the matter, by paying him an immense sum of money^k. The *Saxons* perceiving how much *Dagobert* was disturbed by the continual irruptions of the *Sclavonians*, which with all

^e FREDEG. Chron. c. 68.

^h Gesta Regum Francorum.

ⁱ FREDEG. Chron. c. 72.

^k Gesta Regum Francorum.

his care he could not prevent or suppress, conceived this to be a proper juncture for them to be rid of the annual tribute of five hundred head of cattle imposed upon them by *Clotaire* the first. The method they took was very singular; for instead of taking up arms, or joining themselves to the *Sclavonians*, they petitioned *Dagobert* to remit their tribute, in consideration of their defending their frontier against the *Sclavonians*, which they offered to take upon themselves, to which *Dagobert* readily consented; but from this time the *Saxons* did not either pay the tribute, or defend the frontier¹. But the king was so much perplexed by the depredations of one nation of *Barbarians*, that he had not either leisure or force to subdue the other; so that they procured by their cunning what they had attempted in vain by force of arms. It may be *Dagobert* acted right, and avoided an insurrection, which, in his circumstances, must have given him much trouble.

AT length another expedient was found, which, though it might not be very acceptable to *Dagobert*, he thought requisite to admit. This expedient consisted in declaring his son *Sigebert*, then a child of three years old, king of *Austrasia*. This he did, and appointed *Cunibert*, bishop of *Cologne*, to be his governor, and *Adalgise*, duke of the palace, which some think was a different office from that of mayor, which was still preserved to *Pepin*, though others believe *Adalgise* to have been his successor, and that the king chose rather to appoint him to that office than part with *Pepin* from about his person^m. We cannot pretend to say how this expedient operated; but that it did operate is very certain. It is very probable that the people of *Austrasia* found great inconvenience in the king's residing constantly at *Paris*, or at some of his country palaces a small distance from that city, and were very desirous of having a court of their own, in which, tho' a child bore the title of king, yet, having all the prerogatives annexed to that dignity, and the proper officers to carry them into execution, they found themselves much more at their ease; and, to preserve these advantages, acted so vigorously under their own officers on the frontiers, that they quickly cured the *Sclavonians* of any inclination to approach themⁿ. The same year the king had another son born, to whom he gave the name of *Clovis*. The rejoicings upon this occasion were scarce ended, when the prelates and nobility of the kingdoms of *Neustria* and *Burgundy* intreated *Dagobert* to de-

*Dagobert
subdues the
Gascons,
obliges the
count of
Bretagne
to do him
homage,
and dies
soon after.
A.D. 633.*

¹ FREDEG. Chron. c. 74.
FRANCOYIN.

^m AIMON. Gesta Regum
ⁿ FREDEG. Chron.

clare him his successor in regard to those two crowns. This he accordingly did, and, by an authentic instrument, settled the manner in which all his dominions were to be divided between these two infant princes^o. The *French* historians differ much in their sentiments as to the reasons, which induced the lords in *Neustria* and *Burgundy* to take this step; but it seems pretty evident, that the king's own conduct, at the beginning of his reign, was the source of it; his ambition inspired him with the design of making himself master of the whole monarchy, which they, judging to be prejudicial to their interests, though they could not prevent it then for want of an army and a successor, declared they resolved to avoid for the future by such a precaution. The *Gascons* and *Bretons*, presuming on the indolent temper of *Dagobert*, had renewed their excursions into his dominions; the former were the most troublesome, and had the greatest force. Against them, therefore, *Dagobert* sent a numerous army, commanded by the flower of his young nobility, under a general in years, of distinguished bravery and great reputation. He quickly reduced the *Gascons* to such distress, by closing up their caves and burning their cabins, that they were constrained to implore the king's clemency; which *Dagobert* was sure to extend, as having nothing more in view than to spend his days in quiet^p. He then sent a minister to the *Bretons*, a man of a character very different from him who occasioned the war with the *Slavonians*; this minister was *St. Eloi*, originally a goldsmith, now a statesman, and afterwards bishop of *Neion*. He managed his negotiation with such address, that he engaged the prince of *Bretagne* to renew the antient treaties, to give an hostage for the due performance of them, and for his coming in person to *Paris* to do homage to *Dagobert*. The name of this count of *Bretagne* was *Judicaël*, who had a high reputation for prudence and piety; whom the king received with kindness, and dismissed with honour. The duke of the *Gascons* was forced to follow his example, and brought many of the chiefs of his little nation with him^q. These events must have been very grateful to a monarch of his disposition; but he did not long survive the satisfaction they gave him, since he died of a dysentery, on the 19th of *January*, in the year six hundred and thirty-eight, at *Epinal*, a palace of his upon the river *Seine*, not far from *Paris*, in the sixteenth year of his reign over *Austrasia*, in the tenth from the death of his

^o *Gesta Regum Francorum*. *Gest. DAGOBERT.* ^p *FREDERIC.*
Chron. ^q *Gesta Regum Francorum*. *Gest. DAGOBERT.*

father, and the thirty-sixth of his age (M). His corpse was carried from thence, and interred with great solemnity in the abbey of *St. Denis*.

* FREDEG. Chron.

(M) It is no very easy task to settle the number and the order of this prince's wives. It is pretty plain, that, by his father's direction, *Dagobert* first espoused *Gomatrude*, the younger sister of his mother-in-law *Sichilde*, and the aunt of his brother *Alibert*; which very probably might contribute, as well as her barrenness, to his repudiating her. He had next *Ragetrude*, but whether as a concubine or queen may be doubted; by her, however, he had *Sigebert*, whom, to content the nobility of *Austrasia*, he placed on the throne before he was well out of the cradle (6). After this, with some extraordinary deliberation, and the consent of the nobility, he espoused *Nantilde*; but one can scarce, from these circumstances, conceive that she was at this time a nun, and that it was by the consent of his nobility he took her out of the cloister, which, however, is expressly said by the old historian, in these words (7): "Cum consilio Francorum, Nantildem unam ex puellis de monasterio, in matrimonium accipiens, reginam sublimavit." In order to be rid of so strange an absurdity, some modern critics have suggested the reading *ministerio* instead of *monasterio*, and then of a nun she will become only a maid of honour (8). He had besides

two mistresses, whose names were *Colgonde* and *Bertilde*. Notwithstanding this, we find the piety of *Dagobert* magnified by the monk, who undertook to write the history of his reign, chiefly on account of his founding the monastery of *St. Denis*; to which it is said he was excited by a very ridiculous accident, not worth repeating; but inasmuch as he took the liberty to spoil the church of *St. Hilary* of *Poitiers*, the bishop of that that diocese, after his decease, pretended to have seen in a vision the soul of *Dagobert* carried by demons on board a vessel bound for their fiery regions, and cruelly beaten in his passage, till *St. Denis*, having taken to his assistance *St. Maurice* and *St. Martin*, came to his relief, and delivered him out of their hands (9). It is a melancholy thing to be obliged to transcribe such idle tales, but it is much more melancholy to reflect, that, for many ages together, such idle tales were regarded as serious truths; but as this was really the case, and becomes thereby the characteristic of those ages, we are from thence put under a necessity of transcribing them, since nothing else can persuade the reader, that the facts, which really compose the history of those times, could ever have happened.

(6) *Fredegarii Scholastici Epitome & Chronicon*, c. 57. *Les Antiquités & Histoires Gauloises* par le P. Fauchet. *Histoire de France* par M. le P. G. Daniel.

(7) *Fredeg. Chron.* c. 58. *Histoire de France*, par M. Chabons.

(8) *Histoire de France*, par le P. G. Daniel. *Histoire de France*, par M. Chabons. (9) *Fredeg. Chron.* c. 58. *Aimoni Monachi incliti Canonici S. Germani libri quinque de regibus Francorum*, lib. iv. c. 20.

AT the demise of this monarch the wealth of the kingdom was great, and there were few courts in *Europe* more splendid than that of *Paris*. *St. Eloi*, who, as we before observed, was originally a goldsmith, had made for *Clotaire* the second a chair of state of massy gold, and a throne of the same metal for *Dagobert*; but towards the close of his reign things began to decline, yet in no proportion to what they did afterwards *. It seems that at the time of his demise there was no mayor of the palace in *Burgundy*; but recommending one of his ministers, whose name was *Æga*, to his queen *Nantilde*, as the properest person to direct the affairs of the young king, he was presently advanced to that important post; upon which *Pepin* and some other *Austrasian* lords returned into their own country. He summoned immediately the prelates and nobility to do homage to *Clovis*, which they very willingly performed; but at the same time many of them complained that they had suffered injustice in the former reign, and that they hoped redress from the equity of the present government. The new minister promised to content them, and he did all that was in his power to keep his word †. Soon after came ambassadors from *Sigebert*, king of *Austrasia*, to demand his share of his father's moveables and treasure, pursuant, as is very likely, to that king's will. A conference was held for this purpose at *Compeigne*, where the bishop of *Cologne* and *Pepin* assisted; there one third of the treasures which the king had acquired since his marriage was set apart for the queen, and the remainder divided between his sons ‡. This was one of the last acts of *Pepin's* ministry, who died soon after with the reputation of a saint.

THE minority of the two kings, *Sigebert* and *Clovis*, gave rise to that extravagant power which was exercised in succeeding times by the mayor of the palace, and which was in some measure grounded on the behaviour of *Pepin* and *Æga*, both men of great parts, true piety, and uncorrupted probity. To the former of these, succeeded his son *Grimoalde*, who made his way to that post by the murder of *Otho*, his rival, and we may from thence be satisfied that he was no saint §. His intention of removing *Redolfse*, duke of *Thuringia*, from his government, produced an insurrection, in which that duke was totally beaten, and compelled to take shelter in a fortress, or intrenched camp, where he collected all the remains of his forces, with a full resolution of making

* *Gesta Regum Francorum*. † *FREDEG. Chron.* ‡ *Gesta Regum Francorum*. § *FREDEG. Chron. c. 79. Vita St. Elia.*

an obstinate defence; but, in all probability, this would have ended in his own destruction, if a spirit of dissention had not broke out in the king of *Austrasia's* camp; for *Grimoalde* carried his master, young as he was, into the field; but those, who hated that minister, prevented his attacking *Rodolfe* with the whole of the army, and by this means that part of it which did attack was beaten. Upon this a negotiation ensued, which ended in a peace very dishonourable to the young king, who consented that *Rodolfe* should retain his government, upon his promise to be faithful for the future *. He governed after this, if, in truth, he could be said to govern at all, fourteen years, or, as some compute, sixteen; but we know nothing of what he did in that time, except that he built and endowed monasteries, from whence he came to be reputed a saint. • *Grimoalde* pretended that, in despair of having a son, he adopted his, and desired that he might succeed him †. But after this, notwithstanding, he had a son, named *Dagobert*, by his queen *Imnechilde*, whom on his death-bed he recommended, with great tenderness, to the care of *Grimoalde*, his mayor of the palace. This monarch died at *Metz*, and was buried in the church of *St. Martin*, in the suburbs of that city; from whence his remains were removed to *Nancy*, on the demolition of that church, when the *French*, in 1552, were preparing to sustain a siege, under the command of the duke *De Guise* ‡.

The reign
of Clovis
II. and
the injus-
tice done to
his me-
mory by
the monks.

CLOVIS the second, king of *Neustria* and *Burgundy*, was carefully brought up by his mother queen *Nantilde* and the mayor of the palace *Ega*. After the decease of the latter, the nobility of *Neustria* chose for his successor *Erchinoald*, or, as he is commonly called, *Archambaud*, concerning whose character authors differ; but, if we judge from his actions, he appears to have been an active and an honest minister †. The queen would also have a mayor of the palace in *Burgundy*, and through her influence the nobility chose *Floachat*, who married her niece, a man of such pride and passion, that, having quarrelled with the governor of the farther *Burgundy*, he caused him to be murdered, though he had been reconciled to him in the most solemn manner; which might probably have excited some disorders in the state, if *Floachat* himself had not died soon after of a fever. The nobility of *Burgundy* did not replace him, so that both kingdoms were governed by *Archambaud*. This minister having

* *Gesta Regum Francorum*, c. 43. *FREDEG. Chron.* c. 79.
† *DU CHESME*, tom. i. p. 727. ‡ *Vita Sancti Sigeberti*,
n. 15. § *FREDEG. Chron.* c. ADON.

presented to the king a very beautiful slave, named *Batild*, whom he had bought of some *English* merchants, the monarch became quickly so enamoured of her, that he took her to his bed, and soon after declared her his queen ^b. She must have been a very extraordinary woman, for she is highly commended by all who mention her, since, to do her honour, the vulgar, instead of reproaching her with the meanness of her former condition, invented a fable of her being a princess born, and since, having a large share in the government, she gave indubitable proofs of her great capacity. The only remarkable action of *Clovis*'s life, was, his causing the silver shrines in the monastery of *St. Denis* to be melted, and coined into money, to purchase corn in a time of scarcity for the relief of the poor ^c. Though by his royal authority, with the consent of *Landeric*, bishop of *Paris*, he exempted this convent from all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, yet the monks gave out, that, for this act of impiety, he became disordered in his senses, and that the weakness and stupidity of the father became inrailed upon his descendants ^d. Modern historians have truly observed, that this lying judgment was invented, partly to deter other princes from having recourse, in times of public calamity, to the treasures of the church, and partly to make their court to the second race of *French* kings, who deprived the posterity of *Clovis* of their territories, under the plausible pretence of their being unable to govern them (N). He had by his queen three sons, *Clotaire*, *Childeric*, and *Thierri*. We must now return to *Austrasia*:

GRIMOALDE,

^b Vita S. Bathildis. Gesta Regum Francorum. ^c AIMON.
lib. iv. c. 41. 43. Gesta Regum Francorum. ^d FREDEG.
Chron. Gesta Regum Francorum. AIMON.

(N) When it is said, as we find it in many of the *French* historians, that *Clovis* the second was the first of the stupid or indolent kings, we are to understand this of his falling, in the two last years of his life, into a state of lunacy, concerning which something has been said in the text: but in cases of this nature it is always best to derive our knowledge from original authors (1): The monk then, from whose relation all that other historians have said is borrowed, speaks thus: "This prince spent all his days in peace; but so fortune would have it, that, towards the close of his life, he came, as if it had been to pray, to the dormitory, where St. *Diony-*

(1) *Monach. Dionys. annal.*

Dagobert GRIMOALDE, as far as can be discovered, caused *Dagobert*, the son of his master *Sigebert*, to be proclaimed and acknowledged king; but how long he suffered him to wear that title is very uncertain. He had not the cruelty to put him to death; but having employed *Didon*, bishop of *Poitiers*, to shave him, he sent him to a monastery, in some of the western islands of *Scotland*, and then, giving out he was dead, advanced his own son *Childebert*, under pretence of placing on the throne.

Gesta Regum Francorum, cap. 403. Vita Sancti Sigeberti.

“ *Thus* the martyr and his fellow
 “ saints were reposed, and, be-
 “ ing desirous to have some of
 “ their relics with him, he
 “ commanded that the sepulchre should be opened;
 “ when looking upon the corpse
 “ of the blessed and excellent
 “ martyr and priest *Dionysius*,
 “ with an irreligious and covetous eye, he broke and seized upon his arm bone, and, being stupified, fell immediately into madness. But it was not on him alone that this fear and terror fell, but on those who attended him, which, the place becoming dark of a sudden, terrified them so much, that they placed all safety in flight. After some space of time, in order to recover his senses, he gave certain lands to the convent, and, causing the bone to be richly inshrined in gold, set with precious stones, he sent it back to be deposited with the body. Some lucid intervals after this he had; but in the space of two years, without ever recovering his senses perfectly, he finished his life “ and reign.” Later historians have referred the king’s weakness of mind to his voluptuous course of life, and to his excesses in wine and women (2). But it is somewhat strange, that those, who had good sense enough to reject the judgment, should nevertheless think themselves obliged to account for the fact. It is highly probable they were both true alike, or, in plain terms, that there was not a syllable of truth in either (3). His making free with the treasures of this rich convent in a time of scarcity is not to be disputed; and tho’ he replaced them, and was in other respects a great benefactor to the house, yet, to set aside what they esteemed so dangerous a precedent, the monks had recourse to this pious fraud, and, as it came to be afterwards countenanced from a maxim of state, we need not wonder that it gained belief (4). We shall see that this attempt having succeeded so well, tales of the like nature were invented upon other occasions, and met with the same fortune (5).

(2) *Abreg. Chronologique de l’Histoire de France par le Sieur de Menzervy, Recueil des Rois de France leur Couronne & Maison par Jean du Tillet.* (3) *Dissertation au Sujet de nos derniers Rois, &c. par l’Abbe Vertot.* (4) *Nouvelle Histoire de France par M. Louis le Gendre.* (5) See the next note, L’Abbe Vertot, ubi sup.

his master's adoption,* to the throne; which, however, he did not long enjoy^f. It does not appear, that the nobility had any suspicion of *Dagobert's* being alive; but they had no opinion of *Grimoalde's* setting up his son; and therefore they encouraged queen *Innechilde* to go to the court of king *Clovis*, and to demand his protection and support. This speedily produced a revolution; for *Archambaud*, who was himself allied to the royal line, came with an army into *Austrasia*, where he deposed *Childebert*, carried away *Grimoalde* prisoner to *Paris*, where he perished not long after, and placed his master's second son *Childeric*, then about three years old, upon the throne^g. It does not appear what became of *Childebert*; but, in all probability, his youth, and his being barely the instrument of his father's ambition, saved him from punishment. *Clovis* did not survive this great event any long time; he is said to have been addicted to women and to wine, and is, properly speaking, the first of those on whom the *French* writers have bestowed the opprobrious name of *Les Rois Faineans*, i. e. *incapable or indolent princes*; though some late writers have suspected this was rather contrived to gratify the descendants of *Pepin* the short, than the real sense of the people who lived under them, and who expressed great regard for them^h.

CLOTAIRE the third was immediately declared king of *Cloisire Burgundy* and *Neustria*, being about five years of age, under III. dies the tuition of his mother, queen *Batilde*, *Ebroin* being chosen *without* mayor of the palaceⁱ. We find different and very opposite *issue, and* characters of this minister, since the best part of what is *his brother* styled the history of *France*, under this period, is drawn out of the lives of certain ecclesiastics, who were reputed saints, and lived in these times. Accordingly, therefore, as these saints lived upon good or bad terms with *Ebroin*, his character appears in the writings of their panegyrist. This seems to be tolerably clear, that, while the queen had no other minister than him, she maintained the character of a wife and virtuous princess, governing with great reputation and tranquillity, and her son had all the respect and obedience shewn that his birth and dignity required; but after she brought *Leger*, bishop of *Autun*, and *Sigebrand*,

* ^f AIMON, cap. 41. *Gesta Regum Francorum*. Vita Sancti Sigeberti. ^g Vita Sancti Boniti. *Gesta Regum Francorum*. AIMON. ^h Memoire pour établir que le Royaume de France a été successif—hereditaire dans la premiere Race, par Mr. DE FONGEMAGNE. ⁱ FREDER. CHRON. cap. 92. *Gesta Regum Francorum*, cap 44, 45.

who was also a bishop, though history has not preserved the name of his see, into her cabinet, there was nothing but jealousy and confusion. This last prelate was not only a man of a troublesome temper, which embroiled him with *Ebroin*, but of a suspicious character likewise, which drew some censures upon the queen, and, in a popular insurrection, proved the cause of his being sacrificed to the public hate. That princess was so much offended at this, that she not only quitted the regency of her son's dominions, and the court, but withdrew likewise from the world, retiring into the monastery of *Chelles*, which she had rebuilt, and in a manner refounded, and where she passed the remainder of her life in the most irreproachable manner, universally respected and revered^k. *Ebroin*, now left to himself, became in reality what his enemies represent him to have been always; that is, haughty and covetous, vindictive in regard to his enemies, and oppressive with respect to the people, which excited universal discontent. While things were in this critical situation, *Clotaire* died, when he had reigned fourteen, and lived about nineteen years^l. Upon this, *Ebroin* caused *Thierri*, who, being a child at the breast when his father died, had no provision made for him, to be proclaimed king. The nobility and the people, considering his tender age, and conceiving there would be no alteration in the government, rose up immediately in arms, plundered the palace, seized the wealth of *Ebroin*, who retired to a monastery to save his life; and, not content with this, caused *Thierri* likewise to be thrust into a convent and shaved; who it was not so much as pretended had given the least cause of complaint^m.

A.D. 673.

Childeric
at first be-
haves
wisely, but
becomes
speedily a
tyrant, and
perishes
miserably.

CHILDERIC, king of *Austrasia*, being called to the throne, in this time of confusion, very readily accepted it; and, coming to take possession of his new dominions at *Paris*, some of the nobility presented his brother *Thierri* to him. The king seeing him in the habit of a private man, and with his locks shorn, shewed great tenderness and concern, and asked him, what he could do for him to comfort him in his distress? *Thierri* answered, "that he left his cause entirely in the hands
" of God, who, in due time, would avenge him of those
" who had thus insulted him without the least provocationⁿ."

^k Vita Sancti Leodegarii. Vita Sancti Bathildis. ^l FREDEG. Chron. cap. 92. Gesta Regum Francorum. Vita Sancti Leodegarii. ^m FREDEG. Chron. AIMON. Vita Sancti Leodegarii. ⁿ FREDEG. Chron. cap. 97. Gesta Regum Francorum.

The king ordered him the best apartments in the monastery of *St. Denis*, with liberal appointments for his support. The nobility, as soon as the ferment was a little ceased, held a kind of general assembly, in which they recommended various things to their new king; such as, that he would restore vigour to the laws, oblige the governors of provinces, and other ministers, to act according to them, and that for the future he would not repose his entire confidence upon any single minister. *Childeric*, desirous of peace, and of enjoying his pleasures, promised them whatever they asked^o. But, notwithstanding this, *Wulfoade*, who had been mayor of the palace in *Austrasia*, continued to act in that capacity in all the three kingdoms; but it must be owned his master did not rely entirely upon him; *Leger*, bishop of *Autun*, who had been his mother's minister, and the principal author of this revolt, had a great share in his esteem. He was a man of a singular character; for, with great piety and incorruptible probity, he was opinionative and very narrow. He treated the king as if he had been his scholar; which in a little time disgusted him, and that to such a degree, that suspecting, or pretending to suspect, him of treasonable practices, he caused him to be apprehended, and sent him to the monastery of *Luxeuil*, to pass the rest of his days in retreat^p. It was to this very convent that *Ebroin* had retired, and their misfortunes having extinguished, or at least suspended, their hatred, they became in appearance very good friends, and took their measures together how to get once more abroad; for, having been so long used to courts, neither of them could digest the austerities or the privacies of a convent. In the mean time *Childeric* was employed in paving the way to his own destruction. He was naturally light and inconstant, and being young, without experience, and without the assistance of wise ministers, gave a loose to his passions: considering whatever contradicted them as an act of disobedience, though founded in reason and respect to the laws, he became at first wanton and wilful, and in the end cruel. This excited general discontent; and the *Franks* were not in these days silent when displeased^q. *Bodillon*, a man of quality, having represented some grievances to this prince pretty freely, when he happened to be in an ill humour, *Childeric* ordered his guards to lay him flat on the floor, and beat him severely; which they performed. *Bodillon*, who was very

^o Vita Sancti Leodegarii. Gesta Regum Francorum, c. 47.
^p Vita Sancti Leodeg. c. 6. ^q FREDEG. Chron. c. 98.
 Gesta Regum Francorum, c. 49.

brave, and had many friends, assembled them as soon as he was able, surprised the king while he was hunting near one of his country palaces, and, after reproaching him bitterly, thrust him through with his sword. It had been well if his vengeance had stopped here; but proceeding to the palace, with those who had perpetrated this murder, he there killed the unfortunate queen *Blitide*, or *Bilichilde*, then pregnant and near her time, and the innocent prince *Dagobert*, then in his infancy; but another young prince, afterwards named *Daniel*, escaped this massacre, and came in process of time to wear his father's crown¹. There never was certainly a country in a more wretched and deplorable condition than *France* at this time, without king, without magistrate, without law, a wild and bloody anarchy prevailing. Others, imitating the example of *Bodillon*, and being, or believing themselves, injured, armed their friends and dependants, and wreaked their resentments without mercy, or gratified their avarice and their hate, almost without giving themselves the trouble of covering them with specious pretences². Such were the consequences of this extravagant and extrajudicial stroke of private justice.

*Sigebert
restored to
his fa-
ther's do-
minions,
which,
however,
he enjoyed
but a few
years.*

WULFOADE, mayor of the palace, thought himself so little in safety, that he retired with what friends he had into *Austrasia*, in hopes of restoring some form of government to that kingdom, and perhaps of assembling, by degrees, a strength sufficient to put an end to these disorders. Some think that with this view he proclaimed *Dagobert* the second, son to king *Sigebert*, and who was returned out of *Scotland*, with *Wulfrid*, afterwards archbishop of *York*, king of that part of *Austrasia* which lay on the other side the *Rhine*³. It seems more probable to others that he found him already king; *Childeric*, who had a great respect for his mother *Innechilde*, having consented that he should enjoy that part of his father's country⁴. But, taking advantage of these confusions, it is allowed that he extended his territories, and recovered at length the best part, if not all, of his father's kingdom; which he enjoyed, however, but a few years, being treacherously killed as he was hunting, together, as some writers say, with his son *Sigebert*, by the remnant of the inveterate faction of *Grimoalde*, who in the end exterminated the whole race of *Clovis*. The bodies of *Dagobert* and *Sigebert*.

¹ *AIMON. lib. iv. ADON. Chron.*

² *Vita S. Wilfridi.*

³ *Vita Sancti Leodegarii, c. 7.*

⁴ *HENSCHEN. de tribus Dagobertis.*

bert were interred at *Senai*, where the former was invoked as a saint ^w.

IN a short time after his brother's death, *Thierri*, quitting the monastery of *St. Denis*, where he had lived as a private man, but not as a monk, went to *Nogent* on the *Seine*, now called *St. Cloud*, and, being attended there by many of the nobility, declared *Leudesie*, the son of *Erchinoald*, mayor of the palace. The bishop of *Autun*, who, with *Ebroin*, had quitted his monastery and resumed his episcopal function, quickly joined the king, and was very graciously received, though he had been the principal author of that revolt which occasioned his deposition. *Thierri* himself, as appears by authentic charters, considered this only as resuming the government, and not as inheriting the regal dignity from his brother *Childeric*. But the hopes that had been conceived of *Ebroin's* submitting were quickly dissipated. He drew together his old friends, and chiefly such as had suffered for him, and to these he added such of the banditti of all parties as thought it inconsistent with their interests, as well as repugnant to their inclinations, to submit to any government. His party being become very strong, he drove the king, through fear, from place to place, though he did not pretend to question his title; but insisted that he ought to be replaced in his employment ^y. He pushed his dissimulation so far as to invite *Leudesie*, who then held it, to a conference; to which the latter, sincerely desirous of restoring peace, willingly consented; but in his way thither was assassinated. This raised so general and so just an aversion to *Ebroin*, that he saw it would be more difficult for him than ever to succeed in his design; upon which, retiring into *Austrasia*, he set up an unknown youth, upon whom he bestowed the name of *Clovis*, and the quality of son of *Clotaire*, which gained him so great an accession of strength, more especially as he affirmed that *Thierri* was dead, that he became more formidable than ever ^z. The first use he made of his power was to send a strong body of forces, under the command of some lords as wicked as himself, and two bishops, who had been deposed for a variety of crimes, to invest *Autun*; where, to procure the city, the bishop, who was the object of his vengeance, surrendered himself into their hands; and they, by his directions, put out his eyes, and would have left him

^w *MALESII Gesta Francorum.* ^x *ALMON*, lib. iv. c. 45.
^y *ANON. Chron.* ^y *URSINUS* in *Vita Leodegarii.* ^z *Vita Sancti Leodegarii*, par *ANONYM.*

to starve, if the duke of *Champagne*, out of pure humanity, had not relieved him ^a.

After many years IT might have been imagined, that the miserable situation of the bishop of *Autun* would have satiated the malice of *Ebroin*, and that the king's accepting him in quality of mayor of the palace, to which he was compelled, and which, in effect, was receiving him for his master, might have gratified his ambition ^b. *Ebroin*, however, was not either appeased or content. He published a general amnesty, that he might fix his own power upon the firmest basis; and, when he had brought things into tolerable order, he made no scruple of declaring, that, notwithstanding this amnesty, there were two points, into which, for the safety of the state, it was absolutely necessary to enquire; the first was the deposition of *Thierri*, and the second the murder of *Childeric*. By this contrivance there were none left innocent, whom he had a mind to consider in another light. The bishop of *Autun* and his brother were charged with procuring the death of *Childeric*; the former had his lips and part of his tongue cut off, the latter was stoned. Two years after the bishop, upon a new accusation, was condemned, degraded, and put to death ^c. Others, who had provoked him, felt the weight of *Ebroin*'s resentment in as high a degree, the king, who was no less in his power than his subjects, not daring to interpose. We need not wonder, therefore, that the nobility of *Austrasia*, though rent into faction amongst themselves, were universally disposed to hinder *Ebroin* from extending his power into that country; to prevent which they set up two rich and potent men, who were cousins, and bestowed on them the title of dukes of *Austrasia*. The names of these two dukes were *Martin* and *Pepin*; the former had the greater interest, but the latter was the abler man ^d. *Ebroin*, who had a numerous and well-disciplined army, marched against them as if they had been rebels to *Thierri*, which they really were not. He had the good fortune to defeat them in battle, and afterwards besieged *Martin* in the city of *Laon*; where, having prevailed upon him to surrender that place, upon a promise of safety made by the bishops of *Paris* and *Rheims*, he was no sooner master of it than he caused him to be beheaded ^e. *Pepin* in the mean

A.D. 683.

^a URSINUS in Vita Sancti Leodegarii. ^b AIMON, lib. iv. c. 46. ADON. Chron. ^c URSINUS in Vita Sancti Leodegarii. ^d Annales Metenses. ^e AIMON, lib. iv. c. 46. ADON. Chron.

time had recruited his forces, and, having chosen a strong camp, resolved to defend himself there to the last extremity. The mayor of the palace was preparing to attack him, when he fell by the hand of an enemy whom he did not suspect. *Ermenfroi*, who was steward of the king's household, had been guilty of oppressions, for which *Ebroin* had caused him to be deeply fined. This man had a resentment quick as his own, and, having engaged some of his friends to assist him, they attacked the mayor of the palace as he was going to his devotions on a *Sunday* morning, and dispatched him with their knives, being without other arms to prevent suspicion; after which they fled to the camp of *Pepin*, who very readily granted them his protection^f. Upon this foundation some have supposed him to be the author of the murder.

THE nobility elected *Waraton* to succeed him as mayor of the palace, by which they put into his hands the supreme direction of affairs in the kingdoms of *Neustria* and *Burgundy*. *Thierri* to He was a man of a mild and peaceable disposition, and who seemed to have been raised to that eminent employment rather out of respect to his quality than his talents. He carried on the war against *Pepin* timorously and tardily, which provoked his son *Gislemar* to supplant him in a post for which he was much fitter^g. He pressed the *Austrasians* exceedingly, and in all probability had determined the war in his own favour at last, if not in his master's, had not death interposed and removed him at a very critical conjuncture. He was succeeded by his brother-in-law *Bertaire*, a man of a hasty and haughty disposition, who treated the nobility with such disrespect, that some of them retired into *Austrasia*, and many more began to enter into intrigues with *Pepin*, whom they sought to draw into *Neustria*, assuring him that they had much rather see him at the head of their councils and armies than *Bertaire*, who had treated them so unworthily. *Pepin* proceeded slowly and cautiously, and, before he would invade either *Neustria* or *Burgundy*, sent deputies to intreat *Thierri* to restore the exiles, that had retired to him, to their posts and patrimonies, and to redress certain grievances that were highly detrimental to the nation in general. This was rejected with great contempt; upon which *Pepin* advanced towards the frontiers with his forces. *Thierri*, and his mayor of the palace, marched with a numerous army to meet them in the *Vesmandois*; they engaged, and though the royal army behaved well, and disputed the victory for many hours, yet in the end they were beaten. The king fled to *Paris*, and

*Pepin compels
Thierri to receive him as
mayor of
the palace.
A.D. 689.*

Bertaire much farther; but, being much embarrassed with his treasures, his own soldiers conspired against him, murdered him, and shared his wealth amongst them^h. This put an end to the dispute, and delivered into the hands of *Pepin* both the king and his kingdom.

Leaves the
king barely
the title,
and as-
sumes ab-
solutely the
sovereign-
ty of the
Franks.

It is requisite to say something more particularly of this great man, who had himself the power, and whose grandson assumed the title of king, of *France*. He is commonly called *Pepin d'Heristal*, from a palace of his on the *Meuse*, about three miles above *Liege*, where there is now a town of the same name. He is sometimes denominated, from the figure of his person, *Pepin le Gros*, or *Pepin the Fat*. We find him sometimes stiled *Pepin le Vieux*, or *Pepin the Old*, in opposition to his grandson *Pepin the Short*; and sometimes *Pepin le Jeune*, or *Pepin the Young*, to distinguish him from *Pepin de Landen*, who was mayor of the palace to *Sigebert II.* This *Pepin d'Heristal* was, in all respects, one of the greatest men that age produced, extremely brave in his person, affable in his manner, easy of access, mild in his discourse, very ambitious, and withal modest and moderate in appearance: in short, a great captain, a consummate statesman, and, which was more than either, so prudent in every thing he did and said, that he seldom lost a friend, and never created an enemyⁱ. He received *Thiegrî* as if he had intended to be the most humble and the most dutiful of his servants: he paid him all the respect possible, and took all the care he could to hide his chains from himself and the public. Whenever it was necessary for him to appear, he appeared in state. A chariot, drawn by oxen, rolled him along the street, surrounded by guards, partly for pomp, partly for security, but chiefly to prevent any from approaching him. He gave audience to ambassadors, he received homage from tributary princes, and was present at all public solemnities, with a pageantry that at once pleased and deceived the people. The rest of his time he spent at some country palace, where he had a good table, kept his great officers, and a competent number of domesticks, but he was not troubled with affairs^k. *Pepin* bestowed the commands in the army, distributed provinces, appointed dukes and counts, and in short sustained all the fatigues of sovereignty, though he was so humble as to content himself with the title of duke and prince of the *Franks*. Here in

^h Cont. FREDEGARII, cap. 1000.

Gesta Regum Francorum.

ADONIS Chron.

ⁱ Annales Metens.

^k AIMON, lib. iv. cap. lxxvii.

fact ended the empire of *Clovis*. *Pepin d'Heristal* might, with propriety enough, be said to put an end to the *Marovingian* race, since from this time they lost all authority, and were, in reality, not more than breathing shadows, and phantoms of royalty, which, except their hair and their robes, had nothing in them of kings. But whatever became of the family, we must do him the justice to say, that he preserved the empire of *Clovis*, which otherwise must have crumbled to pieces through its own weight, and the incapacity of those who should have supported it¹.

AT his entrance on the administration, *Pepin* applied himself vigorously to correct the faults of his predecessors, and to bring all things into order: but he began very wisely with popular measures; he recalled such as were exiled; he restored many to their employments, and many more to their patrimonies; he heard grievances patiently, and redressed them willingly; he shewed profound respect to the clergy, but constrained them to maintain an exact discipline; he brought the finances into good order, and obliged the dukes and counts to govern the people according to the laws, and to be obedient to them themselves. He received the assemblies at the beginning of *March*, at which the prelates, as well as the nobility, were present; where laws were made and repealed, and where the state of the empire, in all respects, was strictly and punctually examined^m. In these assemblies *Thierry* was always present, seated on a throne, and surrounded by his officers; all proceedings being in his name, and all grants said to issue through his favour. This sudden and extraordinary alteration rendered *Pepin* so famous, that not only the *Sclavonians* and the *Huns*, but the king of the *Lombards*, also the *Greek* emperor *Justinian* II. and even the *Saracens*, sent their ambassadors to the court of *France*, where they made their presents, and paid their respects to *Thierry*, and saw with astonishment the plainness and simplicity of *Pepin's* appearance, who took all the pains imaginable to hide from the public that love of power which, notwithstanding, occupied his whole thoughts. *Thierry* survived this change about three years, and then died, under forty years of age, leaving by his wife *Clotilda* two sons, *Clovis* and *Childebert*ⁿ.

ON the demise of *Thierry*, *Pepin* proclaimed his eldest son *Clovis* III. then about ten years old, without taking any notice of the title

¹ *Annales Metenf. Gesta Regum Francorum.*
lib. iv. c. 46. *Gesta Regum Francorum.*

^m *AIMON.*
ⁿ *Cont. FR.*

Pepin brings public affairs into order, and is highly respected by foreign powers.

A.D. 692.

Clovis III. bears the title of king.

tice of the younger, as, perhaps, not caring to have the trouble of two sons. This young prince bore the regal title about four years; during which space *Pepin* was employed in humbling the *Frisons*, and other barbarous nations, who, disdain^ging to be the tributaries of the mayor of the palace, thought to have shaken off the yoke of the *Franks*, with the same ease that he had done his master; in which, however, they found themselves extremely mistaken °. After the demise of *Clovis*, his brother *Childebert* was saluted king, and led the same inactive life his father had done, while *Pepin* humbled the *Allemands* and the *Bavarians*, and other nations, which rendered him highly respected. His care of the public did not hinder his being very assiduous in providing for his family: he had by his first wife *Plectrude* two sons; *Drogon*, whom he made duke of *Burgundy*, and *Grimoalde*, who was mayor of the palace to *Childebert* †. Being divorced from her, he married *Albaide*, and had by her two sons also, *Charles*, surnamed *Martel*, and *Childebrand*: but *Plectrude* being restored to his favour, they were not raised to any great post during the life of their father. As for *Drogon*, duke of *Burgundy*, he was of a warm and active disposition, brave, liberal, and magnificent; but he died in the flower of his age, and, as some say, not without issue. *Grimoalde* was of quite another character, mild, humane, pious, but withal a man of great parts and prudence, which rendered him the favourite of his father, who depended upon him for the support of his house. *Childebert* II. dying, after a reign of seventeen years, his son *Dagobert* II. was declared king, and *Grimoalde* mayor of the palace: he acted, however, intirely under his father's orders, and obeyed him with all the exactness possible ‡. His power, and his good fortune, could not defend him from the effects of age and infirmities. In the third year of *Dagobert*'s reign, he had a dangerous fit of sickness at *Jutit*, not far from *Heristal*: as it was believed he could not recover, the enemies of his family resolved to take this opportunity of destroying it, and with this view entered into a conspiracy against *Grimoalde*, who, in other respects, had no ways deserved it; and *Rangaire*, who was at the head of this plot, stabbed him as he was at prayers in the church of *St. Lambert* at *Liege* §. *Pepin* recovered, and revenged himself with great severity on all who

° *Annales Metens.* *Gesta Regum Francorum.* Cont.
FREDEG. cap. 101. † *Gesta Regum Francorum.* ADON.
Chronicon. ‡ *Contin. FREDEGARII* Append. GREG.
Turon.

were embarked in that conspiracy; and, to shew his great power, as well as his warm affection for his son, he appointed his only child *Theudoalde* mayor of the palace, though he was then but six years old. This was one of the last acts of his life, for he died not long after, in the twenty-eighth year of his administration^s.

PLECTRUDE, in quality of tutoreſs to her grandson, assumed the direction of affairs, and had the honour to be at the head of such a government, as scarce any history can shew the like; a woman and a child presuming to rule three kingdoms, while the king was alive and in full health! It would have been surprising if she could have carried on this government; and yet it cannot be said to have failed through her imprudence. She was apprehensive of some trouble from her son-in-law *Charles Martel*; to prevent which, she caused him to be imprisoned; she secured the treasure of her deceased husband; and she spared no pains in caressing the nobility whom *Pepin* had intrusted with the principal employments. She quickly found that this was to little purpose; the remains of that faction, which had opposed her husband, took up arms to rescue, as they gave out, *Dagobert* from his confinement. *Plectrude* had recourse to the *Austrasians*, who, out of affection to the family of *Pepin*, raised a formidable army; which, however, was beaten by that of *Dagobert* and *Rainfroi*, whom the nobility had elected mayor of the palace^u. *Theudoalde* was with difficulty saved, and died not long after; so that the vast structure which *Pepin* had erected, was in great danger of being overthrown, and the old constitution restored. It was, however, preserved by an accident; for, in the midst of this confusion, *Charles Martel* made his escape, and going into *Austrasia*, was, without hesitation, received there as duke, and quickly collected a good body of troops out of the army that had been defeated. As for *Plectrude*, she had still a strong party, which enabled her to retire to *Cologne*, with the treasures of her husband. *Dagobert* resolved to pursue her thither, and was on the point of undertaking that expedition, when, very fortunately for the family of *Pepin*, he was removed by death, in the fifth year of his reign, having an only son *Thierri*, situated from the place of his birth *Thierri of Chelles*, at the breast^w.

Dagobert king under the tutelage of an old woman and a young child.

A.D. 716.

This accident threw the mayor of the palace *Rainfroi*, Chilperic and the nobility of *Neustria*, into great disorder; they wanted Daniel declared

^s AïMON, lib. iv. cap. 49.

^u AïMON, l. iv. ADONIS Chron

^t Annales Metenses.

^w Annales Metenses.

king, and
Charles
Martel
duke of
Austria.

a king for their own security, who had some degree of capacity and courage; and, therefore, setting aside *Thierry*, they drew out of a convent *Daniel*, the son of *Childebert II.* tho' a clerk, and having bestowed on him the name of *Chilperic*, they advanced him to the throne^a. In spite of his education and misfortunes, this young king shewed a spirit suitable to his birth^y; and putting himself, with the mayor of the palace, at the head of his army, prosecuted the design of his predecessor, and marched directly into *Austria*^z. He at the same time entered into a negotiation with the duke of the *Frisons*, who speedily assembled a great army, and with it marched directly towards *Cologne*. *Charles Martel* found himself between two armies, and his forces much inferior to either; he ventured, notwithstanding, to give battle to the *Frisons*, over whom he gained no advantage^a. This check put it out of his power to prevent the junction of their forces with those of *Chilperic*, who thereupon laid siege to *Cologne*. *Plectrude* had a strong garrison, and seemed disposed to make an obstinate defence; but, however, she offered the king and his allies a very large sum of money if they would raise the siege. In all probability this tempted the *Frisons*, and the king found himself under a necessity of complying with his allies. However it happened, the proposition was accepted, the money received, and the siege raised^b. The *Frisons* thereupon retired into their own country; and the king, finding it difficult to subsist his army, was obliged to retreat. *Charles Martel* dividing his forces into several bodies, harassed the king's army continually, and, in the forest of *Arden*, entering the camp by surprize, cut off a great number: this raised his reputation highly, more especially as he treated his prisoners kindly, and dismissed them without ransom. It also revived the spirits of the *Austrians*; so that, in a short time, he found himself at the head of a very numerous army, and in a condition of acting offensively against his enemies^c.

Charles
Martel
compels the
king to
own him
for mayor
of his pa-
lace.

THE virtues of *Pepin* were inherited by *Charles*; he knew perfectly how to improve good fortune, as well as how to support the want of it. He marched his forces towards *Cambrai*, where *Chilperic* and the mayor of his palace had established their head quarters; but being arrived between *Arras* and that city, he did not immediately give the king battle, but, on the contrary, entered into a negotiation,

^a *Gesta Regum Francorum.* ^y *Annales Metens.* ^z *Cont. FREDGARII.* ^a *Annales Metenses.* ^b *Gesta Regum Francorum.* ^c *Contin. FREDGARII.*

declaring, that he fought no more than to be restored to what his father possessed, and that those who had suffered with him might likewise share in this change of fortune, which was immediately rejected. By this measure he convinced his troops that he had a proper concern for their safety: he persuaded them that right was on their side, and that, without victory, they were not to expect either safety or justice^d. This had a proper effect; his troops attacked those of the king's with spirit, and continued the engagement with such resolution, that they gained a complete victory, on Sunday the 19th of *March*, according to the best computations; after which he ravaged all the country as far as *Paris*, and then returned with his victorious army into *Austrasia*. His view in taking this step was to reduce *Cologne*, and get thereby into his hands the treasures of his father *Pepin*, which he accomplished without much difficulty; for having persuaded *Pletrude* to admit him into the city, a sedition presently ensued, which put him in possession, and her in his power^e. He used his fortune in this case with great moderation; but perceiving that *Chilperic* would not listen to any terms, and that the people of *Austrasia* were desirous of a king, he took the same step that *Ebroin* had done in like circumstances, and set up *Clotaire*, a prince very probably of the royal blood; but how or from whom descended no history informs us. *Chilperic*, and *Rainfroi* the mayor of his palace, saw clearly that nothing now was to be expected but from arms, and therefore they had recourse to *Eudes*, duke of *Aquitaine*, who, in the course of these troubles, had made himself master of all that the *Franks* had possessed on the other side the *Loire*, and promised him, if he would assist them with his forces against the *Austrasians*, to acknowledge his right to the provinces he had seized^f. It may be that *Eudes* little regarded this sanction, since he was very well able to defend against them what he had acquired; but it was his interest as well as theirs to lessen the power of *Charles*, who might, some time or other, endeavour to recover this country to the *Franks*; he embraced therefore the offer that was made him, and with a very numerous army joined that of the king. They had scarce time to deliberate on the properest method for carrying on the war; since *Charles Martel*, who had now the means of augmenting and maintaining an army, was advanced as far as *Soissons*, and seemed disposed to find them out, if they did not march to find him. If they had taken

^d Annales Metenses.
Gesta Regum Francorum.

^e Chronicon. Fontalleuse.
^f Vita S. Ricciberti.

this step immediately, possibly things might have succeeded better; but this unexpected march of the *Austrasians* visibly disconcerted them: while they endeavoured to delay coming to action, their forces dwindled and disbanded, and being rather driven than defeated by *Charles*, *Rainfroi* marched one way, and the king and the duke of *Aquitaine* another^c. *Chilperic* carried with him his treasures, and persuaded *Eudes* to augment his army; that they might again try their fortune in the field; but *Charles* demanded the king and his treasures, and promised the duke, if they were delivered up, his friendship, and the peaceable possession of all that he now held. *Eudes*, intirely guided by his own interest, and having no reason to expect greater advantages from supporting any longer the side he had taken, accepted these terms, and delivered up *Chilperic* and his^e treasures^b.

A.D. 719.

The civil
war ended,
and the
death of
Chilperic
after an
unhappy
reign.

THE reception offered the king by *Charles Martel*, was as honourable and as kind as his circumstances would permit. *Clotaire* dying about this time, he caused him to be acknowledged in *Austrasia*; and, as it appears from charters and other authentic instruments, he was owned for the sovereign of all the dominions of the *Franks*. *Rainfroi* was not so easily reduced; he had an interest amongst the nobility: they saw clearly that his cause was theirs; and that if he was once reduced, as they had nothing to hope from the favour, so their safety must depend upon the clemency, of the victor. *Charles* took the same method to put an end to this war, that he had done with regard to the former^d. He pushed *Rainfroi* vigorously, till he had shut him up in *Aungier*, where he offered him the county of *Anjou*, with the strongest assurance of his enjoying it peaceably, which *Rainfroi* readily accepted; and the terms, thus settled, were very honourably maintained on both sides^e. *Charles* was equally successful in reducing those who had thrown off the yoke of the *Franks*: he beat the *Sueviars* by sea, the *Frisons* by land; twice he defeated the *Allemands*, and gained no less than five victories over the *Saxons*, so much the more acceptable to him, as they were purchased at a small expence of blood. His prudence in taking his measures, and his promptness in the execution of them, were the principal causes of his constant victories; which, while he was pursuing, *Chilperic*, who had a deep sense of his misfortunes, died, after a short as well as a restless and unhappy reign. The critics in *French* history

A.D. 725.

^c Cœntin. FREDEG.^b Annales Metenses.^d ADON.

Chron.

^e Nouvelle Histoire de France, par LE GENDRE.

P. DANIEL.

have very justly excluded the name of this monarch from the list of the *Faineans*, as he was personally present in three battles, and upon all other occasions gave incontestable proofs of his activity and address; so that there seemed to be nothing wanting to render him a great prince, but a little better fortune, or less courage or capacity in his competitor¹.

THIERRI of Chelles was brought out of the convent upon this occasion, and proclaimed king of *Austrasia*, as well as *Neustria* and *Burgundy*: he is usually stiled *Thierry III.* but with greater propriety *Thierry IV.* and, at the time of his accession, could not be above seven years old at most. His name was all that was of any use to *Charles*, and that indeed stood him in great stead. He was always in arms, and always in the cause of the king of the *Franks*; the dukes, and the counts, who controverted his orders, he considered as rebels to the king; the barbarous nations that did not pay their tribute, were the enemies of the *Franks*. Thus he never wanted specious pretences for perpetual expeditions, which kept up a numerous army, without being either a burthen or a terror to his own subjects; for the vanquished always bore the expence of the war, the bounds of the empire were continually enlarged, the clergy were constantly sent into the new conquests, and large grants to the church were to him equivalent to garrisons, in which he followed the maxims of his father *Pepin*; and whether his actions were good law or ill, they had always a fair colour, which, with full coffers and veteran troops, secured his fame and fortune^m: but the quality which, of all others, contributed most to his greatness, was his sagacity in foreseeing, and his activity in taking his measures. In consequence of his foresight, *Eudes*, duke of *Aquitaine*, who had the same faculty, in a great degree, had more than once infringed the treaty he made with him, and had an intention of proceeding further, if fortune had favoured him; but *Charles* had ever his army at hand to check him, and, by ravaging his country in revenge, obliged him to renew the peace he had brokenⁿ. That prince might, however, some time or other, have created him much uneasiness, had he not had his hands full with another no less potent enemy, the *Moors*, who were masters of *Spain*. He was continually embarrassed with them for several years together, being sometimes in war, sometimes in league with

¹ Annales Metenses.

^a ADON. Chron.

^m Contin. FREDGARII.

their chiefs, one of whom he tempted to revolt by giving him his daughter; but he being defeated and slain, the duke of *Aquitaine* found himself in a very distressed condition^o. *Abderaman*, governor of *Spain* for the Khalif, meditated not only the punishment of *Eudes*, and the conquest of his country, but to penetrate into the heart of *France*, and to establish there the enormous swarms of *Moors*, who were continually transporting themselves from *Africa*. *Eudes* penetrating his design from the prodigious army he understood was forming, and knowing how unable he was to defend himself and his country from such an inundation of infidels, applied himself, though unwillingly, to the duke and prince of the *Franks*. *Charles* readily promised him his assistance; and, having long before expected such an invitation, had his troops in perfect readiness, contrary to his usual custom, and had brought into the field many thousands^p of his subjects from beyond the *Rhine*^p.

Charles Martel engages the Moors and gains a complete victory. *ABDERAMAN* broke like a torrent into *Aquitaine*, with an army so numerous, that, in attempting to define it, some historians have rendered their accounts incredible. Duke *Eudes* was so little in a condition to resist, that all the forces he could raise served only to form a flying camp, and this was all that *Charles* expected^q. The *Moors* wasted all the country as they proceeded, took and destroyed the great towns, and seemed to place the hopes of their possession in leaving no places of strength, to which, when they recovered from their consternation, the inhabitants might retire. *Charles* marched with his army to meet them, but slowly, and in good order^r. Between *Tours* and *Poitier* the armies came in sight, and spent seven days in skirmishes; at length they came to a decisive battle, in which the troops from beyond the *Rhine* did wonders; their gigantic size in comparison of the *Moors*, and the weight of their battle-axes, ballanced the inequality of numbers. *Abderaman* behaved like a great captain, and his forces defended themselves with great intrepidity; the Christians fought with much bravery and spirit; but tho' they killed multitudes, the infidels did not break or give away. At length, a multitude appeared flying, and a great cloud of smoke and dust rose behind the army of the *Moors*, the duke of *Aquitaine* had broke into their camp, slaughtered their women, children, and servants, and set fire to their tents: this determined the fate of the day, and obliged the

^o Annales Metenses.

Chron.

^q Contin. FREDERIC.

ADONIS Chronicon.

^p ISIDOR. Pacens. ADON.

^r Annales Metenses.

Moors to retreat as fast as they were able. *Charles* did not prosecute his victory, which seems to be a clear proof that his loss was much greater than those historians make it, who say this victory did not cost him above fifteen hundred men^s. The next year the infidels made another attempt on *Aquitaine*, to no purpose; but they had better fortune in *Provence*, which was betrayed into their hands by its governor. This drew *Charles* into those parts with a numerous army, with which he made himself master of *Avignon*^t. He soon transferred the war into *Languedoc*, and gained another great victory over the *Saracens*, but he was not able to make himself master of *Narbonne*: he had, perhaps, carried the success of his arms farther, but that he was obliged to attend particularly to domestic concerns. He granted the duchy of *Aquitaine* to *Hunald*, the son of *Eudes*, but upon express condition of being his vassal, without mention of the king, and *Thierri* dying about this time, he made no haste to declare a successor. He beat the *Frisons*, and killed their duke with his own hands: he dissipated more than one conspiracy, made a league with the *Lombards*, and undertook to act as a mediator between them and pope *Gregory III.* who made choice of him for his protector, sent him the keys of the tomb of *St. Peter*, offered to shake off his dependance on the *Greek* emperor, and to proclaim *Charles* consul of *Rome*^u. These propositions pleased him extremely; but, while this great affair was in agitation, all the great persons interested therein were removed by death, the emperor *Leo* on the 18th of *June*, *Charles Martel* on the 22d of *October* (O), and the pope on the 28th of *November*^v. A.D. 741.

THE

^s ISIDOR. PACENS. ^t RODERIC TOLETAN Hist. Arabum. ADON. Chron. Annales Metenses. ^u Contin. FREDEG. ^v Annales Metenses.

(O) As the second race of the *French* kings are stiled *Carlovingians*, in the opinion of many writers, from this *Charles Martel*, we will in this note give a succinct account of his family and descendants. The most antient writers rise no higher than his great grandfather *Arnold*, or *Arnoul*, steward of the household to the kings of *Austrasia*, and who had three sons by his wife *Doda*, before he became an ecclesiastic and bishop of *Metz* (3). His second son *Anchisus*, *Anchises*, or *Ansgius*, held the same post his father did, under *Sigebert*, king of *Austrasia*, espoused *Bega* the daughter of *Pepin* of *Landen*, and the sister of *Grimoalde*, by whom he was the

(3) P. Diacon. de Episcop. Metenses.

Carloman and Pepin THE singular fortune which had attended *Charles Martel* through his whole life, and which had accompanied him to his grave, seemed to be consigned by him to his family. In an assembly of the nobles, held a little before his death, he assigned *Austrasia* to his eldest son *Carloman*; *Neustria* and *Burgundy* to his second son *Pepin*, surnamed *le Bref*, or *the Short*, because he was short in stature, though very strong and

succeed
their fa-
ther, and
the inter-
regnum
continues.

father of *Pepin of Heristal*. This *Anchises* was killed as he was hunting by one *Godwin*, who was his enemy, about the year 674: his name being the same with that of the father of *Aeneas*, gave the flatterers of this house an opportunity to suggest they were descended from the *Trojans*. *Pepin*, as we have shewn in the text, was, by his second wife, the father of *Charles Martel*, who was born about the year 691, received the surname of *Martel*, as some say, upon the defeat of the *Moors* at *Poitiers*. *Martel* signifies a hammer (4). He received from his father the ambitious maxims of his family, which he transmitted to his sons, after having in vain tried the expedient of an interregnum, in hopes of weaning the people from their affection to the family of *Clovis*. The name of his first wife was *Roxude*, by whom he had four sons and three daughters: *Carloman*, duke of *Austrasia*, afterwards a monk, who died at *Vienne* in 747, leaving several children behind him, the eldest of which was a son named *Dreux*; but, together with the rest, thrust into convents, and never heard of more: *Pepin*, who assumed the title of

king of *France*: *Bernard*, who had several children, viz. *Adelard*, count of the palace, and afterwards abbot of *Corbie*, who will be mentioned hereafter; *Walla*, esteemed the wisest man of his time, who succeeded his brother in the same abbey; *Bertier*, who was also a monk; *Gondrade*, and *Theodrade*, both nuns. The fourth son of *Charles Martel* was *Jerom*, who, by his wife *Ercefende*, became the father of three sons; viz. *Oduin*, who died without posterity; *Fulrad*, abbot of *St. Quintin*; *Folquin*, bishop of *Terouane*; *Landrade*, who espoused *Sigran*, count of *Hesbai*; *Aldane*, who married *Theodoric*, count of *Toulouse*; and *Hildetrude*, who became the wife of *Odilon*, duke of *Bavaria*. By *Sonnechilde*, or *Suanechilde*, *Charles Martel* had *Grifson*, of whom enough has been said in the history: he had also a bastard son, *Remy*, who was bishop of *Rouen* (5). The character of this *Charles* is well expressed in the inscription upon his tomb. He chose rather to command kings than to be one; yet, in some of the old chronicles, we find the year of his reign mentioned: but this proves nothing, since that phrase had a different sense in

(4) *P. Amil. de Rege Pipino, Couronne et Maison, par Jean Du Tillet.*

(5) *Recueil des Rois de France, leur*
those

and well made. These were the children of his first wife *. His second survived him, and to her son *Gripon*, or *Griffon*, he assigned only some lands in the heart of *France*, with which he was so much offended, that he presently raised an insurrection, and shut up himself and his mother in the city of *Laon*. *Carloman* and *Pepin* followed him there with an army, invested the place, and pushed the siege with such vigour, that *Griffon* was obliged to surrender at discretion; upon which they sent his mother to a convent, and him to a castle in the forest of *Arden*†. This troublesome business over, the two brothers concerted together the proper measures for settling the empire of the *Franks*, took such precautions, with regard to the tributary nations and the duke of *Aquitaine*, as rendered some attempts they made to throw off their dependance ineffectual, and acted on all occasions with such a perfect understanding, and so entire a confidence in each other, as filled their contemporaries with admiration, and prevented their power from suffering the smallest diminution ‡.

WHEN the state of things would permit, *Carloman* went *They act* into *Austrasia*, that he might attend more assiduously to his *together in* own concerns. *Pepin* perceiving that there wanted some-reducing

* Chronicon Fontallense. † Contin. FREDEGARII.
ADON. Chron. • ‡ Annales Metenses.

those times (6). We have yet something more to say of this great man. He had made free with the treasures of the church to defend *France*, and indeed all Christendom, against the *Saracens*; the monks were pleased to give out that he was damned. The tale was probably whispered in secret very near his time; but the clergy were so fond of it, that we find the bishops of two provinces, in a letter addressed to *Lewis*, King of *Germany*, *Anno Domini* 858, telling him with great solemnity, that *Eucher*, bishop of *Orleans*, after the death of *Charles Martel*, had his condition revealed to him, and that,

at his request, *Boniface*, bishop of *Meiz*, and *Fulrade*, bishop of *St. Denis*, and chaplain to king *Pepin*, caused his tomb to be opened, in which they found only a monstrous dragon, which presently disappeared, leaving behind a great cloud of smoke (7). It is true that *Charles Martel* banished this *Eucher* and his family, so that he was as fit a man as any upon whom to fix this tale; but it happen'd unluckily for the credit of the story, that this prelate died some years before *Charles Martel*, and so could not possibly be the author of it, as is supposed.

(6) *Histoire de France, par le P. G. Daniel. Nouvelle Histoire de France, par M. Louis le Gendre.* (7) *Capitul Caroli ca. vi, tit. 23.*

Odilon,
Duke of
Bavaria,
and the
German
confedera-
cy.

thing more than his own authority to contain the nobility, in two large kingdoms, within some order, resolved of his own accord to proclaim *Childeric*, the son of *Thierri of Chelles*, king, which he accordingly did. His brother *Carloman* did not concur in this measure, or acknowledge *Childeric*; not that there was any dispute or disagreement between the two brothers, but because *Carloman* looked upon *Austrasia* as a sovereignty, in some measure become hereditary in his family; and having the good fortune to establish this opinion among the inhabitants, it was never afterwards called in question ^a. It was in this quality of duke and sovereign of *Austrasia*, that he called the council of *Estines*, the ruins of which town are still to be seen near *Binche* in *Hainault*, where, by the advice and with the assent of his clergy, he regulated many abuses, and in the preface to these canons he speaks absolutely in the stile of a sovereign. But, notwithstanding this flow of good fortune, the two brothers found themselves very quickly obliged to vindicate their title, such as it was, by their arms. *Sonnechilde*, their mother-in-law, who was nearly related to *Odilon*, duke of the *Bavarians*, had drawn to their party their sister *Hiltrude*, by negotiating for her a marriage with that prince; and tho' they were so lucky as to thrust *Sonnechilde* into a convent, and her son *Griffon* into a prison, yet *Hiltrude* found means to escape, and friends who conducted her into *Bavaria*, where *Odilon* espoused her; and knowing that this would be attended with a war, formed a confederacy for his own support, which it required all the force the two brothers could raise to combat ^b. *Odilon* very well knew that his neighbours were as little disposed to submit to *Carloman* as himself; and therefore he represented to *Theodobald*, duke of the *Allemands*, and *Theodoric*, duke of the *Saxons*, that if ever there was a time favourable to their desire of rendering themselves independent, it was at this juncture, by the means of a strict alliance: he likewise drew the duke of *Aquitaine* to concur in this scheme, and to engage to pass the *Loire* with a potent army, as soon as *Carloman* and *Pepin* should bend their march towards *Germany* ^c. The brothers had some suspicion of this; but the army assembled by the confederates in *Germany* was, notwithstanding, so great, that they found it requisite to march in person against them, with the whole power of the *Franks*, and trust the repressing and punishment of the duke of *Aquitaine*, in case

^a Contin. FREDEG.
Chronica.

^b Annales Metenses.

^c ADON:

he executed the engagements he had taken, to the next campaign ^d.

THE confederates having drawn together a very numerous *The dukes* and gallant army, took post behind the *Lech*, and acted on *Carloman* *and Pepin* *encamped on* *and Pepin* *the other side of the river, and spent some days in attempt-* *defeat O-* *dilon,* *the three dukes knew, that if, by covering their country, the* *duke of* *Bavaria,* *Franks were obliged to retire, they should not only carry* *with his* *allies.* *their point, but have a fair opportunity of ruining their forces in a long retreat: but, while the Franks seemed to be employed in skirmishing and insulting the Bavarians, they with great secrecy caused the river to be sounded, and found that it was fordable at some distance, both above and below the camp of the confederates.* At the close of the evening the Franks, after making the usual signals, and lighting fires in all their quarters, decamped without noise, and Carloman marching up the river with his troops, and Pepin following the course of the stream, both passed it without opposition, and both were before the camp of the confederates, almost at the same instant, and when they were least expected. *Odi-* *lon,* *and the two dukes his confederates, made a gallant defence for near five hours; but, at length, the camp was forced on both sides with great slaughter; the duke of the Bavarians retired with the small remains of his forces, and took shelter behind the inn. The Franks ravaged and plundered the country for fifty-two days: Carloman, with a strong detachment, entered the country of the Saxons, and made their duke Theodoric prisoner. The close of the campaign and the war, brought all these dukes to renew their homage, and to promise the most exact obedience^e. There was not time left to chastise Hunald, duke of Aquitaine, who, in discharge of the promise he had made to the confederates, passed the Loire, destroyed all the country with fire and sword, and made himself master of Chartres, which, upon the approach of the Franks, he abandoned, after burning the best part of the city, and the magnificent cathedral, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, to ashes^f. Pepin, the next year, entered with a numerous army into his dominions, where they lived at discretion, till the duke, in pity to his subjects, and to extricate himself out of so unlucky an affair, submitted to the hard terms that were prescribed; and swore once again, in the most solemn terms, to remain a faithful**

A.D. 743.

^d Contin. FREDEGARII.
Chron.

^e Annales Metenses. ADON.
^f Contin. FREDEGARII.

vassal ; on account of which, and of the cruelties committed at *Chartres*, he thought fit to resign his dominions to his son, and retire into a convent, there to pass the remainder of his days in acts of penitence, as a private man, for the wickedness and folly of which he had been guilty in his public character ².

Carloman after reducing the revolted German nations, retires, of his own accord, to a convent.

A.D. 746.

THE two next years were spent by both brothers in various expeditions against the *Saxons*, and other *German* nations, whom interest and inclination led to revolt, as soon as the army that had reduced them was withdrawn : in these excursions they were generally successful : *Carloman* was so fortunate as to make *Theodoric*, duke of the *Saxons*, prisoner a second time, whom he treated with lenity, and, having exacted a fresh oath of obedience, restored him to his liberty. It appears, from the whole series of his actions, that he was a prince of great courage, and of equal capacity ; but withal, he was a prince of strict morals, great sweetness of temper, and sincere piety : he saw every day things that displeased him ; and that greatness and power, which had so many charms for others, were necessarily attended with so many acts of severity and injustice, as absolutely disgusted him. He had formed a design of quitting the world, and had communicated it to his brother ; but *Pepin*, in dissuading him from the immediate execution, imagined, perhaps, that this humour, like a fit of melancholy, would be dissipated by time, and a variety of events. It happened quite otherwise ; *Carloman* was of a serious, not a splenetic disposition ; time and experience served only to confirm him in his resolution ³. Some modern writers think *Pepin* did not take any exorbitant pains to divert his brother from a purpose that was to put him in possession of the monarchy ; but of this there is no great probability, and for it there is no authority at all. He left a son *Dragon*, and perhaps some other children, who, it is said, were shut up in convents by their uncle ; but this point is somewhat obscure ¹ : all we know of the matter, with certainty, is, that *Carloman* went to *Rome*, with an equipage suitable to his birth and dignity, made great presents on the behalf of *Pepin*, as well as himself, to the pope ; at length being shaved, and having taken the clerical habit, built a monastery upon mount *Soracte*, at the distance of some leagues from *Rome* : but the resort of *French* lords, and other men of quality, thither, incommoded him so much, and interfered to such a degree with his design,

¹ ADON. Chron. Metenses.

² Contin. FREDEG.

³ Annales

that he left this convent also, and retired to mount *Cassit*, where, in the famous benedictine abbey, then governed by *Optatus*, he spent the remainder of his days in privacy and quiet, yet not without maintaining a correspondence with his brother, and despising the practice of austerities, dictated only by a childish superstition ^k.

PEPIN was now in possession of all; but, notwithstanding what some have suggested, it does not appear from his actions that the acquisition of his dominions consoled him for the loss of his brother. * For, immediately after the retreat of *Carloman*, he took *Griffon* out of prison, lodged him in his own palace, gave him a great many counties, and a considerable revenue; and, supposing that time and his misfortunes might have cured him of his wild and headstrong disposition, he treated him with all the kindness and confidence possible. Some time after this, he held at *Duren*, a place between *Aix la Chapelle* and *Cologne*, a kind of council, in which he made several civil and religious regulations, particularly in regard to the necessary provisions for men destitute of necessary subsistence, for widows and for orphans, for the repairing and rebuilding churches destroyed in the wars, and for establishing tribunals for the administration of justice throughout his dominions ^l. But, while he was thus employed, *Griffon* was very far from being idle. If his brother *Carloman* was disgusted with sovereignty, this was not at all his case, and therefore he took under-hand all the measures possible to succeed him. Having drawn many of the nobility to his interest, and resolving to place himself at the head of those who had ever been the enemies of his family, he secretly quitted his brother's palace, and retired to *Theodoric*, duke of the *Saxons*, who received him with open arms, and revolted, for the third time, in his behalf. His first exploits were some incursions into *Thuringia*; but *Pepin* did not give him much time, for he advanced speedily with an army towards the country of the *Saxons*, notwithstanding the forces of *Theodoric* were more numerous ^m. The great inequality of numbers made his conduct appear the effects of resentment, or of rashness. It was not long before it took another colour; the *Sclavonians*, whom in the war of *Bavaria* he had treated with great generosity, fell upon the *Saxons* with an army of one hundred thousand men. *Pepin* charged them at the same time, and *Theodoric* being a third time taken, he was not inclined to trust him any more, so

Griffon, tho' kindly treated by his brother, revolts and engages the Germans to join him.

A.D. 747.

* ADON. Chron. Metenses,

l Contin. FREDEG.

m Annales

that we hear nothing of him from this time. The miserable people implored mercy upon any terms; *Pepin* extended his compassion towards them, upon condition that they became Christians. *Griffon* having given shelter to the flying Saxons, chose a strong camp, and fortified it. *Pepin* advanced towards him; but, when they were upon the point of engaging, *Griffon* sent to make him some propositions, to which *Pepin* answered, that if he would lay down his arms and return to him, he would, notwithstanding all that was passed, receive him as his brother, and retired with his forces, that he might have leisure to reflect upon his offer ⁿ. The true design of *Griffon* was only to gain time; he began to distrust the Saxons, and was desirous of quitting their country. It was not long before he did it, in a manner that revived his ambition and his hopes, but which, at the same time, did no great honour to his reputation ^o.

On the death of Odilon, duke of Bavaria, Griffon usurps the duchy from his nephew.
A.D. 748.

ODILON, duke of *Bavaria*, dying, left behind him an infant son *Tassilon*, by *Hiltrude*, the sister of *Pepin*, and the half-sister of *Griffon*. This princess, who had been always secretly in his interest, offered him a retreat in her dominions, which he accepted; and being quickly joined by a strong body of malecontent *Franks*, he seized his sister and her son, and caused himself to be proclaimed duke of *Bavaria* ^p. He was, however, so apprehensive of *Pepin*'s obliging him to desist from this usurpation, that he applied himself to pope *Zachary*, to the abbot *Optatus*, and to his brother *Carloman*, to intreat their interposition in his favour. They did accordingly interpose their good offices, but they signified little; *Pepin* was inexorable: he said it was one thing to forgive injuries done to himself, and another to indulge an intruder, who had despoiled a widow and an orphan. He took, therefore, proper measures, in the first place, to prevent any trouble or disturbance in the kingdom during his absence, and then marched with a potent army into *Bavaria*; where, without listening to any propositions, he pushed *Griffon* from post to post, till at length, having dissipated his troops, he took him and the chief persons of his party prisoners. He restored his nephew *Tassilon* to the duchy, under the tuition of his mother, and he brought his brother *Griffon* along with him into *France* ^q: he did not so much as reproach him with any thing that was passed; he only advised him not to make any further trials of his patience for the time to come:

* ADON. Chron. ° Contin. FREDEGARII. P ADON. Chron.
† Annales Metenses.

he explained to him the interests of their family; he shewed him that those who solicited him to these revolts would be the first to ruin him, when he had answered their purposes; and, that he might have no temptation to enter into fresh cabals, he gave him the town of *Mans* for his residence, with twelve counties for the maintenance of his household, and the title of duke. All this had no effect, he began instantly to cabal again; and knowing that the *German* nations were so thoroughly humbled that they durst not stir, he addressed himself to the duke of *Aquitaine*, and the only enemy his brother had, and therefore the only person he chose for his friend. We shall see in the next section what was the event of this new conspiracy.

THE empire of the *Franks* was now so firmly established, Pepin the tributary nations so effectually humbled, the neighbouring states so little in a condition to disturb this strong and spreading power, that *Pepin* grew weary of the inferior titles of mayor of the palace, and duke and prince of the *Franks*, and therefore resolved to execute the design which his ancestor, of the same name, had formed. Having no farther use for the unfortunate *Childeric*, who had hitherto worn the empty title of monarch of the *Franks*, but with less pomp and much less respect than was shewn to any of his predecessors, he determined to lay him intirely aside, and put an end to the race of *Merovingian* princes, who, for a series of years, had been mere phantoms or idols of royalty, rather than kings. To resolve and to execute in this case was for him equally easy, as costing him no other trouble than what it might give his conscience: the measures he took to effect this design, and to quiet his mind after it was effected, will appear in the next section, in which we are to treat of the reign of this prince, who was the first of the second race of the kings of the *Franks*, having given the reader the best account in our power of *Clovis* and his descendants, which was the proper business of this.

* *ABEN. Chronicon.** *Contin. FREDEGARII.*

S E C T. II.

The Reign of Pepin le Bref, or the Short, in whom began the Second Race.

Pepin le
Bref as-
cends the
throne,
and the
remaining
princes of
the male
line are
shut up.

WHEN *Pepin* formed the design of seating himself on the throne of *France*, he had all the advantages possible, and at the same time scarce any thing to obstruct him. He was in the very flower of his age, the dignity considered to which he aspired, being in his thirty-eighth year: he had the bishops and clergy at his devotion, to whom he had been a great benefactor, and had amply repaired those injuries, which they pretended to have received from his father *Charles Martel*: most of the counts and dukes throughout the kingdom owed their preferments to him and his family: his gracious and affable behaviour had rendered him very acceptable to the people, who, on the other hand, were taught to condemn and despise king *Childeric* as a weak paralytic creature, infirm alike in mind and in body^a. There is, therefore, nothing more easy, more natural, or more probable, than the simple and short account given in the old chronicle, that, in the annual assembly of the great men, in the month of *March*, it was proposed to remove *Childeric*, and to place *Pepin* on the throne; which, being unanimously resolved, was with little ceremony performed^b. The common account is better digested and more plausible. We are told, that the predecessor of *Pepin* had always entertained a fair correspondence with the popes; that he had himself practised the same policy, with the same view; that, by permitting the bishops of *Rome* to exercise authority in the dominion of the *Franks*, the way was prepared to gain an entire submission to that authority, when, in so capital a point as this, it should be exercised in his favour. It is also affirmed, that *Burcard*, bishop of *Wirtzburg*, and *Fulrade*, abbot of *St. Denis*, were sent ambassadors to pope *Zachary* at *Rome*, to lay before him the state of affairs in *France*, and to intreat him to decide whether the regal dignity should remain one so little capable to execute it, or whether it should be transferred to another, upon whom the welfare of the state had so long depended, and who was capable of adding lustre to the crown he received from his personal merit^c. It is added, that, to give the greater weight to these arguments,

^a *Aimon*, lib. iv. c. 60. ^b *Annales Bertinians*. *Annales Franc. Breves*. ^c *Adon. Chron.*

it was hinted to the pope how effectually he might be supported against the *Lombards*, and released from all dependance on the *Greek* emperors, if he paid a proper regard to this representation. Upon this, it is supposed, he declared it lawful to exclude one prince, and to set up another; and that this might be done in a manner the most satisfactory that could be to the people, St. *Boniface*, bishop of *Mentz*, the pope's legate, performed the ceremony of his inauguration at *Soissons*: some, forgetting that of *Clovis*, say that this was the first solemn coronation, with unction, that was ever seen in *France*; and that *Pepin* was particularly pleased to have this ceremony compared to the anointing of *David* by *Samuel* upon the rejecting of *Saul*^d.

BUT to the whole of this story there are some very strong objections. Such as, that the ancient chronicles are equally silent as to the concurrence of the pope, and as to this solemn coronation; that the pupil of this saint *Boniface* (who, by the way, was an *English* monk, and, till by command of the pope he assumed the name of *Boniface*, was called *Winfred*), was an entire stranger to this transaction; and that, long after the supposed sanction and coronation, *Pepin's* conscience was uneasy till his scruples were cured by another pope. But, whatever uncertainty there may be as to the means, there was none at all as to the fact^e. *Childeric*, after having his hair cut off, was conducted to the monastery of *Sithieu*, in the diocese of *Terouenne*, now the abbey of *St. Bertin* at *Omers*. There he was received as a monk by the abbot *Nanthaire*, and breathed his last in this place about three or four years afterwards; his consort *Geslie* was likewise put into a convent; and their son *Thierri*, being shaved, passed the remainder of his days in the monastery of *Fontenelle*, or, as it is now stilled, *Vandrilie*, in *Normandy*^f. Thus, in a few years, and without any sensible commotion, this great change was made.

THE same vigilance and activity which *Pepin* had found requisite in acquiring the crown, became no less necessary to keep it. The *Saxons*, notwithstanding all they had suffered, were again in arms; against whom *Pepin* marched with an army, chastised them very severely, and augmented their annual tribute. At his return from this war he had an account of the death of his brother *Griffon*; in relating which, however, authors are not well agreed. *Pepin* sent a herald to

Objections to the history of his inauguration by Boniface, archbishop of Mentz.

Pepin reduces the Saxons, his brother Griffon is killed, and he humbles the Bretons and others.

^d Contin. FREDEGAR. Annales Metenses. • ANAST. in Vita Stephan. III. • Chron. Fontan. Chron. Sithuen. Cont. FREDEGAR.

demand him from the duke of *Aquitaine*, and that duke absolutely refusing to deliver him up, he remained some time at his court; but conceiving, as some say, a suspicion, that, if he should be once attacked, the duke would make his own peace at his expence, or else flatter himself with hopes of being better supported by *Astolphus*, king of the *Lombards*, he endeavoured to withdraw himself, and to retire into *Italy*; but finding the pass of *Maurienne* guarded by a corps of troops commanded by *Theodon*, count of *Vienne*, and *Frederick*, governor of *Burgogne Transjurane*, or the further *Burgundy*, he boldly attacked him with a handful of forces he had with him, in which action all the three chiefs fell ^a. Others allege, that, falling in love with the duke of *Aquitaine*'s wife, who was one of the handsomest women of that age, the duke became so jealous of him, that *Griffon* found it requisite, for his own safety, to retire into *Italy*, and was, by that prince's order, assassinated in his passage. Be that as it would, it was a great piece of good fortune to *Pepin*, who lost in this brother the most bitter and determined enemy he ever had, and who, as long as he lived, would never have desisted from giving him trouble. The *Bretons* having made some incursions during *Pepin*'s absence, he made an incursion into their country, and forced the count to purchase peace by renewing his homage ^b. This raised his reputation so high, that a noble *Goth*, whose name was *Ansimonde*, and who, having seized the towns of *Nîmes*, *Magalonne*, *Agde*, and *Besiers*, had gallantly defended them against the *Moors*, demanded of his own accord the protection of *Pepin*, and became his vassal. This opened a passage for the *Franks* into the country which the *Goths* formerly held, and which was now possessed by the infidels, and gave *Pepin* an opportunity of investing *Narbonne*; the siege of which his father had been forced to raise. He found it so strong, and so well defended, that he was forced to turn his siege into a blockade, and, after it had lasted three years, it was rendered into his hands: an acquisition equally valuable in its nature, and honourable in the world's opinion ^c.

Pope Stephen III.
implores
his protection,

AN affair of greater consequence now demanded the king's attention. The popes had long thought themselves in a distressed and precarious condition, and *Stephen* the third looked upon his case to be desperate. On one side, *Astolphus*, king of the *Lombards*, had made himself master of the exarchate of *Ravenna*, and almost all that the *Greek* emperors held in

^a ADON. Chron.

^b AÏMON, ^c lib. iv. Annales Franc.

^c Annales Metenſes. ADON. Chron.

Italy, insisted upon being acknowledged king at *Rome*, and *and comes* threatened the city with a siege if the pope did not comply ^{to receive}. On the other hand, the emperor *Constantine Copronymus*, ^{it into} treading in the footsteps of his predecessor, was zealous in the *France*. support of the *Iconoclasts*, or image-breakers, whom the pope treated as heretics, and from whom, therefore, he could expect but little assistance. In this critical conjuncture, he first desired to have a safe conduct given him to come to *Pavia* to treat with *Astolphus*, and when he found him not to be moved by presents, prayers, or tears, he demanded leave to retire into *France*. In this demand he was seconded by the *French* ambassadors, so that *Astolphus*, though very unwilling, was obliged to consent, and the pope accordingly proceeded in his journey ¹. On his arrival *Pepin* paid him all possible respect, lodged him in the abbey of *St. Denis*, and took all the care imaginable of him during a long sickness. In return, the pontif shewed himself ready to gratify him in whatever he could desire, and particularly absolved him for the breach of his oath to his master *Childeric*: he also crowned him in the church of *St. Denis*, together with his queen *Bertrade*, bestowing at the same time the regal unction upon his sons *Charles* and *Carloman*; adding to all this, the title of *Romanorum Patricius*, for him and each of his sons, which was to be interpreted, declaring them patrons or protectors of the *Roman* people; an honour of which the pope sufficiently availed himself ^m.

THE king of the *Lombards*, who very easily saw what all *Pepin* ^{con-} this would end in, sent for *Optatus*, abbot of *Mount Cassin*, ^{duels the} and for *Carloman*, to whom, having represented the mis- ^{pope back}chievous consequences that would attend a war in *Italy*, he ^{into Italy} compelled the abbot to enjoin *Carloman* to go with all possible ^{with an} speed to his brother's court, to dissuade *Pepin* from coming ^{army,} to extremities. *Carloman* obeyed his abbot, went into *France*, ^{forces} and, as a certain historian says, pleaded so zealously for his client, that he equally offended the king and the pope, in- ^{to a peace,}so much that the former, at the persuasion of the latter, put his ^{which he} children into convents, and shaved them; which, with other ^{breaks soon} ill usage, had such an effect upon the mind of that virtuous ^{after.} and honest prince, that he did not long survive it ⁿ. His discourse, however, made such an impression upon the *French* lords, that they were by no means inclined to enter into the war, but insisted that ambassadors should be sent to *Astolphus*,

^k ANAST. in Vita Stephan III. ¹ Contin. Chron.
^m PAUL DIACON. Hist. Long. lib. vi. ⁿ An-
 piales Metenses.

to try whether this dispute might not be adjusted. He made great concessions; but the pope would not be satisfied, and at length so wrought upon the nobility, by his intreaties, that the war was resolved. *Pepin* conducted the pope, with an army, back into *Italy*, and, having forced the pass of *Maurienna*, besieged *Astolphus* in *Pavia*, and obliged him not only to renounce all pretensions to the sovereignty of *Rome*, but also to relinquish the exarchate of *Ravenna*, and all his conquests; for the due performance of which treaty, in all its points, he took the king's oath, and that of his principal nobility. Being thus master of *Ravenna*, he bestowed it as a free gift, if the *French* historians may be credited, on the pope and his successors, and at the same time sent the pontif to *Rome*, under the escorte of a considerable body of troops, commanded by his natural brother *Jerom*. How generous soever *Pepin's* intentions might be, or how grateful soever the pope might seem for this benefit, yet he had a secret reserved right, by which he dispensed with the notion of accepting this, in the light of a donation. The exarchate of *Ravenna* had belonged to the emperor *Constantine Copronymus*, whom he considered as a heretic; in that light he ceased to have any right to hold it, and, as the spoil of a heretic, it belonged to the church. This singular and extraordinary right could not be defeated either by the conquest of the king of the *Lombards*, or by the taking it from him by the king of the *Franks*; so that the bounty of *Pepin*, in the pope's sense, was only putting him in possession of a thing to which he had a just title, and which had been withheld from him by force. If the pope had his reserves, *Astolphus* had likewise his second thoughts, which were, that he had paid too high a price for raising the siege, and, therefore, as soon as the *Franks* were retired, he refused to comply with the treaty, or to part with a single town of his conquests; the pope, as soon as he was informed of this, dispatched abbot *Eulrade* to carry his complaints, and to demand fresh assistance from king *Pepin*.

Pepin returns to the pope's assistance, compels Astolphus

ASTOLPHUS had foreseen the step the pope would take, and, therefore, to complete his scheme, invested *Rome* in the month of *January*, demanding of the inhabitants to have the pope delivered into his hands; in which case he promised to do him no hurt, threatening otherwise to demolish the city, and to put them to the sword. The people, having so

* CONT. FREDEGAR.

P ANAST. in Vita Stephan. III.

ADAM. Chron.

† PAUL DIACON. Hist. Long. Histoire de France, par P. DANIEL.

recent an example of the king's preferring his interest to his *to a more* engagements, rejected the proposition, and prepared to make *ignomi-* a vigorous defence. *Astolphus* destroyed all their country, *nious* palaces, and ruined every thing in the neighbourhood of *Rome*; which served only to provoke them, and distressed his own troops. These acts of severity took from the *Romans* all thoughts of safety but from a brave defence; which, with the help of the *French* officers, was so well conducted, that *Astolphus* was still before *Rome* when he heard the news that *Pepin* had repassed the *Alps*, had invested *Pavia*, and that, in short, he was on the point of losing his capital, and perhaps his dominions^r. He was constrained, therefore, to make peace a second time, upon terms infinitely worse than those to which he submitted before. Besides abandoning *Ravenna* and all his conquests, with the addition of *Comachio*, he was constrained to pay a large sum of money, under the title of the expenses of the war, and to submit to the revival of the old tribute, which had been relinquished by *Clotaire* the second. The peace being made, *Pepin* made a tour to *Rome*, where he was received with great pomp; but finding that his stay gave great uneasiness to the *Greeks*, and was not very acceptable to the pope, he quickly left the city, having renewed and confirmed his donation. Having obliged *Astolphus* to perform the treaty in every respect, he sent the keys of *Ravenna* and the rest of the cities, by the abbot *Fulrade*, who was his chancellor, to *Rome*; who offered them on the tomb of *St. Peter*, in answer, as it may be supposed, to the letter which the pope transmitted to him during the siege, and which was penned in the name of that apostle^s. In all probability things might have once more changed their face, if *Astolphus* had not fallen from his horse, as he was hunting, and broke his neck. This produced great confusion; for he had mounted the throne upon the abdication of his brother *Rachis*, who, of his own accord, retired to the monastery of *Mount Cassin*, and lived there with duke *Carloman*. The throne being now vacant, most of the nobility invited him to ascend it; while, on the other hand, *Didier*, general of *Astolphus's* forces, was very desirous of exchanging his sword for a scepter^t. The thing was difficult; he had not so much as the colour of a title; but, to supply this defect, he had recourse to the pope, and began with fulfilling the late treaty to the utmost; next he made a present

^r Cont. FREDEG. ANAST. in vita Stephan. III.

nales Fuldens. ADON. Chron. Longobard.

^s Annales Fuldens. ADON. Chron. ^t PAUL DIACON. Hist.

of the city of *Bologna* and its district ; and lastly he promised the most profound obedience for himself and his successors. Upon this, the pope represented to *Rachis*, that his endeavour to resume the crown was a wicked and sacrilegious attempt ; which his piety induced him to believe ; so that, retiring back again to his convent, he left the kingdom to *Didier*, and the pope in possession of the places he had dismembered from it, with some other advantages arising from his sanction afforded to this settlement ;

After his
return the
king settles
the inter-
ior go-
vernment
of his
realm, and
regulates
other af-
fairs.

A.D. 756. *PEPIN*, after his return into his own dominions, employed himself chiefly in regulating public affairs ; and, for this purpose, held the annual assembly of the states at *Compiègne*, not in the month of *March*, as the ancient custom was, but in that of *May* ; which alteration, we are told, took place from their having now cavalry in their army ; whereas, in the earlier times, the forces of the *Franks* consisted entirely of foot ; and, as these assemblies were held immediately before they took the field, it was necessary they should wait till there was forage *. In the assembly of this year, *Tassilon*, *Pepin's* nephew, and duke of *Bavaria*, did homage for his dominions ; and the king of the *Sclavonians*, of his own accord, demanded the protection of *Pepin*, and did the like. The *Greek* emperor sent his ambassadors, to represent the injustice that had been done him, in giving the pope the exarchate of *Ravenna* and other districts in *Italy*, and at the same time made him very magnificent presents ; amongst which was the first organ ever seen in *France*, and which was given by the king to the church of *Compiègne*. The next year died the pope ; and his brother *Paul*, being chosen his successor, sent to intreat king *Pepin* to continue to him his protection ; which the king very kindly promised, and very punctually kept his word *. The following year the *Saxons* made a general revolt, which constrained the king to turn the forces of his dominions on that side ; which gave the *Lombards* an opportunity of disturbing the pope, and endeavouring, in conjunction with the *Greek* emperor, to recover all the places that had been yielded to the see of *Rome* ; but *Pepin*, returning victorious, and having constrained the *Saxons*, not only to submit, but to add likewise to their former tribute three hundred horse, which were to be presented annually in the assembly held in the month of *May*, had leisure to look abroad, and to give the pope that

* ANAST. in vita Stephan. III. * ADON. Chron.
Metenses. Histoire de Fran. par P. DANIEL
FREDEG. ADON. Chron.

* Annales
Cont.

protection, of which he stood in great need. He sent for this purpose his ambassadors to *Pavia*, to declare to king *Didier*; that, if he did not immediately put all things on the foot of the treaty made when he was last in *Italy*; he would return thither with an army, and regulate them in such a manner as should put it out of his power to create any farther disturbances. *Didier* was constrained to submit, and to promise all that was demanded; but with a full intention not to keep his word, in case any opportunity offered of breaking it with impunity, which he attempted; but, for the present, without effect. A more promising occasion presented itself not long after, which he did not neglect.

GAIFRE, or *Vaisar*, duke of *Aquitaine*, regarded the prosperity of *Pepin* with an envious eye, and, on the other hand, that monarch wanted only a fair opportunity to despoil him of his dominions. This disposition in both rendered them perpetually restless and uneasy. *Vaisar* spoiled some churches of their lands, the bishops of which had put themselves under the protection of *France*. *Pepin* demanded restitution by his ambassadors; and, the negotiation proceeding but slowly, he passed the *Loire* with an army, obliged him to promise what he had demanded, and to give hostages for the performance of what he promised¹. The next year, when *Pepin*, was at a great distance regulating affairs in his German dominions, the duke of *Aquitaine* sent an army to *Burgundy*, where they ravaged the country as far as *Chalons*; and, having burned the suburbs of that city, returned loaded with booty. *Pepin* was, by no means, of a humour to endure such an insult; he returned, therefore, with all possible expedition, passed the *Loire* with his army, ravaged all the country as far as *Limoges*; and, that it might remain in a defenceless condition, razed all the castles in *Auvergne*². The next year he passed the *Loire* for the third time, laid siege to *Bourges*, and, having made himself master of it after a long defence, repaired, and placed in it a good garrison. He pushed things so far this campaign, that *Remistain*, uncle to duke *Vaisar*, believing the ruin of his nephew to be inevitable, submitted to the king, and was extremely well received. The spring following, *Pepin* assembled a numerous army at *Nevers*; with which he passed the *Loire*, wasting all the country before him with fire and sword, under a full persuasion, that, before the end of the summer, he should drive the duke out of his dominions: and it is highly prob-

¹ PAUL. Diacon. Hist. Long. ² ANAST. in vita Stephan.
III. ADON. Chron. ³ Chron. Fuld.

A.D. 76, able this would have happened, if an unforeseen accident had not, for the present, entirely changed the face of affairs ^b. An accident, springing from his prosperity, which amazed and alarmed all his neighbours.

The duke of Bavaria retires into his own dominions, and renounces his homage to Pepin.

TASSILON, duke of *Bavaria*, his nephew, had remained at his court from the time he did him homage, and had even attended him in some of these expeditions; but, about the time of the rendezvous at *Nevers*, he feigned an indisposition, and, while his uncle was in the field, retired, with all possible speed and secrecy, into his own dominions; where he acted as an independent prince, married a daughter of the king of the *Lombards*, and discovered plainly, that he did not incline to be a tame spectator of the destruction of the duke of *Aquitaine*. *Pepin*, upon the first intelligence of his nephew's retreat, repassed the *Loire*, leaving behind him many flagrant proofs of his indignation against both dukes, and of his desire to make them feel the full weight of his resentment ^c. He was, however, far from departing, even in these circumstances, from the character which he had established for prudence; he determined to chastise these princes, but he would not take any such violent measures as, in their consequences at least, might chastise his subjects and himself. He augmented the fortifications and the garrison of *Bourges*; he repaired several other places on the frontiers, and filled them with troops. By this disposition he covered his own country, while that of his enemy was exposed to continual incursions. He reckoned himself, therefore, secure on this side, and, for the two succeeding years, held the annual assemblies in *May*, in the city of *Worms*; having always about him such an army, as obliged the duke of the *Bavarians* to respect the king of *France*, though he had visibly disregarded him as his uncle. *Tassilon* was a young prince of parts and of discernment; he had a mind to be independent, and he was jealous of the power of *Pepin*; he was sensible of his displeasure; but, as things stood, he saw it was not his interest to push farther, by committing hostilities ^d. *Pepin* had his reasons likewise for keeping on the defensive; he was endeavouring to detach the king of the *Lombards* from his alliance with the *Greek* emperor; and he had another negotiation on the carpet with that emperor, who had his ambassadors at his court, labouring to persuade him not to hinder his recovering *Ravenna*, and at the same time proposing a marriage between prince *Leo* and the princess

^b Contin. FRÉDÉC. ADON. Chron.
^d ANAST. Biblioth.

^c Annales Metenses.

Geslie, daughter to *Pepin*. As to the first, he answered plainly, that he had conquered *Ravenna* from the *Lombards*, that he had given it to the see of *Rome*, and that he would maintain the pope in his possession. As to the latter, he raised difficulties from the emperor's attachment to the *Iconoclasts*. To which the ambassadors answered, that they admired his zeal for religion; but that, if he carried this dispute to be examined to the bottom, he would find that the emperor was also zealous for the Christian faith, and did not deserve to be stiled a heretic for his endeavours to remove what had a manifest tendency to idolatry.

IN the mean time the duke of *Aquitaine*, perceiving how much he was distressed by this new manner of making war, and that *Pepin* was preparing to pass the *Loire* again with a numerous army, had recourse to a very singular and strange expedient. He dismantled most of the great towns that were nearest the enemy, fortified a few of the strongest places he had; and, assembling a great army, resolved to try, what he had not yet done, his fortune in the field. *Pepin*, having passed the *Loire*, began to repair and fortify the places which the duke had demolished; to prevent which *Vaisar* advanced directly towards him with his forces, and gave him battle. He had the misfortune to be totally defeated; and this had such an effect upon his spirits, that he sent to desire peace, almost upon any terms that the victor should prescribe. *Pepin* paid little regard to his proposition, pursued his own scheme of restoring the dismantled towns, and receiving into his protection all who submitted. His nephew, the duke of *Bavaria*, who had exact intelligence of his uncle's proceedings, thought it high time to make his own peace, and not run the hazard of being treated as the duke of *Aquitaine* was, when he should be undone. The king made no difficulty of accepting his submission; which, indeed, was all that he wanted, and was, with good reason, well pleased with obtaining all the effects of victory, without so much as running the hazard of a war.

To give some content to the *Greek* emperor *Constantine Copronymus*, and that his own proceedings might appear the more impartial, *Pepin* ordered a general assembly of the bishops to be held at *Gentilli*, a royal villa about a league from *Paris*; where the great point of images being lawful or unlawful in churches was solemnly discussed. But what, or, indeed, whether any, resolution was taken does not appear.

A.D. 765.

The king
defeats the
duke of
Aquitaine,
on which
the duke of
Bavaria
demands
peace.

* Cont. FREDEG. . ADON. Chron.
* Cont. FRED. ADON. Chron.

† Annales Metenses.

A.D. 767. ^{pear} ^h. This assembly seems to have been held about *Christmas*; and soon after, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, the king made his sixth expedition into *Aquitaine*, where he reduced *Toulouse*, and all the adjacent country. He kept the feast of *Easter* at *Vienne*; and, the summer being very hot, put his army into quarters of cantonment. At length, in the month of *August*, after having held another assembly of the nobility at *Bourges*, he ordered his forces to take the field, and advance towards the *Garonne*; where they gradually forced all the fortified posts, and at length pushed their conquests as far as the *Upper Auvergne*ⁱ. In the course of this campaign, *Remisfain*, who had been so well received by the king, returned again to his nephew; and, to make an atonement for his desertion, as well as to convince his countrymen that he was in earnest in this new change, he acted against the *French* with cruelty as well as vigour, and instructed the *Gascons* how to make their incursions. As the length of this ruinous war had scarce left the possibility of subsistence in a settled condition, the country swarmed with men ready to undertake any thing that might preserve them from perishing; and, at the head of these, *Remisfain* performed some considerable exploits^k. But *Pepin*, equally piqued at the depredations he made, and at his ingratitude, not only dispatched several parties to repress him and his associates, but also gave express directions, that, if possible, they should seize his person; which, at length, they did; and, having brought him into *Pepin's* presence, he, after reproaching him severely, ordered him to be hanged^l. We have related this matter more particularly; because those, who charge *Pepin* with cruelty, insist chiefly on this instance^m; in which, however, there might be as much of policy as of severity, for reasons which will presently appear.

The war
in Aquitaine
carried on
with vigour,
and with a
view to
absolute
conquest.

PEPIN, seeing all things prepared to his mind, and having no reason to doubt the success of his schemes, marched with a numerous army, the next summer, to the banks of the river *Garonne*, fully determined to put an end to the war, by a judicious and vigorous exertion of the superiority he had in his hands. The people and the nobility, equally terrified and amazed, sent deputies to intreat his clemency towards those, who were no longer able to resist him. The king offered to take them immediately into his protection, upon their submission, and taking an oath of obedience. They

^b ÉGINARD ad an. predict. ADON. Chron.

FREDEG.

^k ÉGINARD, ubi sup.

^m LE GENDRE,

ⁱ Cont.

^l Cont. FREDEG.

willingly accepted these conditions: upon which the mother, A.D. 768. the sister, and the niece, of *Vaifar*, came in, and were presented to *Pepin*, who received them kindly. *Eric*, who had married another sister of the duke's, surrendered likewise, and met with the like treatment^a. It now appeared plainly, that *Pepin* had in view the entire and absolute conquest of *Aquitaine*, which drove the unfortunate duke to despair. He retired, with a small body of determined men, into *Saintonge*, there to sell their lives and liberty as dear as possible; the smallness of his forces leaving him scarce a chance for victory, and the situation of the country taking from him all hopes of escape^b. About this time the ambassadors, who had been sent to the khalif, returned; but what was the nature or the end of their negotiation does not appear^c. At *Rome*, a layman having seated himself in the chair of *St. Peter*, through the countenance of the king of the *Lombards*, addressed himself to *Pepin* for support, as believing him the more powerful patron of the two^d; but, before this application was well made, he was deposed, and *Stephen* the fourth advanced to the see of *Rome*; who likewise sent ambassadors to acquaint *Pepin* with his elevation, and to desire his protection^e.

THE king, eagerly desiring to put an end to the war, and Duke of of perfecting his great scheme of uniting *Aquitaine* once more Aquitaine to the crown of *France*, leaving his queen and court at *Xaintes*, marched to attack the duke in his fortified posts. Authors relate very differently the issue of this last dispute. Some say, that, after being defeated in battle, *Vaifar* was slain, and surrounded and cut to pieces as he endeavoured to make his escape^f. Others allege, that, seeing the day lost, his own king *Pepin* dies of a drop-sy at St. Denis. people, in hopes of making their court to the victorious monarch, and weary of sharing the misfortunes of a prince, from whom they could now expect no reward, put an end to his sorrows and his life^g. However, it is universally allowed, that he perished with his arms in his hands; and that he died unhappy, but unconquered. Thus, in the space of nine years, *Pepin* finished his conquests, and re-annexed *Aquitaine* to his dominions, from which it had been detached near half a century. He had scarce time to taste the joy of this great event, being seized, at his return to *Xaintes*, with a fever, which increased upon his being carried to *Tours*,

^a AIMON, lib. iv. c. 67.^b Cont. FRÉDEG.^c An-nal. Fuld. ^d Epist. 98, 99, in Codice Carolino.^e NAST.

in vita Stephan. IV.

^f AIMON. lib. iv. cap. 67.^g Cont.

FRÉDEG.

out of devotion to St. Martin; and, being conveyed from hence to St. Denis, he there expired, of a dropsy, and a complication of disorders, on the 23^d of September, in the year seven hundred and sixty-eight, in the seventeenth of his reign, and in the fifty-fourth of his life^u. He was interred in the church of that monastery, with all possible honours, and his death deplored by all ranks of people as a public calamity; for till that time the French had not seen a more wife, active, or fortunate prince; one who had maintained peace and tranquility at home, and at the same time supported, and even augmented, the credit of the nation abroad. But it is necessary to enter into this matter a little more particularly, since, by laying down a few observations founded on facts, the history of this reign, and of those that are to follow, may be very much illustrated.

Maxims of Pepin's policy in his government of the kingdom, and introduction of a new establishment.

It appears not a little strange, more especially to modern historians, considering the vast extent of his genius, the great number of his nobility, and the nature of his title to the crown, that, in the course of seventeen years administration, Pepin should not be exposed so much as to one private conspiracy, or public insurrection, but maintain a full and absolute authority, as if he had derived his claim of sovereignty from a long train of ancestors. The resolving this difficulty, by saying he was fortunate, would scarce be esteemed satisfactory in so inquisitive an age as this. The true state of the matter is, that it flowed from his policy, and from that singular sagacity, which is discoverable thro' the whole course of his conduct. He observed, that princes, who affected to govern with a plenitude of power, are very rarely happy or beloved; and that those, who confide their authority to others, seldom preserve it long, whether it be well or ill employed; for, if their ministers be either weak or wicked, themselves in the end bear the blame; and, on the other hand, if they are men of great talents and abilities, they arrogate to themselves, in process of time, that power which was originally delegated to them from their masters^w. He guarded effectually against both evils. He held his parliaments, or great councils of the nobility, regularly. He proposed in them, in such a manner as was most suitable to his ends, the measures that he meant to pursue; and, as these

^u EGINARD in Vita & Gestis Caroli magni. ADON. Chron. AIMON, lib. iv. cap. 67.

^w Origines des Lignitez & Matirais de France recueillies, par CLAUDE FAUCHET, MEZERAY.

were calculated for the public service, so he undertook the execution of them as a point of duty, and left the glory of advising and contriving them to those assemblies. By this means he interested the clergy and the nobility in all his schemes, and was, in appearance, the minister of their councils, while, in reality, he prosecuted his own; for though no prince was more ready to hear advice, he shewed a greater deference to the sentiments of public assemblies, yet, when he came into action, he performed all. He was no sooner declared king, than he marched against the Saxons. He received pope *Stephen* with all the reverence possible, and paid him the most profound submission; but he derived from thence prodigious advantages; he wiped from the remembrance of the people the manner in which he had acquired the sovereignty; so that, in setting up the pope, he set up his own power. The nobility of *France* were averse to the *Italian* expedition; in which he would not embark, till the pope's prayers and intreaties had obtained their assent. His predecessors had lost great armies in that country, and sooner or later drew nothing from it but disgrace. *Pepin* saw their mistakes, and avoided them. He had no ambition to make conquests in *Italy*; but it was of great importance to weaken the power of the *Lombards*, and to leave that country so divided, as that he might never receive any trouble from thence. He raised the power of the popes, and made them truly princes; but he detached them from the *Greek* emperors, and rendered them dependent on himself. In consequence of this wise management, he derived glory and security from those expeditions, that had probably been fatal to any other *French* prince. It was not till he had cut him off from all support, that he began the war with the duke of *Aquitaine*, in which, however, he made a full stop when his nephew retired into his own dominions; by which he prevented a dangerous diversion, which that prince would otherwise have made. But, though he desisted, he never departed from his design of reducing *Aquitaine*, and he accomplished it, as he did every thing, by a proper mixture of deliberation and vigour; deriving, from his own penetration and perseverance, that success which later writers would attribute to fortune: but nearer his own time it was better understood; for otherwise, *Prudent as Pepin*, had never become a proverb in *France* *.

* LE GENDRE, Mœurs & Coutumes des François, par P. DANIEL.

The mea-
sures he
took to
prevent
the mean-
ness of his
person
from ren-
dering his
admini-
stration
contempt-
ible.

THERE is, perhaps, another circumstance that may set his conduct in a more striking point of view. His figure was so far from having any thing in it majestic, that it was rather the contrary. In point of stature, we are told, that he wanted six inches of five feet, whence he was furnished *the Short*; but, in regard to size, he was of such a make as procured him likewise the appellation of *Pepin the Gross*, or *the Fat*. *The* monk of *St. Gal*, amongst many idle stories, has preserved one of this prince, which most of the historians have transcribed, and which indeed ought to be preserved. *Pepin* had been informed that some of his principal commanders had made themselves merry with his figure; he invited them, therefore, to a spectacle at *Ferriers*, which, in that age, was not uncommon. This was a combat between a lion and a bull: the king was seated on his throne, and all his great officers about him, when the beasts were let out. The lion immediately leaped upon the bull, and brought him to the ground, and was on the point of strangling him. Which of you, said *Pepin*, will make that beast let go his prey? His great lords gazed in silence. That task must be mine, added *Pepin*; and, descending from his royal seat, advanced with his sword drawn directly towards the beasts. The lion, turning his eyes towards him, began to raise himself upon the bull, when, at a single blow, the king divided the head from the body. As he returned to his throne, he said, without any emotion, "*David* was a little man, and yet " he triumphed over *Goliath*; *Alexander* too was a little man, " but his arm was stronger, and his heart more intrepid, " than those of many of his captains, who were taller and " handfomer than he." This taught his officers discretion, and his people respect. We may, from these remarks, with great certainty, infer, that this founder of the second race of *French* kings had great personal merit, and might, therefore, have deserved a more honourable inscription than that which is placed upon his tomb, *Cy giste Pere de Charlemagne*; that is, *Here lies the father of Charlemagne*². It is true, this second race are stiled *Carlovingians*; but it is not decided, whether in honour of *Charles Martel*, the father of *Pepin*, or of *Charles* the great, his son. Be that as it will, *Pepin* atchieved what the one left imperfect, and opened that path to glory, which the other pursued with so great applause.

¹ FAUCHET.
DANIEL.

² Mœurs & Coutumes des François, P.

S E C T. III.

*The Reign of Charles the Great, King of France, and
Emperor of the West.*

CHARLES and Carloman succeeded their father Pepin, according to the desire that monarch expressed to the nobility that were about him, at the time of his death, and were solemnly proclaimed sixteen days after his death, Charles at Noyon, and Carloman at Soissons^a. Charles was, at this time, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and as remarkably tall as his father was short, being near seven feet in height, well-proportioned, but rather inclining to fat, a fresh florid complexion, a majestic air, very robust in his constitution, gay and sprightly in his temper, very active, and capable of bearing much fatigue. His mind was truly heroic, generally speaking, equal and composed in his conduct, so much superior to fortune as never to be either ruffled or elated, of so comprehensive a genius, that he not only aspired to, but excelled in, all that became a great prince, an excellent officer, an able statesman, and as well versed in letters as any man of his time; zealous in religion, and exact in his devotion. His character, fair as it was, wanted not blemishes, which arose chiefly from his ambition, and a notion he received from thence, that many things might be dispensed with from reasons of state. In some instances he was certainly not master of his passions; in others he was misled by the errors of the times; but take him in the whole circle of his character, with those allowances that are commonly made for such as act in so high a sphere, and he must be acknowledged as wise and brave a monarch, as that or perhaps any other age produced^b. His younger brother Carloman resembled him very little; his virtues or his vices were not very conspicuous; but he was chiefly distinguished by a contentious, suspicious, peevish disposition, which left him in the hands of such of his courtiers as were least worthy of his confidence, and who gained it by throwing doubts and fears in his way, which kept him perpetually uneasy, and attached to those who made him so^c. Both the brothers were married, in a manner not very suitable to their birth or interests, and both were too much strangers to business, from the warm and enterprising humour of their father, who loved to execute every thing himself. It seems to be, in some measure, certain, that a division of Pepin's dominions was pro-

^a Contin. FREDEGARI.
per EGINARDUM.

^b Vita et Gesta Caroli magni,
^c EGINARDUM Annal.

jected, and perhaps settled between them, but it is very uncertain in what manner; for the old writers contradict each other; and the modern historians, in order to reconcile them, suppose that there were two divisions, and that by the latter *Carloman* had *Austrasia*, which in the former had been given to *Charles*. But it seems to be more probable that the division was never executed; but that, the brothers disagreeing, the dispute was ~~not~~ to be decided in the next assembly of the prelates and peers. This want of union between the two kings revived the hopes of those who were enemies to, or at least jealous of, both. *Didier*, king of the *Lombards*, and *Tassilon*, duke of the *Bavarians*, began to increase their forces, and to enter into intrigues; but the ice was broke, and a war begun by a prince of whom the kings had not the least jealousy, and with whom their enemies had little intercourse.

The old duke of Aquitaine causes the people of that country to revolt, but is quickly defeated.

HUNALDE, or *Hunaud*, who resigned the duchy of *Aquitaine* to his son *Vaifar*, after spending between twenty and thirty years in a monastery, quitted it to return into his old dominions, supposing this a favourable opportunity of recovering his dignity, and restoring independency to that great principality^d. He met in this attempt with more facility than he had any reason to expect; for tho' his being universally hated was one great cause of his resigning, yet he was now universally received with all apparent marks of reverence and affection, most of the great towns opening their gates to him; so that this great conquest, which had been the business of *Pepin's* life, was in a manner lost, in a few weeks time. *Charles* saw that the recovery of *Aquitaine* was not of greater importance to the *French* nation, than to his own and to his brother's character; and, for this reason, he represented it in the strongest terms to *Carloman*, who consented to assemble his forces with the utmost expedition, and to march, in conjunction with his brother, against their common enemy: but by that time the army was assembled, he altered his sentiments, withdrew the forces under his command, and left his brother, to act or to retire as he thought fit^e. *Charles*, notwithstanding this strange behaviour, and the unexpected diminution of the forces that were to be employed in the war, marched directly into *Aquitaine*, and having defeated *Hunalde*, had infallibly made him prisoner, but for his perfect knowledge of the country,

^d Vita Caroli magni a Monacho CAROLII Engolismensis.

^e Annales rerum Francorum.

^f EGINARD. vita Caroli

mag. ^g ADON. Chron.

the people abandoning him in his distress, as lightly as they had followed him upon his first coming amongst them; which obliged him to take shelter in the territories of *Lupus*, duke of *Gascony*, who had been his tributary; but who, during the war between *Pepin* and *Vaisar*, had erected his seignory into an independent principality^b. *Charles* made the right use of his victory, in building the fortresses of *Neufes* on the *Dordogne*: while this was doing, he advanced with his forces to the frontiers of *Gascony*, sending a herald to *duke Lupus*, to demand the person of *Hunalde*, who was accordingly delivered up, and confined for the rest of his life. This established the character of *Charles* at home and abroad, brought the nobility to court his favour, and all his neighbours to treat for his friendship^c. A.D. 769.

AMONGST these was *Didier*; who, tho' naturally an enemy to the *French*, and willing to have taken the advantage of *Pepin's* death, yet perceiving that *Charles* had inherited his capacity, together with his dominions, he demanded his sister *Gilette* for the prince his son, and offered his daughter *Hermengarde* either to *Charles* or his brother. This alarmed pope *Stephen IV.* who wrote to *Charles* in the strongest terms, beseeching him not to bring a scandal on the catholic faith, by putting away his wife, for the sake of taking one out of a house which God had cursed with a leprosy; or, after refusing his sister to the first prince in the world, the son of the *Greek* emperor, bestow her on him, whose father became a king but by his favour^k. The queen dowager, however, had a better opinion of the match, went in person into *Italy* to negotiate it, and had so strong an influence on *Charles*, as, notwithstanding the pope's letters, to induce him to comply with it. In the course of her progress, she paid a visit first to her son *Carloman*, and afterwards to the pope, whom she pacified, by assuring him that she would use her interest with *Didier* to relinquish some places which he still withheld from the see of *Rome*; and, which having performed, she conducted her new daughter-in-law into *France*^l. There she found things in some disorder; for, notwithstanding all the pains she had taken, *Carloman* had still so strong a distaste to his brother, that he was preparing to attack him, when he was suddenly removed by death^m. His queen, in the first transports of grief and fear, being probably excited to it by those who had been the principal

^b EGINARD. vita Caroli mag.
corum.

^k Monach. Engolismensis.

^l Annales rerum Francorum.
^m ADON. Chron.

^m Annales rerum Francorum.

A.D. 771

authors of the misunderstandings between the two brothers, and who were apprehensive of feeling the weight of *Charles's* resentment, withdrew, with her two sons, her husband's treasures, and these counsellors, into the dominions of the king of the *Lombards* ⁿ. *Charles* expressed some concern at the news; but he immediately advanced with a body of troops to the frontiers of his brother's territories, and, with the consent of the relatives and peers, took possession of the kingdom that was thus abdicated; and, to express his sense of *Didier's* protecting the widow and her sons, he repudiated the queen whom he had so lately married ^o.

Revolt of the Saxons, on which Charles marches against them, and reduces them to submission.

THE *Saxons*, who commonly revolted at the beginning of every reign, attempted to throw off the yoke at the entrance of this, which obliged *Charles* to turn his arms on that side. As this war was the capital business of his reign, and lasted, tho' by intervals, for thirty-three years, it is requisite to say something succinctly of the country and the people, though this subject must be more largely treated of in another place. The territory of the *Saxons*, as it was considered at this time, comprehended a country of vast extent, bounded on the west by the *German* ocean, *Bohemia* on the east, on the north by the sea, and on the south by the *Germanic France*, extending along the *Lower Rhine*, and from the *Issel* beyond *Mentz*. This was divided into three parts; the *Westphalians* inhabited that towards the oceans, from whence the name of *Westphalia* remains to a small part of their country: the *West* or *Eastphalians* held that part bordering on *Bohemia*: the middle belonged to the *Angrians*, who were the immediate neighbours of the *French*. Under each of these names, many nations, or, generally speaking, tribes, were comprehended, each commanded by its own chief or duke ^p. Hence their readiness to revolt, and the difficulty of holding them to any terms; because, whenever a few mutinous dukes conspired together, they made inroads into the *French* territories; and when the troops of that kingdom invaded their country in return, the whole *Saxon* nation was involved in the revolt, from a principle of self-defence. Their religion was another cause of these frequent insurrections; for they were pagans, and bigotted pagans, their principal deity being the god of war. *Charles* no sooner heard that they had refused the usual tribute, than he entered the country with a numerous army; and, having beaten them in several small engagements, advanced to their capital post of *Eref-*

ⁿ Monacho Engolismensis,
mag.

^p Poeta Saxonicus.

^o EGINARD, vita Caroli

bourg, near *Paderborn*, where was the temple of their god *Irminful*, represented as a man completely armed, with a standard in one hand, placed on a column ⁹. The natural courage of the people, joined to their religious zeal, induced them to make an obstinate defence; the place too being strong by situation, and fortified to the best of their skill. *Charles* forced it at last, but not without considerable loss, and employed his army three whole days in demolishing effectually this monument of superstition, in which great treasures were found in gold and silver. This being performed, *Charles* continued his march directly towards the *Weser*, resolved to break the force of this intractable nation so effectually, as to deprive them of the power of disturbing him again ¹. But they were already so terrified with the destruction of their temple, and saw so little hopes of opposing in the field troops who had beaten them with such advantages, that they sent deputies to implore his clemency; and *Charles*, upon their submitting to the terms he prescribed, and delivering twelve hostages for the due performance of them, granted them peace; the change of affairs in *Italy* making that measure as expedient for him as for them, at this juncture ². But, before his return, he gave directions for fortifying proper posts, and establishing a certain number of troops on the frontiers, to keep these people in awe, which for some short time they did; but the next favourable opportunity tempted them to excite fresh troubles, tho', in consequence of such continual wars, some part of their country was but thinly peopled, and the subsidies they sometimes drew from the enemies of *France*, made but poor amends for the losses they suffered ³.

DIDIER, king of the *Lombards*, having seized and frightened *Stephen IV.* into his grave, laboured all he could to reduce his successor pope *Adrian I.* to a state of dependence: in order to which, he not only resumed a great part of what had been yielded by the treaty of *Pavia*, but also tried to surprise the person of the pope; and, failing in that, made an attempt upon the city of *Rome*. *Adrian*, in this distress, sent ambassadors by sea into *France*, to give a true account of the distress he was in, and to implore the protection of *Charles* ⁴. It was this that induced him to listen so readily to the *Saxons*; and, if he had followed his own inclinations, he had imme-

He makes an irruption into Italy, by two different routes with a great army.

⁹ EGINARD. vita Caroli mag.

¹ Ann. Monacho Engolismensis.

² Ann. Rerum Francorum.

³ Ann. Chron.

⁴ Annales Rerum Francorum.

⁵ ANAST in vita Hadriani.

diately poured his forces into *Italy*: but the nobility of *France*, always averse to these expeditions, shewed so much backwardness on this occasion, that he was obliged to act with great caution and circumspection. He sent therefore several embassies to *Didier*, in which he expressed a great desire to preserve a perfect harmony between the two nations: he made very moderate demands, and, at length, offered to give him a large sum, in ready money, if he would restore the places he had taken from the pope. All these propositions were civilly rejected, which was what *Charles* expected and desired, for it gave him sufficient leisure to form magazines, to draw together a great army, and to make his subjects believe that he did not embark in this war so much through choice as by force. The motives that induced *Didier* to act as he did, were, the hope of reducing the pope before he could be succoured, his ambition to become lord of all *Italy*, and his resentment against *Charles* for repudiating the queen. On the other hand, that monarch, exclusive of his zeal in the cause of the pope, had some reasons of a personal nature. *Didier* had given him cause to be offended with the correspondencies he had held in *France* from the beginning of his reign; and the peremptory manner in which he had demanded of *Adrian* the crowning of *Carloman's* two sons, had given *Charles* inexpressible uneasiness. For these causes, therefore, he held the general assembly in the month of *May* at *Geneva*; where, by a pathetic representation of the pope's distress, and the indignities himself had received, he procured the consent of the nobility to the war, and immediately marched with a potent army to enter *Lombardy*, by mount *Cenis*, while he sent a small, but choice corps of troops, under the command of duke *Bernard*, natural son to *Charles Martel*, to force the passage of mount *St. Bernard*, having taken all possible methods to render his expedition successful, upon which, in a great measure, he depended.

A.D. 772.

Besieges
Verona
and Pavia,
the only
places of
strength
the Lombards
had
at that
time.

DIDIER, who was well informed of the general dislike the *French* nobles had expressed to this expedition, persuaded himself that, by occupying and fortifying the several passes into *Lombardy*, and opposing their entrance with the whole force of his dominions, he should defeat this invasion, and oblige the forces of *Charles* to retire. He was very near carrying his point, which he pursued with such skill and steadiness, that, upon viewing the dispositions he had made, the

* EGINAR. vita Caroli mag: Annales LOISELLIANI.
† ANAST in vita Hadriani. * ADON. Chron.

French officers almost unanimously declared that it was impossible to force them ^a. *Charles* himself had almost taken a resolution of decamping in the night, when a sudden panic prevailing in *Didier's* army, they abandoned all their posts, and retired with precipitation. This was occasioned by duke *Bernard's* having forced a passage into the plain with a handful of men, which had been of no consequence at all, if they had remained firm. As it was, they abandoned all; for *Charles* pursued them with such impetuosity, that numbers fell in the retreat ^b. *Didier*, with the best part of his troops, took shelter in *Pavia*; the rest, under the command of his only son *Adalgise*, threw themselves into *Verona*. With the king was the old unfortunate duke *Hunalde*, who, having made his escape out of prison, had taken refuge in his dominions; and with the prince, were the sons and the widow of *Carloman*, which very probably induced *Charles* to form the siege of both places at once, in hopes of destroying all his enemies together ^c. Success justifies every measure; the *French* were so charmed with their good fortune, that, notwithstanding their hatred of the climate of *Italy*, and the fatigue of sieges, they persisted in these for many months, though the places were well defended, had numerous garrisons and magazines, perfectly well supplied. *Verona* fell the first; for *Adalgise*, seeing no hopes of succour, resolved to take care of himself, and with this view, making his escape in the night, he found means to retire to *Constantinople* ^d. By the surrender of this place, his sister-in-law and nephews fell into the hands of *Charles*, but what became of them is a secret that history has not disclosed. Upon this *Milan*, and most of the great towns of *Lombardy*, submitted. The march of *Ancona* demanded the protection of the pope; and *Didier*, who but a few months before had so large a kingdom, found his dominions now restrained within the walls of *Pavia*, where, as he had nothing to hope, he continued to make an obstinate defence. *Charles*, after taking the necessary measures for continuing the siege, or at least blockade of the place, made a tour to *Rome* ^e.

As to the motive of this journey authors differ; some ascribe it to pure curiosity, others to devotion, but the more intelligent believe there was some secret scheme concealed. *Didier* The pope was certainly not very well pleased, for the king brought with him a strong corps of troops; and their

^a Annales LOISELLIANI.

^b ANAST. in vita Hadriani.

^c EGINARDUM in vita Caroli mag.

^d ADON. Chron.

^e Monach. Engolif.

Charles
becomes
master of
the country
of the
Lom-
bards.

first conference was in the suburbs, yet *Charles* having demanded entrance into the city, it could not be refused. He shewed himself upon this occasion a wise and great prince: he promised the pope, under the sanction of an oath, to do nothing to his prejudice; he performed that promise punctually, which confirmed the pontiff in his interests. He visited the churches with such a shew of devotion, as gained him the hearts of the people; and, at the request of the clergy, he confirmed and enlarged his father's donation, depositing one copy of the instrument on the great altar, and another upon the tomb of *St. Peter*^t. In fine, as he entered *Rome* in triumph, he left it more than a conqueror, having captivated all ranks by his generous behaviour, and established his reputation with them in such a manner, as fixed his sovereignty in their hearts. At his return to *Pavia*, he found the siege little, if at all, more advanced than when he left it, yet the place surrendered very soon after: this was owing to an enemy within, for the plague made such devastation, that the people lost all patience, and daily pressed the king to implore mercy of *Charles* for himself and them &c. The old duke of *Aquitaine* opposing the surrender, they beat his brains out, which induced *Didier* to submit. Thus the kingdom of the *Lombards* was extinguished, after having subsisted somewhat more than two hundred years. We know not well what became of the unfortunate king, except that he was carried into *France*, where some say he was beheaded, others, that, being transferred to *Liege*, he became a monk, and some assert that he died of sickness soon after his arrival^h. By the surrender of *Pavia*, *Charles* became master of two-thirds of *Italy*, where he scarce altered any thing, except their taxes, which he diminished considerably. He caressed and employed their nobility; and, except in some places in *Tuscany*, and in the city of *Pavia*, he left no *French* garrisons. He caused himself to be crowned, by the archbishop of *Milan*, king of *Lombardy*, with the famous iron crown preserved at *Modece*, not far from that city: having recommended to the people to make a right use of the benefits he had bestowed, and assured them of his intention to govern mildly, and according to their own laws, he repassed the mountains with his armyⁱ.

Here passes
the moun-

THE true reason of his quitting *Italy* so soon, was the news he had of some fresh stirrings amongst the *Saxons*, who,

^e Annales LOISELLIANI.

^h ANAST. in vita Hadriani.
mag.

^g Monacho Engolismensis.

ⁱ EGINARD. vita Caroli

hearing of the siege of *Pavia*, and believing that the *Lombards*, with whom they had some intercourse, could not be ruined in a single campaign, began to flatter themselves with hopes of recovering *Eresbourg*, and repairing, by expeditions into the *French* territories, the losses they had sustained in the last war ^k. They were not slow in taking their resolution, or in executing it when taken: they surprised *Eresbourg*, and the garrison left in it; but instead of keeping, they demolished the fort that *Charles* had erected: they ravaged a large tract of country, and carried away a great booty. They were scarce returned into their own country, when *Charles* arrived at *Ingelheim* on the *Rhine*, with his army ^l. He entered *Saxony* by three different passages at the same time, made a great slaughter, and brought back his forces loaded with plunder. He held the great assembly in *May* at *Duren*, in the county of *Juliers*, where a resolution was taken to push the *Saxons* to the utmost. Accordingly he passed the *Rhine*, besieged and took *Sigebourg*, recovered *Eresbourg*, passed the *Wefer*, and defeated the whole force of the *Saxons* on the other side with great slaughter ^m. But the greatest part of a considerable corps, whom he had left to guard the passage of the river, were cut off by their own inattention, and by their having a contempt for a barbarous enemy, though equal to them in courage, and superior in cunning. This perhaps might be one motive, though the turn of affairs in *Italy* was another, that determined *Charles* to treat once more with these people, to accept of their submission, and of the hostages they offered from every one of their tribes; but what he chiefly depended upon, was the new fortress at *Eresbourg*: for upon a strict examination, he found the *Saxons* had made a right choice, and that it was capable of being made the strongest place in their country, which induced him to order that it should be fortified with all possible care ⁿ. The peace concluded, and the hostages delivered, he advised the *Saxon* deputies to keep this treaty better than they had done the last, if they expected either favour or mercy from him, and received on their part the strongest assurances that words could give ^o.

AFTER the departure of *Charles* from *Italy*, things quickly fell into disorder. He left indeed no room to complain; he had made many of the *Lombard* lords great, but most of them had a mind to be greater. The archbishop of *Ravenna* put

^k Annales EGINARD.
 geri.

^m ADON. Chron.

^o EGINARD. in vita Caroli mag.

^l ALFRIDUS in vita S. Lud-

ⁿ Monacho Engolismensis.

by his
quick re-
turn,
Charles
quite sup-
pressed.

A.D. 775. a new construction upon the king's donation; he said, that, as the pope enjoyed the temporalities of the duchy of Rome, he thought the title, if not the revenue of the exarchate, should be annexed to the archbishop of Ravenna. Adalgise encouraged these misunderstandings from Constantinople; the Greek emperor, who had still a considerable stake in Italy, being as desirous of setting up the kingdom of the Lombards again, as his predecessors had been to pull it down. Charles sent his ministers into Italy, to let several of the great lords, particularly Hildebrand, duke of Spoleto, the duke of Benevento, and the duke of Cluise, know the reasons he had to suspect them of infidelity and ingratitude, and to learn from themselves what he was to expect. As the emperor Constantine Copronymus was just dead, they doubted of Adalgise's power to support them, and therefore they gave all possible assurances to Charles of duty and submission^p. It was otherwise with Rotgaude, duke of Frioul, who intended to deceive both parties: he had for himself already raised forces, assumed the airs of a sovereign, and found several of the lesser nobility simple enough to rely upon his promises. While things were in this state, Charles passed the mountains with a small corps of choice troops, routed the duke of Frioul, took him prisoner, caused him to be beheaded^q, put French governors and garrisons into all the places that had revolted, composed the differences between the pope and the archbishop of Ravenna; and having, in the space of four months, once more settled his new dominions, returned into Germany, where his presence was again necessary^r.

The Sax-
ons revolt
again, are
compelled
to submit,
and to pro-
mise to be-
come Chri-
stians.

THE Saxons, while Charles was in Italy, made another revolt, destroyed the new works that were raising at Erfesbourg, and made an attempt to recover Sigebourg, which was a place of force. The garrison being very numerous, after they had suffered the Saxons to fatigue themselves for some time, in an affair they did not well understand, made a sally, so well conducted, as obliged them to raise the siege, and, not satisfied with this, pursued them as far as the sources of the Lippe. Things stood thus when Charles, with his forces from Italy, arrived in the French camp^s. The Saxons suspected the first rumour of this for a stratagem; but as soon as they knew it to be a truth, they disbanded, and sent deputies to demand pardon, and to make an offer of

^p Epist. ad Carol. 51 in Cod. Carolin.

Chron. Verdunense.

^q EGINARD. in Annal.

Annales LOISELLIANS.

^r Annal. Metens.

^s An-

becoming Christians. The king, after much intreaty, accepted of this proposition, and took new hostages; but, at the same time, determined upon other precautions, that they might deter them from breaking their faith. The fortrefs of *Eresbourg* he caused to be rebuilt under his eye, and, at the same time, ordered a new fort to be erected upon the *Lippe*; into both these he put strong garrisons, and went afterwards to pass the winter at *Heristal*, the patrimony of his family[†]. In the spring he marched into the heart of *Saxony*, with a very numerous army, in order to oblige the most considerable of their chiefs to be present, as his subjects, at the assembly in *May*, which was held at *Paderborn*, in *Westphalia*. There the *Saxons* renewed their homage, and the promise they had made of being instructed in the Christian faith; to which they now added their consent to be made slaves, or to be expelled their country, if they ever took up arms again[‡]. *Witikind*, the most capable and the most enterprising of their chiefs, to avoid being present in this assembly, fled to *Denmark*. Here it was that *Ibinala*, lord of *Saragossa*, presented himself to demand the protection of *Charles*, not barely on his own behalf, but also for many other *Moorish* lords, who were desirous of becoming his vassals. The *French* nobility, in general, were astonished at this; but *Charles*, who was desirous of extending the bounds of his dominions on that side, also readily accepted the proposition. The influence he had in the assembly was so great, that, upon mature deliberation, it was approved, and the king immediately issued the necessary orders for assembling an army in *Aquitaine*[¶].

A.D. 778.

THE king passed his *Easter* at *Casseneuil*, a palace of his *Charles* in the *Agenois*; and having divided his army into two corps, being invited by he ordered one to march on the side of *Narbonne* to enter into *Roussillon*, while himself, with the other, took the rout of *Gascony*, in order to penetrate that way into *Navarre*. *Moorish* *Pampeluna* being taken, he passed the *Ebro* with his forces, lords makes and his whole army being joined, invested *Saragossa*, which, an expedition into after a short siege, surrendered, and received *Ibinala* in quality of governor: the emirs of *Huesca* and *Jacca* came voluntarily and did homage, as did also the governors of *Barcelona* and *Gironne*^{*}. *Charles*, having taken the best methods he could devise for securing his new conquest, disposed every thing for his return, satisfied with having extended his fron-

[†] Monacho Engolismensis.
mag. [¶] Annales Metenses.
Monach. Engolis.

[‡] EGINARD. vita Caroli
^{*} Annales Moyffiac.

tier from the *Pyrenees* to the *Ebro*. It was in repassing the mountains before-mentioned, that the rear of his army was attacked by the *Gascons*, who making a great impression on troops unacquainted with their manner of fighting, many of the principal officers, who had hastened thither to engage the troops to remain firm, were slain ^y. This is that famous defeat in the valley of *Roncevaux*, of which so many and so strange accounts are given in romances; and here fell the famous *Roland*, of whom history only records, that he commanded on the frontier of *Bretagne*. ^z *Charles*, exact in all works of piety, ordered a chapel to be erected near the place, under which there is a large, strong, and very beautiful vault, with thirty tombs of white stone, but without any inscriptions ². He prosecuted his march after this disaster into *Aquitaine*, which he divided into several districts, appointing a count in each, who had the chief power in civil as well as military affairs; and, having cantoned a sufficient number of troops on the frontiers for their security, he returned into the heart of his own dominions. The *French* are very inquisitive why he penetrated no farther into *Spain*? The answer is not difficult: he meant to preserve what he had acquired; and, in order to this, it was requisite to preserve his army; which service, and a *Spanish* summer, would infallibly have ruined ³. His aim, therefore, was to raise in his new conquests a body of troops, capable of enduring the climate, and who, by their being acquainted with the manner of making war, might be more serviceable against the *Moors*. It was with this view that he distributed great quantities of land, indifferently, to *Gauls*, *Goths*, and *Gascons*, as well as *French*, to be held by military tenures; and was also very beneficial to the prelates and abbots, in order to attach them here, as he had done elsewhere, to his person and government ^b.

New disturbances in Saxony which are quelled, and they are obliged to give fresh hostages.

HE was scarce out of the confines of *Aquitaine*, when he was informed that *Witiking*, being returned from *Denmark*, had engaged the *Saxons* in a general insurrection. His forces were so fatigued, that he was obliged to put the best part of them into winter quarters: however, having sent his officers into *Austrasia* to assemble what troops they could, and being informed that the enemy had committed the most barbarous cruelties on the *Rhine*, he, with a small corps, marched with all possible expedition to join the *Austrasians*.

^y EGINARD. in Annal.

^z *Annales Rerum Francorum*.

² BALUZ. Lim. Hispan. mag.

^b EGINARD. *vita Caroli*

He, in conjunction with them, pursued the Saxons with such vigour, that he came up with them in the country of *Hesse*, defeated them, and ordered his troops to give no quarter^c. He held the next assembly at *Heristal*, where a great number of prelates, dukes, and counts, being present, he made some of those laws or statutes, which are to be found amongst his capitulars, which gave them equal authority with the *salique laws*^d. As soon as the season would permit, he passed the *Rhine*, and advanced towards the *Weser*, where he received once more the submission of the Saxons; and having held a diet, at which most of their dukes were present, he then directed his march to the *Elbe*, that he might have an opportunity of being present likewise in a diet of the *Sclavonians*, where he regulated several points of great moment. At both these diets he insisted upon having securities for the persons of those whom he sent to preach the gospel amongst them; and having obtained this, he sent bishops, abbots, and priests, to convert these barbarous nations, recommending it to them chiefly to insist upon the excellency of the Christian morals, to possess these people with a sense of virtue and decency, and to use their utmost endeavours to reduce them to a state of civility^e. As the country was, in a great measure, uncultivated, and had scarce any considerable towns, it was impossible for him to take the same precautions he had done elsewhere; and therefore, exclusive of his zeal for religion, this was a measure dictated to him by the maxims of true policy^f.

A.D. 779.

By this time all things were again disordered in *Italy*, *New troubles* where pope *Adrian* had a quarrel with the *Greek* emperor's *bles breaking out, he* governor of the kingdom of *Naples*, where several of the great lords of *Lombardy* held a correspondence with *Adalgise*, *returns into Italy,* and where the people in general, because less oppressed than they had formerly been, were grown *avanton*, and were ready to join in favour of any innovation^g. *Charles* had intelligence from all parties, and determined therefore to make a new tour into that country with an army. He carried with him his queen, and his two younger sons *Carloman* and *Lewis*; his eldest son *Pepin*, by his first queen, and *Charles* the eldest by the consort he then had, were left in *France*. His journey, after he passed the mountains, was a continued triumph; all disorders ceased at his approach, and all the dispute that remained was, who should be most forward in paying their

^c ADON. Chron. Monach. Engolif. ^d Annae LOISEL-
LIANI. ^e EGINARD. in vita Caroli mag. ^f Monach.
Engolif. ^g ANAST. in vita Hadriani.

duty. *Charles* took all in good part, and dissembled the informations he had received. He treated the people with great kindness and favour; the nobility with an obliging familiarity, and a flowing bounty; the clergy with much affection and profound respect. He passed the winter at *Pavia*, in great splendor, and went to keep his *Easter* at *Rome*. There his son *Carloman* was baptized by the pope, who changed his name to *Pepin*, and immediately after gave the regal unction to him, and to his brother *Lewis*; the former being declared king of *Lombardy*, and the latter of *Aquitaine*^b. This ceremony was performed on *Easter* day, immediately after high mass, with the loud acclamations of the people, who love such pompous spectacles, though they comprehend nothing of the motives. Those who thought themselves wiser, held it strange that the father, being but in the thirty-ninth year of his age, should already divide his dominionsⁱ. But *Charles* had framed a system, according to which this seemed to be necessary: in his return, therefore, he left his son *Pepin* at *Pavia*, with a council on whom he could depend, in hopes that the *Lombards*, having now a king of their own, a splendid court, and an easy government, would at length learn to be faithful. He concluded, about this time, a treaty with the empress *Irene*, by which he promised his eldest daughter to the young emperor *Constantine* VI. He settled also the dispute between the pope and the governor of *Naples*, conferred fresh favours on the dukes of *Spoletto* and *Beneventum*, tho' they little deserved them, and left the tranquillity of *Italy*, in all appearance, firmly established^k.

Tassillon,
duke of
Bavaria,
armed
by the
power of
the king,
comes into
France to
do him
honour.

As soon as he arrived in *France*, he conducted his son *Lewis* to *Orleans*: there having formed a household for him, and appointed one *Arnold*, a lord of great wisdom and integrity, to be his governor, he sent him armed, and on horseback, tho' a perfect child, with a numerous escorte into *Aquitaine*, that he might learn the language and the manners of the people; and that, by being accustomed to see, they might learn to love and respect their sovereign^l. He persuaded himself that this division would prevent all disputes in his family, as the antient empire of the *Franks* was reserved intire; as the two new kingdoms were separated from them, by the natural bounds of the *Alps* and the *Loire*; and as it would be the interest of his two elder sons, to have their brethren for neighbours rather than strangers^m. To

AD. 780.

^b EGIPTON. in vita Caroli mag.
Monach. Engolif.
NARD. in Annal.

^k Annales LOISELLIANI.
^m Monach. Engolif.

ⁱ ADON. Chronicon.
^l EGIPTON.

the satisfaction he enjoyed from this pleasing idea, was joined another favourable event, which could not but be very acceptable. *Tassilon*, duke of *Bavaria*, had hitherto maintained a kind of equivocal conduct, never acting openly against *Charles*, and yet declining to resort to the assemblies where his presence was expected, or to renew his homage. The king had signified his displeasure to the pope, and desired him to let the duke know, that if he did not prevent it by an immediate change in his behaviour, he must expect to see the whole forces of his cousin thunder on his dominions. *Tassilon*, excited thereto by his wife, the daughter of the deceased king of the *Lombards*, hated the *French* nation implacably, and *Tassilon* personally had been, for many years, heaping up treasure, augmenting his troops, and fortifying his frontiers, with an intention not to let slip the first favourable opportunity of resenting the death of his father-in-law. But the message delivered him by two bishops sent from the pope, and the summons that immediately followed from *Charles*, softened him so much, that he sent to demand a safe conduct, and promised to repair to court^a. This being readily granted, he was constrained to keep his word; and having sworn fidelity to *Charles* and his sons, and given such hostages as were required, he returned more incensed than ever, though treated with great respect, and loaded with presents^o; while the king, pleased with the prospect of peace, which he had scarce ever enjoyed, determined to hold the next assembly in *May*, at *Cologne*, that, by being at no great distance from the *Saxons*, he might hinder them from creating any fresh disturbances.

THE season of the year no sooner rendered it practicable, *A fresh* than he marched with his army to the sources of the *Lippe*; *surrection* having encamped as advantageously as possible, he there by the summoned a dyet of the *Saxons*, and therein gave au-*Saxons*, dience to ambassadors from the king of the *Danes*, or *Nor-* suppressed mans, as they were then stiled, and from the monarch of the *Huns* or *Abares*; who, in the most respectful manner, in- *king and* treated his friendship; which *Charles* readily promised, pro- *very se-* vided his subjects received no injuries from theirs^p. He was *verely*. no sooner returned into *France*, than *Witiking* came back into his own country; where he took great pains to persuade the *Saxons*, that embracing the Christian faith would pave the way for absolute subjection, if not slavery, and in a little time raised a new rebellion; to cover which from the *French*, he caused it to be given out, that the *Slavonians* had made an

^a Annales LOISELLIANI.^o EGINARD. vit. Car. mag.^p Annales Fuld. EGIN. vit. Car. mag.

irruption into their country, and that they were taking up arms to repel these invaders ⁹. *Charles*, upon the first notice of these stirr, sent *Adalgise*, his chamberlain, *Geilon*, his constable, and *Worade*, count of the palace, to assemble the militia in *Austria*, with orders to pass the *Rhine*, to join the *Saxons*, and carry the war into the enemy's country; but, being quickly informed of the truth, he sent count *Theuderic*, or *Thierri*, with an army, to support the forces already assembled ¹. The four generals advanced to the *Wefer*; and, having information that the *Saxons* were encamped at the foot of *Mount Sontal*, on the other side the river, it was agreed, that the first army should pass, and, marching round the mountain, fall upon the enemy, tho' much superior to them in number, while count *Thierri* remained on the other side, till, upon a signal given, he should likewise pass, and fall upon the enemy's back ². But the three generals, jealous of the reputation of *Thierri*, who was the emperor's relation, attacked the *Saxons*, without making the signal; and, by this wise contrivance, were totally defeated. The constable, and those who escaped, fled to count *Thierri*; who intrenched his forces on the banks of the river, and sent notice to the king of what had happened ³. *Charles*, with his usual expedition, assembled a numerous army, disengaged count *Thierri*, and marched into the heart of *Saxony*; where his very name dissipated the rebellion, and the principal dukes of the nation came to meet him trembling, laying all the fault upon *Witiking*, and beseeching him to grant

A.D.782. them pardon. This the king offered, provided they would deliver him up; but they answered, he was again fled to *Denmark*. That may be, answered *Charles*; but he did not take with him all his associates. Upon this, on a signal given, his army invested the *Saxons*; and having seized four thousand five hundred, who had been in that battle, and caused them to be conducted to a little river that run into the *Wefer*, there cut off their heads ⁴. An execution, of which scarce any example appears in *European* history.

The re-
sultment
of this ex-
cites a ge-
neral in-
surrec-
tion,

THIS struck a general consternation at first; but *Witiking* and *Albion*, who had been likewise embarked in the former affair, returning, a general revolt ensued. This employed the king three whole years, notwithstanding he defeated them totally in three general engagements. One winter he spent at the fort of *Erfesbourg*, made several expedi-

⁹ ANTHARIUS in vita S. Willehadi.

LIANI. EGIN. vita Car. mag.

Car. mag. ¹ Monach. Engoliz.

² Annales LOISEL-

LIANI. Poet. Saxonicus de gest.

³ EGIN. in Annal.

tions into the heart of their country, and spilt rivers of blood; his two elder sons being also in the field ^{which oc-} ^{sons a}. At length, tired with this carriage, and vexed with a conspiracy that had been discovered in *Thuringia*, and whispers of other dark designs against him, he sent for some of the *Saxon* prisoners of rank, and told them, that he was amazed at the folly and madness of their countrymen, whom he had formerly regarded as his subjects, and to whom, notwithstanding what was passed, he was still far from having an aversion. He requested them to go into the northern parts of *Saxony*, to find out *Witikind* and *Albion*, and desire them to come to him, that he might learn upon what terms the rest of their nation might be spared ^{long and bloody}. They went accordingly, and the two chiefs, surprised at the proposition, unwilling to put themselves into the king's hands, but still more unwilling to be the authors of the total ruin of their country, demanded hostages for their security. The king returned into *France*, that they might have time to recover their consternation, sent one of the lords of his court with hostages on the other side the *Elbe*; upon which, *Witikind* and *Albion* came and presented themselves to the king. He received them with great respect, commended their courage, conduct, and constancy; applauded their love of liberty, and assured them of his protection and favour. In a short time, they were both converted to Christianity; and, after being baptized, returned ^{war.} ^{A.D. 785.} into their own country, where they kept the people in quiet, and assisted the progress of the gospel, with great zeal and fidelity, for several years ^v. The king, free from this trouble, obliged the *Bretons* to submit, quashed some stirrs in *Aquitaine* without bloodshed, and awed the duke of *Bavaria*, who had been all along intriguing with the *Saxons*, to silence and submission ^z.

As soon as he had thus established domestic tranquility, he made a tour into *Italy*, passed his Christmas at *Florence*, which he ordered to be rebuilt, and went to keep his Easter at *Rome* ^{Charles makes another tour into Italy,}. The people received him with loud acclamations of joy, which, perhaps, might be very sincere; but the pope, and all the principal persons at *Rome*, felt a sensible uneasiness at the sight of their master. *Charles* knew very well what intrigues there were subsisting, and was well satisfied, that those, who flew highest in compliment, were ^{and suppresses the commotions that broke out there.} there.

^w Annal. Fuld. Monach. Engol.

^{* x} Poet. Saxonicus.

ApON. Chron. ^y EGIN. vit. Car. mag. Poët. Saxonicus.

^z Annales LOISELLIANI. EGIN. in Annal. ApON. Chron.

^a Annal. Fuld. ANAST. in vit. Hadriani.

deepest in the design of his destruction. He was aware that the empress *Irene*, who sent to renew the engagements subsisting between them, had entered into contrary engagements for the support of *Adalgise*, the son of *Didier*; he knew, that *Aregise*, duke of *Beneventum*, who had married the sister of that prince, had entered into this treaty; he was sensible that *Tassilon*, duke of *Bavaria*, who had married another sister, was embarked in the same design; and he was not at all ignorant, that pope *Adrian*, and the *Romans*, for whom he had done so much, were no strangers to these intrigues, but secretly wished well to them ^b. He had appeared in *Italy* as a great captain before; he distinguished himself now as a great politician. He desired the senate of *Rome* might be assembled; he laid before them the treasons of the duke of *Beneventum*, and the proofs; he desired their advice how he should act. They, who were accomplices in the conspiracy, to preserve an appearance of innocence, declared, that no treatment could be too severe. The king entered his dominions with an army; the duke fled; but, by his deputies, intreated *Charles's* clemency. Some prelates, by secret instructions from the pope, joined in the request ^c. The king granted it, upon condition he sent him his two sons: the princes were sent. The king gave the eldest leave to return to his father, and kept *Grimoalde*, who was the younger, whom he educated with the same care, and treated with the same tenderness, as if he had been his own ^d. *Tassilon*, fearing he had been discovered, moved the pope, by ambassadors, to intercede on his behalf; he did so. *Charles* asked the ambassadors, in his presence, if they had full powers from their master to engage for his future conduct? They acknowledged they had none ^e. As this exposed the pope, he told them, that, if their master failed in his obedience, he would excommunicate him, and release his subjects from their oaths. *Charles* accepted this, without considering that the power, which he thus acknowledged, might be turned against himself, or his posterity ^f. In his return, he stopped for some time at *Pavia*, to give instructions to his son and his ministers, and afterwards passed the mountains into his own dominions; where all was tolerably quiet.

^b EGINARD. in vit. Car. mag. Poet. Saxon. Annales LOISELLIANI. ADON. Chrop. • ^c ANAST. in vit. Hadriani. EGIN. in vit. Car. mag. ^d Annales LOISELLIANI. ^e EGIN. in vit. Car. mag. ^f Annual. LOISELLIANI. ANAST. in vit. Hadriani. ADON. Chron.

THE next general assembly was held at *Worms*; where he *Tassilon* laid before the nobility the behaviour of his cousin, the duke of *Bavaria*, and declared, that, since clemency had so little effect, he was determined to chastize him. His measures had been taken before hand; he advanced in person, with a well appointed army, towards the *Lech*; but at the same time the *Austrians* and the *Saxons* appeared, with a greater number of forces, on the *Danube*, and the forces of *Pepin*, king of the *Lombards*, were on the point of entering *Bavaria*, through the valley of *Trent* ^g. *Tassilon* saw his destruction inevitable; instead, therefore, of attempting a defence, he came privately into the king's camp, and threw himself at his feet. *Charles* beheld him with pity; he recapitulated all his treasons; he demanded his eldest son as a hostage; and, having once more taken his oath of fidelity, dismissed him, with an assurance, that all that was past should be forgot ^h. He instantly resumed his intrigues, negotiated with the *Huns* to make an irruption into *Germany*, while himself, with all his forces, invaded *France*, and *Adalgise*, with a *Greek* army, and the lords of his faction in *Lombardy*, fell upon *Pepin*. His own subjects, whom he trusted, foreseeing the ruin of their country, discovered all to the king. The duke, who did not the least suspect them, went to the next assembly at *Ingelheim*, that *Charles* might conceive no umbrage; and no sooner arrived than he was arrested. On the testimony of those he trusted, he and his two sons were condemned to lose their heads. The king commuted this into passing the remainder of their days in a convent. His duchess, the cause of all his misfortunes, is supposed to have shared the same fate, and *Bavaria* was annexed to the crown ⁱ. In all probability succeeding times would have doubted the truth of this conspiracy; but the events that followed put it beyond question. The *Huns* made a prodigious irruption; and, after being twice defeated with great slaughter, invaded *Bavaria* to revenge the duke and themselves. But the *Bavarians*, secure of support, gave them such a reception, that very few of them returned ^k. *Adalgise*, with a *Greek* army, appeared likewise in *Italy*, notwithstanding *Arceise*, duke of *Beneventum*, and his eldest son, were both ready, and *Charles*, contrary to the sentiments of all his nobility, bestowed his territories on *Grimoalde*. The mother of that prince depended upon her influence over him; *Charles*, on the

^g Annal. Fuld. EGIN^o in vit. Car. mag. ^h Annales LOISELLIANI. ⁱ EGIN. in Annal. ADON. Chron. ^k Annales Fuld. EGIN. in vit. Car. mag.

obligations he had conferred upon him. *Grimealde* did justice to the king's sentiments; he commanded the van of the *French* army. The *Greeks* were totally defeated, their general killed, and *Adalgise*, being lucky enough to make his escape, laid aside all hopes of reviving the kingdom of the *Lombards*¹. This was one of the most fortunate years of the king's life. Towards the close of it he went to *Aix la Chapelle*; where, in a general assembly, he made many excellent laws for the government of his extensive territories, and caused many canons to be made for regulating the discipline of the church^m. At his last being at *Rome*, the pope had made him a present of a code, containing the canons of the oriental and *African* churches; out of this code, he took such as he most approved, and, having properly adapted them to the use of the clergy in his own dominions, procured them the sanction of that assemblyⁿ. He also introduced what was commonly called the *Gregorian* song, or manner of chanting, which was the mode in *Italy*, instead of that method of singing which had prevailed till then in *France*; and this not so much by the exertion of his authority, as by the force of his example; for he suffered his own choir to contend with that of the pope's at *Rome*, and, upon his preferring the latter, it gained the approbation of his clergy^o.

The constant and assiduous application of this monarch to all affairs of government.

THE leisure, which the king now enjoyed, enabled him to carry many things into execution, which hitherto had only floated in his mind. We have observed, that he was a universal genius; it is but fit that we should give some proofs of it. The plans of government he laid down in every country immediately followed his conquests, and it was by this that he secured them. He took care to be well informed of the errors and mistakes in the preceding government, and he took no less care to remove these effectually^p. He shewed particular attention to whatever regarded religion, and was very respectful, as well as very beneficent, to the clergy. He reviewed the laws, and made in them such alterations as he thought absolutely necessary, without going farther. He knew, that the people revered old customs, and the constitutions they had lived under from their youth; he took, therefore, all the care possible to preserve them; but he would have the law every-where animated, and suffered none to be exempt from its reach. He was particularly tender of

¹ Annales LOISELLIANI. ANAST. in vit. Hadriani. EGIN. in Annal.
^m Concil. Gall. tom. ii. in Capit. Aquisgran.

ⁿ Monach. Engol. ^o EGIN. in Annal. EGIN. in vit. Car. magni.
^p Annales LOISELLIANI. EGIN. vit. Car. mag.

the common people, and, where-ever he came, studied their ease and advantage. This induced him to repair public roads ; to construct bridges where they were wanted ; to render rivers navigable ; and to encourage agriculture and commerce ¹. His being in continual motion enabled him to see his orders were complied with ; and, as he made the public service the sole road to favour, his counts and dukes vied with each other in making improvements. In the summer, he was commonly in the field ; where his habit and his table were little superior to those of private men. He was naturally very temperate, patient of fatigue, and always took his full share in every kind of hardship. In the winter, and in the spring, he held his great courts and general assemblies ; there he affected a display of royal magnificence, proposed himself such laws as were for the public benefit, and indulged the same liberty to others². But in the camp, and in the court, he had his set hours of study, which he seldom missed. He spoke and wrote *Latin* well ; he composed verses in that language ; he understood *Greek* ; he had a tincture of most sciences ; but his favourite study was astronomy ³.

He invited *Alcuinus*, or *Albinus*, over from *Britain*, and made him his companion and favourite : by his advice he established public foundations for the encouragement and support of literature. He had a kind of private academy in his court ; every member of which took the name of his favourite author ; one stiled himself *Aristotle*, another *Augustin*, a third *Horace* ; *Albinus* assumed that of *Flaccus*, and the king himself took the name of *David*⁴. He condescended to examine all the young noblemen about their progress in learning ; rewarded such as were diligent, and made others so by promises ; for he dealt not at all in reproofs and punishments. In all the great abbeys and cathedrals, he caused schools to be set up for teaching writing, arithmetic, and the elements of polite learning ; and, to shew of how much importance he thought these things, he composed a grammar himself. In a word, he believed ignorance and idleness the greatest vices ; and, to explode them, he took care to shew he held nothing beneath his own notice. Inquisitive and judicious he was ; continually improving his stock of science ; and yet had so little of jealousy or of envy, that, to foil him in a dispute was the surest way to his favour. His father *Pepin*,

¹ FLAC. ALBIN. Epist.

² Monach. ENGOL.

cap. lxxxviii. ALBIN. Epist.

³ EGIN. vit. Car. mag.

⁴ JOAN. LELAND de Script. Brit.

who felt the want of it, had given him, for those times, a good education; his frequent journeys into *Italy*, and his conversation with learned men of all nations, had given him a correct taste; and the signal advantages derived to him from his application to letters, induced him to look upon the restoration of learning as the great glory of his reign^u. To have said nothing of this would have been injurious to his character; to insist longer upon this subject would exceed the bounds prescribed by our plan.

The war with the Abares, the conspiracy of prince Pepin, and punishment of him and his associates.

As his dominions augmented, he found himself embarrassed with new enemies. The *Abodrites* or inhabitants of the country now called *Mechlenburgh*, were either his subjects or his tributaries; they were extremely harrassed by some of the tribes of the *Slavonians*, called, by some authors, *Wisse*, seated on the shore of the *Baltick* ^z. They sent their complaints to *Charles*; who marched immediately to their relief, passed the *Rhine* at *Cologne*, and, taking with him the whole force of the *Saxons*, he constructed two bridges on the *Elbe*, which he took care to fortify: having left a corps of good troops to guard them, he gave the *Saxons* licence to enter the enemy's country, and take what they could find. This terrified the *Barbarians* to such a degree, that they submitted to any conditions he prescribed, and gave hostages for the performance of them; so that his dominions were now bounded by the *Baltick* ^x. The *Huns* gave him much more trouble; they harrassed *Bavaria* in such a manner, that he found it necessary to penetrate into their own country; which, at length, he did, with a numerous army, composed of most of the nations that were subject to his government^y. The *Huns* had a singular method of fortifying their country, with entrenchments of a vast extent, defended by the whole tribe whose territories they covered: these were attacked and defended with equal resolution, and, where-ever they were forced, a prodigious slaughter ensued. He pushed this expedition as far as *Raab* upon the *Danube*; and by marching his troops on both sides of that river, which the *Bavarians* had covered with boats, they were plentifully supplied with provisions; but, a distemper breaking out among the cavalry, he was constrained to return to *Ratisbon*, where he passed the winter; in which he met with more chagrin than he had hitherto done in the course of his life^z. One night, after he was retired to rest, he heard a disturbance in the outward

^u EGIN. vit. Car. mag.
nal. Fuld. & Metensf.
vit. Car. mag.

^w EGIN. in Annal.

^x An.

^y Annales LOISELLIANI. EGIN.

^z EGIN. in Annal.

apartment; and rising hastily to know what was the cause of it, he found a priest, whose name was *Ardulfe*, by nation a *Lombard*, of an unpromising figure, and in a very mean dress, who was very clamorous to speak with the king. *Charles* called him immediately into the room; where he told him, that, dropping asleep in the corner of the church to which he belonged, he was waked by a number of voices, and found that his eldest son, prince *Pepin*, was there taking the last measures with his associates; for executing a design against his father's life; that this assembly discovered him as they were breaking up, and most of them were for securing themselves, by putting him to death; but the prince, having sworn him at the altar not to divulge what he had heard, let him go. The king caused *Pepin*, and the rest of the conspirators, to be arrested immediately; and, being convicted on full proof, they were condemned to suffer death; but the king chose rather that his son should live as a penitent, than die as a parricide; he sent him, therefore, to spend the rest of his days in a convent. He soon after rewarded the priest for this service, by making him abbot of *St. Denis* ^a. His sons, *Pepin*, king of *Lombardy*, and *Lewis*, king of *Aquitaine*, hearing of this conspiracy, hastened to *Ratibon*, where they found things tolerably quiet; but a train of fresh misfortunes followed ^b.

It was expected that the *Abares*, after what they had suffered from the last expedition, would have sent their deputies to demand peace; instead of that they returned to their habitations, restored their old works, threw up new retrenchments, and declared their definitive resolution, to cover with their dead bodies, rather than desert, the country in which they were born. *Charles* saw, with concern, the necessity he was under of acting against this determined nation ^c. He ordered count *Thierri* to march, with a considerable body of forces, composed chiefly of *Friscons*, to join the *Saxons*, who had behaved well the last campaign; but the first news he had, was, that this whole nation was revolted, and count *Thierri's* army defeated, and the best part of them cut to pieces ^d. Immediately after, he received intelligence, that the *Moors* had over-run most of his conquests in *Spain*; and, not satisfied with this, had made incursions into *Languedoc*, as far as *Narbonne* ^e. His accounts from *Italy* were far from being pleasing; insomuch that, from a

A new revolt of the Saxons, which is attended with great slaughter on both sides.

A.D. 793!

^a Annal. Metenses. ^b Chron. Moissac. ^c EGIN.
^d in Annal. Annales LOISELLIANI. ^e Annales BERTINIANI.
^f Rod. Toletan de rebus Hispaniæ.

state of absolute peace and tranquility, he found his dominions, on a sudden, almost attacked on every side. His conduct on this occasion was great almost beyond example; he sent some able officers, with instructions to his sons *Pepin* and *Lewis*; he recruited and augmented his own army till it became very numerous; but he undertook nothing against the barbarous nations, that he might see what turn affairs would take^f.

His generous scheme for uniting the Danube with the Rhine, for the benefit of commerce.

As he hated idleness, and knew that a great army, inactive, would soon grow seditious, he employed them in the execution of a design which he had long before formed, and which will ever do honour to his abilities: this was opening a communication between the ocean and the *Euxine* sea, by uniting the *Danube* and the *Rhine*. He foresaw the vast advantages that would result from thence to numberless nations, in succeeding times, and had likewise in view the facilitating the present object of his politics; which was the absolute reduction of the *Abores*, whose spirit and courage he admired, and therefore wished to see them converted to Christianity and civilized. His scheme was to draw a canal from the river of *Pednitz*, the source of which is not far from *Weissembourg*, to the river of *Altmul*. The first of these rivers falls into the *Mein*, near *Bamberg*, and the *Mein* into the *Rhine*, at *Mentz*, and the river *Altmul* joins the *Danube* between *Ingolstadt* and *Ratisbon*. The canal he projected was to have been three hundred feet in breadth, and was to extend from *Weissembourg* to the river of *Altmul*, which is little more than six miles; but the soil, partly rocky and partly marthy, and the rainy season, with the want of those machines which art has since invented, rendered his endeavours abortive, by ruining all his works as fast as they were made; but the glory of forming this design, and the honour of having attempted it, were out of the power of accidents; and posterity must do justice to his memory, in acknowledging that he was one of those few heroes who had the advantage of mankind at heart, and who laboured to distinguish his conquests by monuments of his munificence and true public spirit^h. In the mean time, what the king expected came to pass; the *Moors*, being totally defeated in *Spain*, by *Alonso* the chaste, king of *Leon*, were obliged to abandon all their conquests; so that *Lewis*, king of *Aquitaine*, and his ministers, found no great difficulty in restoring things on that side. In *Italy* the malecontents fell out

^f EGIN. vit. Car. mag. in Annal.

^g Chron. Moissac.

^h EGIN.

among themselves; and pope *Adrian* was firm to the *French* interest, being convinced, by experience, that he could depend upon no other support: the doubts on that side likewise dispelled; which gave *Charles* an opportunity of renewing his former extensive projects: but that he might execute them with more ease, and at the same time efface the memory of past disasters, he resolved to hold a council at *Francfort*; which he did with the consent of the pope, and presided therein with all the majesty of the antient emperors¹. But the transactions therein belong not to our present subject, for two reasons; first, as they regard ecclesiastical affairs, and next, as they belong properly to the history of *Germany*: we shall only observe, that the monk *Tassilon* resigned here, in the most solemn manner, all his rights to *Bavaria*; and *Charles's* fourth queen, *Fastrade*, died little regretted, on account of her vices and vindictive temper, either by her husband or his subjects.

ALL things being now disposed for chastising the *Saxons*, *The Sax-* the king marched in person against them with his army, at ons again the same time that his son *Charles* passed the *Rhine* at *Cologne*, reduced, with the best part of the forces that were left in *France*. The and a *Saxons*, on the other hand, assembled the whole force of all third-part their cantons, determined to put all upon the fortune of a day. obliged to But the presence of this monarch had such an effect, that quit their country. their army began to disband; so that their chiefs were forced to have recourse again to submissions, and to desire peace upon what terms he pleased^k. *Charles* prescribed only two conditions; the first was, that they should again admit the A.D. 794 Christian clergy, and give hostages for their safety; the other, that they should deliver up one third-part of their army, to be sent where-ever he pleased. Hard as this last article was, they obeyed, and *Charles* distributed these *Saxon* troops on the maritime coasts of *Holland* and *Flanders*, where they did admirable service^l. The next year, the king marched into the country of the *Saxons*, with a numerous army, in order to hold an assembly upon the *Elbe*; to which resorted, amongst other princes, the king of the *Abodrites*, at whose request he had chastised the *Silavonians*, and who, in times of greatest danger, had invariably adhered to him; for which he was hated by the *Saxons*, who assassinated him upon the road. This provoked *Charles* to the last degree, who, in the heat of his resentment, abandoned the tribe

¹ ANAST. in vit. Hadriani. Concil. Gall. tom. ii. EORN. in Annal. ^k EGIN. vit. Car. mag. Annal. Fuld. ^l Monach. Engol.

who were guilty of this action to the discretion of his army; who slaughtered many thousands, and took every thing that was worth taking ^m. It appears from hence, that all submission in this fierce nation was the pure effect of fear, and subsisted no longer than that continued.

After an
obstinate
war, the
Abares
are re-
duced, and
the Moors
bumbld.

THE death of ~~pope~~ *pope Adrian* gave the king real concern, which he expressed particularly in an epithet in *Latin* verse; in which there is less of elegance than passion ⁿ. *Leo* the third was chosen the same day that his predecessor died; he sent immediately his legates to *Charles*, with rich presents, the keys of *St. Peter's* tomb, and the standard of *Rome*; desiring that he would send some person of confidence to receive the oaths of the *Roman* people, in quality of patrician, or protector of the holy sec. The king immediately dispatched his secretary *Engilbert*, abbot of *St. Riquier*; and his instructions, written with great piety and dignity, are yet extant. The war with the *Abares*, or *Huns*, was by this time, in a manner, finished: *Henry*, duke of *Fricul*, defeated them in a general engagement, and made himself master of their capital, called *Ringa*, tho' obstinately defended, with prodigious slaughter of the inhabitants, and found therein immense riches, consisting in the spoil and plunder of various nations, which they had been amassing for many years ^o. *Pepin*, king of *Italy*, completed this conquest, and in another battle killed the Khan, which put an end to the war; and, as some writers say, to the people, who were in a manner extirpated. Only one canton, of which *Theudin* was the chief, submitted, were baptized, and received into the king's protection. This did not hinder the northern *Saxons* from taking up arms again, and murdering one of the lords of *Charles's* court, who was returning from an embassy; which was attended with the usual consequences, rapine, slaughter, and, at length, a forced submission ^p. The king now spent his winter at *Aix la Chapelle*, with his fifth queen, and there received many embassies, that did him great honour, and some that must have given him great satisfaction. Amongst the former, we may reckon that from *Irene*, empress of *Constantinople*, to apologize for her own conduct in putting out the eyes and deposing her own son, and to propose a marriage between herself and the king. These ambassadors were entertained very honourably, tho' *Charles* very well knew she was at that time embarked in

^m Annal. Fuld.
Fuld. Monach. Engol.

ⁿ EGIN. in vit. Car. mag.
^p EGIN. vit. Car. mag.

^o Annal.

several intrigues that were prejudicial to his interest⁹. On the other hand, we may comprehend, among the latter, the submission of several *Moorish* lords, and application for protection on the behalf of others, whom he referred to his son *Lewis*, king of *Aquitaine*; who, by his direction, sent an army to their assistance, and, with the help of the natives, recovered the islands of *Majorca* and *Minorca*, which, by this means, were annexed to his dominions¹. But if these events gave him joy, there was another that gave him pain. *Paschal* and *Campule*, nephews of the late pope *Adrian*, attacked pope *Leo* in the streets of *Rome*, on the feast of St. *Mark*, and dragged him into the church, with an intent to put out his eyes, and cut out his tongue, and from thence remove him into a monastery, where they intended to have kept him prisoner; but, being happily delivered by his friends, the duke of *Spoletto*, then general of the *French* forces, came and took him into his protection, and soon after, with a good escorte, he set out to lay his own case before the king. *Charles*, at the time of his arrival, was at *Paderborn*; from whence he set out to meet him, and shewed him, upon this occasion, all possible marks of respect. He sent him back some time after with numerous guards and attendance, and appointed commissaries to enquire into this affair at *Rome*; at the same time he promised him, that he would come in person to render him justice, and to settle the affairs of *Italy*, which were again in great disorder². A.D. 799.

At this time the *Normans*, that is, the inhabitants of the northern nations (for some tribes of the *Saxons*, as well as the inhabitants of *Denmark*, and perhaps some other nations, were included under that name), began to render themselves famous by their piracies. This obliged the king to be very attentive to the safety of the sea-coasts, for which he provided very effectually; establishing fortresses at the mouths of most of the great rivers, a regular militia, destined for that purpose only, along the shore, and squadrons, properly stationed, to cruize in quest of these invaders: that he might see how well his intentions were executed, he went in person, and examined them with the strictest attention³. In the month of *March* he finished his tour; and, having passed the *Seine* at *Rouen*, went to perform his devotions at the tomb of St. *Martin*; where the counts of *Bretagne*, who had been in rebellion, and were but lately reduced, came to pay their respects, and to make their presents. He made a

⁹ Annal. Fuld. ¹ BALUZ. Limes Hispan. ² ANAST. in vita Leonis. ³ Annal. Fuld. Monach. Engolis.

longer ~~left~~ than he intended at *Tours*, by reason of the sickness and death of his last queen *Lutgarde* ^u. He returned from thence ^{to} *Orleans* and *Paris*, to *Aix la Chapelle*, and in the month of *August* held a general assembly at *Mentz*; where he declared, so far as was fit, the motives which induced him to make a journey into *Italy* ^w. He set out soon after, tho' we have no distinct account of his route, and came, with an army, to *Ravenna*; from whence he dispatched the king of *Italy* to reduce *Grimoald*, duke of *Beneventum*; which he performed, or, at least, we learn of no considerable resistance made by that duke ^x.

Is crown
ed by pope
Leo III.
emperor of
the west.
at Rome,
with uni-
versal ap-
plause.

CHARLES in the mean time proceeded to *Rome*, with a small corps of troops, was met at some distance by pope *Leo*, *Leo III.* and made his entry with him into that city on the 24th of *November* ^y. After some days spent in proper enquiries, the cause was solemnly heard; and none appearing to prove the crimes that had been alleged against the pope, he rose up of his own accord, and declared in the most solemn manner, upon oath, that he was not guilty of them, by act, order, or connivance ^z. The trial of the assassins was next brought on; and, being convicted in the presence of the king, they were condemned to death; but the pope interposed, and desired that he would spare their lives: he went farther, and intreated that they might not suffer in their persons, but that they might be exiled, so as to give him no farther apprehensions ^a. This was in itself a very extraordinary scene; but there followed, on *Christmas* day, one much more extraordinary. The king going to assist at mass, while he was upon his knees before the altar, the pope came and placed a rich crown upon his head; upon which the people cried aloud, "Long live *Charles* the august, crowned by the hand of God; Long life and victory to the great and pacific emperor of the *Romans*." During these acclamations, the pope conducted him to a throne, which had been prepared for him; and, as soon as he was seated, paid him those respects which his predecessors were wont to pay to the ancient emperors. He then declared, that, instead of the title of patrician, he should stile him for the future emperor and *Augustus*, and at the same time presented the imperial mantle; with which being invested, he returned, amidst the acclama-

^u EGIN. vit. Car. mag. ^w Annales LOISELLIANI. Monach. Engoln.
^x Annal. BERTINIANI. ^y EGIN. vit. Car. mag.
^z Annal. Fuld. ^a ANAST. in vit. Leon. Monach. Engoln.
^a Annales LOISELLIANI. Monach. Engoln.

tions of the people, to his palace ^b. His secretary *Eginard* ^{884.} affirms, that he was so far from shewing either joy or satisfaction upon this occasion, that he declared he was not in the least apprised of the pope's intention; and that, if he had, he would, notwithstanding the solemnity of the feast, have forborn going to church. The reason he assigned was, that this ceremony added nothing to his power, and would only confer on himself and his posterity a pompous title, that might be attended with many inconveniences ^c. Whether this, all circumstances considered, deserved credit, we pretend not to decide, the fact rests upon its author; but this is certain, that *Charlemagne* was ever after very tenacious of that title, and insisted upon being owned in this quality by the emperors of the east, whom he treated thence forward on the foot of equality. In his return he took *Pavia*, in his way; where he made some amendments and additions to the laws of the *Lombards*.

THE war against the *Moors*, who had lately thrown aside the respect they had sworn to maintain towards his father, obliged *Levis*, king of *Aquitaine*, to take up arms against them; and tho' it was at the expence of a long and bloody war, yet, in the issue of it, he compelled them to submit, and brought things into very near the same state in which *Charles* had left them ^d. *Pepin*, king of *Italy*, met with more speedy success. The town of *Rieti*, which was near the territory held by the *Greeks*, revolted at their instigation. It was strong, and had some good posts in its neighbourhood; but *Pepin* quickly took these, and reduced that: upon which, having ordered the people to withdraw, he burnt it to ashes. The governors of *Barcelona* and *Rieti*, who had been the authors of these disturbances, were sent prisoners by the two young kings to the emperor their father. *Charlemagne* had the additional satisfaction of seeing ambassadors from the *Persian* monarch at his court, whom he brought with him out of *Italy*, and carried them through *France* into *Germany*. Amongst other entertainments, he diverted them with the fighting of wild buffaloes, which, however, put them in great danger of their lives, and the emperor, who relieved them, in much greater; insomuch that he had certainly lost his life, if a nobleman, whose name was *Isembart*, who had lost his favour, and had all his estates taken from him, and

^b Annal. Metens. ADON. Chron. EGIN. in Annal. ANAST. in vit. Leon. ^c EGIN. in vit. Car. mag. ^d EGIN. in Annal. ^e Monach. Engol. EGIN. vit. Car. mag.

was present, in disguise, had not killed one of those furious creatures, at the very instant he was on the point of bearing down the emperor and his horse; for which service he not only restored to him his honours and his fortune, but loaded him also with many additional favours ^c. By these ambassadors, their master made a cession of the holy places at *Jerusalem* to *Charlemagne*, which furnished the romance writers with an opportunity of pretending the emperor went thither in person, and conquered them from the infidels, not discerning that the matter of fact, plainly and simply related, was infinitely more honourable to *Charlemagne* than their ridiculous fiction ^e. These ambassadors were men of sense; and having been treated with some contempt in the places thro' which they passed in *France*, complained to the emperor that he was least respected in the heart of his dominions; upon which he removed the governors, and fined the bishops who had afforded occasion for this complaint ^h.

Charle- THE restless behaviour of *Grimsal*, duke of *Beneventum*,
magne and his continual intrigues with the *Greeks*, induced *Charle-*
compels the *magne* to entertain serious thoughts of depriving him of his
emperor duchy, and the *Greeks* of their territories, or, in other words,
Nicepho- to render himself the sole master of *Italy* ⁱ. He could
rus to ac- not conduct this design of his with so much secrecy, as to
knowlege prevent its coming to the notice of the empress *Irene*, the
him, and most artful woman of her time, who flattered herself
concl. de a that she had more than once over-reached him in negotia-
peace. tion ^k. To prevent him therefore, and to secure herself,
A.D 802. she sent a nobleman of great consideration, to make him a
proposal of marriage. This, *Charlemagne*, who had then
been a widower two years, and had a great passion for the
sex, very readily accepted, and sent two ambassadors of his
own to conclude the terms. In this, therefore, *Irene*, with
all her skill, was mistaken; for *Charlemagne* was not to be
outwitted, since, whenever he undertook any thing of im-
portance, he provided at the same time for the measures
which were fit for him to pursue, in case he did or did not
succeed, which was the great secret of his administration,
and prevented its being ever disappointed ^l. In this very af-
fair he took such precautions, that, in all probability, *Irene*,
whatever her first design might be in the treaty, must have
espoused him, if by a conspiracy, undertaken and executed

^c Monach. Sangal, de reb. Caroli mag.

^e P. DANIEL.

^h Monach. Sangal, de reb. Caroli mag.

ⁱ EL MACIN,

Hist. Saracen. lib. vi.

^k THEOPHAN. Confessoris Chrono-

graphia.

^l HADRIANI VALESII gesta Francorum.

in a night, she had not been deposed by *Nicephorus*, who banished her to the island of *Mitylene*. Yet this did not baffle the schemes of *Charlemagne*, whose preparations for war were so formidable, that *Nicephorus* found himself under the necessity of giving him the title of *Augustus*, and of settling the boundaries between the two empires by treaty, to his satisfaction, though the peace did not last long.^m

WHILE *Charlemagne* was thus employed, *Godfrey*, king of the *Danes* or *Normans*, projected a very dangerous invasion on his dominions, both by land and sea; previous to which, by his intrigues, the *Saxons*, for the eighth time, betook themselves to arms; but the emperor entered their country so unexpectedly, and with so great a force, that, after sustaining great loss, they were obliged to submit.ⁿ He punished them by transporting many thousands into *Switzerland*, and a much greater number into *Picardy* and the *Low Countries*; at the same time he removed the *Abrodites* out of their own country into *Saxony*, which intirely broke the spirits of the *Saxons*, or rather weakened their force to such a degree, that they were never afterwards able to rebel.^o

At the same time the guards he posted along the coasts behaved with such vigilance and intrepidity, that the *Normans*, finding it impossible to make any impression, thought it most expedient, for their own interest, to conclude a peace, which *Godfrey* once thought of negotiating in person, and to facilitate which, *Charlemagne* advanced with a corps of troops to the *Elbe*. *Godfrey* came thither also with a very numerous body of horse; but fearing, or pretending to fear, that his person might be seized, they treated by deputies, by whom a kind of convention was concluded, whereby the emperor's subjects were restrained from making incursions into the territories of the *Normans*, who, on the other hand, engaged, that his fleets should respect the territories of *Charlemagne*.^p An agreement founded in the interests of both parties, and which subsisted so long as they considered these in the same light.

THE emperor beginning to feel himself, notwithstanding the vigour of his constitution, by his continual fatigues, and by his excesses in respect to women, much decayed, held an assembly at *Thionville*, where he made an authentic disposition of his dominions, by which he gave *Aquitaine* and *Gascony*, together with the *Spanish* marches, to his son *Lewis*;

^m ADON. Chron. THEOPAN. Chronographia. ⁿ Historia de Conversione Boiorum. ^o EGINARD. Annal. ^p Annales Rerum Francorum.

ⁿ Hist.

his *Italian* dominions he confirmed to *Pepin*, together with the best part of *Bavaria*, and the countries at present inhabited by the *Grifons*; the countries in those days stiled *Nustria*, *Austrasia*, and *Thuringia*, were left to *Charles*, who, as the eldest, was also the most powerful of the three. In this instrument all things are very clearly expressed, and all possible provision made, to prevent disputes between the three young princes, during their lives, or with regard to their successions, in case of their decease. This disposition having been publickly read in the assembly, was subscribed by the emperor, and by the principal nobility that were present; after which it was sent by his secretary to *Rome*, in order to render it more authentic by the subscription of the pope⁹. It is very remarkable that in this instrument there is not only no notice taken of the imperial dignity, but also, there is an express reservation of the sovereign authority to the emperor during his life, as well from the three kings, as from all their respective subjects. The very same year, the two kings of *Aquitaine* and *Italy*, who had been present in the assembly, returning into their dominions, obtained several advantages against the infidels, whom *Pepin* drove out of *Corfica*, and *Lewis* defeated in *Catalonia*. *Charles* also made an expedition into *Bohemia*, where he defeated a tribe of the *Sclavonians*, that had rebelled and killed their duke. In the winter arrived at *Aix la Chapelle*, from that great prince whom the *French* stile monarch of *Persia*, and who makes so great figure in oriental authors under the name of the Khalif *Aaron al Raschid*, several ambassadors, who were kindly received, and most magnificently entertained: amongst their presents was a clock, the first ever seen in *France*¹.

A.D. 806.

By his
wise and
firm con-
duct the
Norman,
and other
pirates,
are kept
from mak-
ing any im-
pressions.

THE next year *Lewis*, king of *Aquitaine*, found himself involved in a war with the *Moors* in *Catalonia*, which he managed with indifferent success, and was, at the same time, embarrassed with several squadrons of *Norman* pirates upon his coasts; but, having received early intelligence of these from his father, he took such precautions for the security of his coasts, that they were able to give his subjects but little trouble². As we have already used this word often, and shall be obliged to repeat it frequently, it is requisite to observe, that we comply in this with the *French* historians, within the compass of this period, who stile all the northern nations, without distinction, *Normans*; nor is it of any consequence to history, or at least to this part of our history, to

⁹ GOLDAST. tom. i. p. 145.
nach. Sangal. Poeta Saxon.

¹ ADON. Chron.

² EGINARD. Annal.

³ Mo-

inquire minutely into this matter, since the ~~age~~ of these times makes it necessary to use the term; the ~~one~~ of which, once settled, can lead us into no mistake. ~~There~~ happened, about this period, some new broils in *Italy*, which historians attribute to the *Venetians*, who, by the last treaty, were left to live under their own laws and their own dukes, but, at the same time, were to render just homage to both empires; which, as they found it difficult to do, and were desirous of independency, they conceived it their interest to embarrass them in new disputes. Pope *Leo*, who foresaw the consequences of their intrigues, judged it requisite to make a journey into *France*, to give the emperor a right idea of the state of things in *Italy*. In consequence of his informations, *Charlemagne* sent instructions to his son *Pepin*, to keep his naval force in constant order, as the most effectual means to preserve the peace of his dominions; and it was by following this advice exactly, that he repelled both the *Moors* and the *Greeks*, as often as they gave him any disturbance *. In like A.D. 807. manner *Charlemagne* covered the rest of his extensive territories, having ports at the mouths of all considerable rivers, guardships on the coasts, fortifications along the shore, and a militia properly disposed for the defence of these fortifications.

It quickly appeared that the emperor had judged rightly of the precautions necessary against the *Normans*. Their king *Godfrey*, tho', as we shall see in its proper place, the *Norman* nations give him another name, had the courage not only to break again with the *French*, but to project and to undertake a war of continuance. He began with making an *Nor-* irruption into the country of the *Abodrites*, than whom no *German* nation had ever more steadily adhered to *Charlemagne*, and not only drove *Traficon*, one of their dukes, out of his dominions, but also caused another, whose name was *Godelaibe*, whom by some means or other he got into his hands, to be hanged up, merely for opposing his passage: after which he reduced a great tract of country, and had certainly pushed his conquests much farther, if the emperor had not ordered his eldest son *Charles* to advance, with a great army, towards the *Elbe* *. This had the effect that was expected; for the *Normans*, who, in the course of the campaign, had bought his victories dear, retired into his own dominions, where he shewed both his spirit and skill, by providing at the same time, with equal vigilance, for the defence of his

A war breaks out with Godfrey, king of the Danes or Nor-mans, who proves a formidable enemy.

* Vita Ludovici Pii.
sales Metenses.

* EGINARD. Annal.

* An-

A.D. 808.

own dominions, and for a fresh irruption into those of the emperor in the spring; while prince *Charles*, having erected a fortress upon the *Elbe*, at or near the place where *Hamburg* is now situated, returned and put his troops into winter quarters. *Lewis*, king of *Aquitaine*, made another expedition in person against the *Moors*, from whom he recovered several places; *Pepin*, king of *Italy*, with the assistance of his father's squadrons, repressed both the *Moors* and the *Greeks*, and gained some advantages over the *Venetians*, by their general's being averse to making war by sea, in person. This year, by the interposition of the emperor and the pope, *Ædulf*, king of *Northumberland*, who had been dethroned and driven out of his kingdom by his subjects, was restored²; the emperor, through his whole reign, holding a fair correspondence with the *Saxon* kings in *Britain*.

The progress of the war, other incidents, and the domestic employments of Charlemagne.

In the spring there was a negotiation for peace, between the emperor and the king of the *Normans*, which was broke off by the latter; and upon *Charlemagne's* threatening, for so it was in effect, to come and settle these disputes on his frontiers, *Godfrey* gave him to understand, that possibly he might save him that trouble, by coming with an army to the gates of *Aix la Chapelle*². He was indeed the most formidable enemy that, in the course of his long reign, the emperor had to deal with; who notwithstanding prevented his making the irruption he intended, by sending count *Egbert*, with a numerous army, on the other side the *Elbe*, while duke *Traficon*, at the head of his own subjects, the *Saxons*, and other vassals of the empire, recovered the country he had conquered the preceding year, and gave him full employment at home. The *Greeks* made a descent not far from *Ravenna*, with an intent to besiege the city of *Comachio*, but were beaten, and obliged to retire to their ships. The *Moors* also made a descent upon *Corfica*, and ravaged a great part of the island^b. In *Spain*, the king of *Aquitaine* attempted the recovery of *Tortosa*, which had been surprized in the winter, without effect, and one of his generals was also obliged to raise the siege of *Huesca*^c. In the mean time *Charlemagne* held a council at *Aix la Chapelle*, with all the state of a Christian emperor, in which he shewed great zeal for the doctrine and discipline of the church. He spent also no small portion of his time in revising the several codes of laws, by which his subjects, in different parts of his empire,

¹ Poeta Saxon.² Vita Alfredi magni.³ Annales

Bertin THEOPHAN. Chronographia.

^b Vita Ludovici Pii.^c ADON. Chron.

were governed, and made such alterations in them as he thought necessary; for he persisted in his maxims of governing every nation by their own laws, without making any changes, but those that were absolutely requisite for their own benefit ^d. He likewise heard the reports that were made to him by the governors of provinces, and such as administered justice. He heard also the complaints of all such as held themselves aggrieved, whether laity or clergy, and had set times for receiving and answering petitions. It is very wonderful that, with all these great affairs upon his hands, he should find leisure to collect, as he did, all the old poems and historical songs, relating to the exploits of his predecessors, which he did with a view to a complete history of the monarchy; and it is a great misfortune to posterity, that these collections are dissipated and gone ^e. It is the surest mark of an universal genius that it finds time for all things. Charlemagne's dominions were more extended than those of any Christian monarch, and yet they were less extensive than his capacity.

THINGS at the opening of the year had but an unpleasant aspect. The officer who commanded in the marches of Spain dying, the Moorish governor of Saragossa and Huesca easily over-ran them, more especially as he pretended to hold them as a vassal of the empire. The Gascons likewise began to murmur, and to pay little or no obedience to king Lewis: the party of the Greeks also became the strongest in Italy; and this obliging Pepin to withdraw some of his forces out of the islands, the Moors took the advantage, and in a short space of time made themselves masters of the best part of Corsica ^f. To heighten this gloomy prospect, the whole north was in motion, to put it out of the emperor's power to send either of his sons the succours which the situation of their affairs required. Charlemagne, however, without being disconcerted, applied himself with vigour to dispose all things on every side for the support of his government, and, while he was thus employed, the cloud gradually dispelled. Lewis, king of Aquitaine, entered the rough country of the Gascons with a well appointed army, from which, as they were not able to resist, they fled, but with a full resolution to attack his rear, upon his return out of Spain. Lewis took no pains to pursue; but, having taken a single man, caused him to be hanged up, and declared his resolution to treat all in the same manner who did not submit ^g. He seized their

The successes of the kings of Aquitaine and of Italy, against the Moors and Greeks.

^d EGINARD. vita Caroli mag.
ADON. Chron. / Monach. Engolif.

^e Monachus Sangal.
^f Vita Ludovici Pii.
old

old men, together with the women and children, as hostages, for the safety of his troops in their return. Having recovered the frontiers, he repassed the mountains, without any loss, which the *Gascons* thought it their interest to submit. He had the like success against his enemies, inasmuch that *Nicéphorus* judged it expedient to send ambassadors to *Charlemagne*, with whom they concluded a peace. But was otherwise with respect to *Godfrey*, king of the *Normans*, against whom the emperor provided, as he had done formerly, by causing a numerous army to pass the *Elbe*, and advancing several other corps towards the frontiers ^h.

Godfrey, THAT king, who was not inferior to *Charlemagne* in martial abilities, having left a considerable army to support the *Normans*, *Sclavonians*, with proper instructions how to act, embarked his best troops on board a fleet of two hundred sail, and, before the emperor had any intelligence of his design, attacked the islands on the coast of *Friezland*, reduced them, and then made a descent, with all his troops, upon the continent. The *French* and the *Frisons*, that is, the marine, militia, and the natives, assembled as great a force as they could to oppose his passage; but *Godfrey* having attacked and defeated them, struck the adjacent provinces with a general consternation ⁱ. *Charlemagne* assembled all the troops he could, which were not very considerable upon the *Rhine*, in order to make head against this bold invader; but, when he expected a decisive battle, he had intelligence that the enemy had abandoned their conquests, and were embarking on board their fleet. This strange turn was occasioned by the assassination of *Godfrey*, by one of his guards. His son was of a different temper; his first care was to acquaint *Charlemagne*, that he was sincerely disposed to peace; he assured him, in return, that he had the same inclination; upon which a cessation of arms ensued, the conferences being deferred to the spring ^k. The satisfaction he received from hence was very much qualified by the death of his beloved daughter, the princess *Rotrude*, and by that of *Pepin*, king of *Italy*, who, with great courage and abilities, had a profound respect, and a most tender affection for his father. He left behind him a son, *Bernard*, and five daughters. The emperor expressed

A.D. 810. more grief than some thought consistent with his dignity; but *Charles* was none of those heroes who are unaffected by the softer passions, or of those politicians who thought it requi-

^h EGINARD. vit. Caroli mag.
corum. ^k ADON. Chron.

Annales Rerum Fran-

site to dissemble them. He wept for his son, and, at the same time, he declared *Bernard*, tho' an infant, and a natural son, king of *Italy*. In this it seems he had the consent and concurrence of *Lewis*, king of *Aquitaine*, upon which he very much depended,

THE spring opened with the negotiations with the new *The emperor* king of the *Normans*, and a congress was held in *Jutland*, *ror loses* at which twelve ministers from each of the monarchs assisted, *his eldest son* who concluded a solid peace. This did not hinder the emperor from sending two numerous armies, one on the other *Charles, and joins* side the *Elbe*, the other into *Pannonia*, to settle a dispute between the *Huns* and the *Sclavonians*: at the same time, a *most of his* third marched into *Bretagne*, where they put an end to some *enemies inclined to* stirrs that had happened, when the emperor's affairs were *peace* thought to be in bad posture. In the mean time, *Charles* went in person to see all things restored on the sea coast; and having passed as far as *Bologne*, caused the port to be fortified, made it a capital station for one of his squadrons, and erected a noble pharos, to prevent any accident by vessels entering in the night. At his return to *Aix la Chapelle*, he met with a new mortification, in the death of his eldest son *Charles*. His grandson, *Bernard*, going into *Italy*, under the direction of count *Wallon*, found all things in great confusion, the *Moors*, both of *Africa* and *Spain*, being ready to make a descent on *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, and *Grimoalde*, duke of *Beneventum*, in arms. In *Sardinia*, where the *Moors* actually landed, they met with such a reception, as left them no inclination to try their fortune in *Corfica*. Count *Wallon* marched into the dominions of *Grimoalde*, and gave him so severe a check, that he was glad to submit, and to pay an annual tribute of twenty-five thousand pieces of gold, as the price of his folly. The emperor *Nicephorus* being killed, and his son deposed, *Michael*, his son-in-law, who mounted the throne, renewed the peace with *Charlemagne*, and sent his ambassadors to *Aix la Chapelle* to assure him of his cordial friendship: as a proof of it, they studied in their harangues to give him all the titles annexed to the imperial dignity, so that now his dominions were on every side at peace, which the *Moors*, after their late defeat, were glad to renew.

As the emperor was now towards seventy, had been for *He associ-* some years infirm, and was particularly subject to the gout, *ates his* of which he had a very severe fit in the winter, he bent his *only sur-*

¹ EGINARD. vit. Caroli mag. ^m Monachus Sangallensis de rebus Bellicis Caroli magni. Chron. var. antiq. ⁿ EGINARD. Annal. • • THEOPHAN, Chronograph,

living
son Lewis,
king of A-
quitaine,
in the em-
pire.

thoughts entirely to the preservation of those advantages to his subject, after his demise, which it had been the study and the endeavour of his whole life to procure. He judged it the shortest method for his purpose, to associate his only son Lewis in the empire. With this view he sent for him to court, where a general assembly was held of the prelates and nobility throughout his dominions, with whom he consulted upon this occasion, and who cheerfully and unanimously gave their consent P. On the day fixed for the ceremony, *Charlemagne*, invested with all the ensigns of the imperial dignity, and attended by the great officers of his household, went with his son, in state, to the church or chapel which he had built, and from which the city of *Aix* derives the distinction of *la Chapelle*. There they both presented themselves before the high altar, where, after having spent some time in prayer, the emperor told his son, that being by birth called to that high dignity, it should be the business of his life to endeavour to discharge it worthily. In order to this, he recommended to him a serious zeal for religion; charged him to look upon the prelates as his fathers, and upon the people as his children; exhorted him to be kind to his relations, gentle in his administration, but, at the same time, steady and firm in the execution of justice: he added, that he should be ever ready to reward merit, should prefer his nobility gradually, use great deliberation in the choice of ministers; but, when once chosen, never remove them from caprice, or support them when clearly convicted of crimes. He then asked him, if he was willing to govern in this manner? *Lewis* answered, that he esteemed it his greatest felicity to obey his commands, and that his memory should never let slip his counsel. The emperor ordered him then to take a rich crown, which was set for that purpose on the high altar, and set it on his own head; and after divine service was performed, they returned to the palace. In a few days *Lewis* returned into *Aquitaine*, where his presence was requisite; and *Charlemagne* caused, the same year, councils to be held at *Arles*, *Rheims*, *Mentz*, *Tours*, and at *Chalons* on the *Saône*, being very desirous that all things should be reduced into the best order possible while he was yet alive (D). He likewise renewed the peace with the *Normans*, who

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Vit. Ludovici Pii.

(D) The magnificence of where he was attended by his
Charlemagne appeared in the vassals, prelates, governors of
dyets, or general assemblies, provinces, and all who held
great

who had lately a new king. The *Moors* had broken the peace lately concluded at their own request, and having no other war upon his hands, *Charles* employed the naval force of his empire to make them sensible of their perfidy, in which he was very successful, tho' at first they did some mis-

great employments under him. We are not to suppose that these were always present; but when this duty was omitted it was by the emperor's permission, and those that were excused sent their agents or deputies, qualified to give the emperor such informations as he required. At these seasons of festivity he appeared in all his imperial ornaments, and received presents from all the members of the assembly, which, in succeeding times, were stiled free gifts. In these assemblies those laws were made which were intituled *Capitulars*, of which we have a complete collection extant, and appear to have been all made by the advice, and with the assent, of the nobility and prelates assisting. Some of the vassals or princes of barbarous nations, and some of the great lords in *Italy*, held their estates by hereditary right; but the dukes and counts among the *French* were officers, removable at his pleasure, and he was equally cautious in displacing them, and in giving their honours to their sons. For the young nobility, they were generally bred up at his court, and under his eye, so that he was better acquainted with their inclinations and capacities than their parents, and he preferred them accordingly, pursuant to his own maxim, that lands were to be inherited, but that honours and employ-

ments were the reward of merit. At these seasons the time was spent in business and diversions of every kind, in which the emperor was very indulgent. At other times he was modest in his dress, frugal at his table, and a declared enemy to luxury, as appears from his sumptuary laws, which were very strict, and from the following odd instance, sharper than any law. He observed the nobility about him dressed one winter in very fine silk robes, lined with fur of great price. He carried them with him to hunt one rainy morning, through woods, and other places; and, when they came in, permitted nobody to change their habits, saying, they would dry better by the fire, which shrivelled all the torn furs, and spoiled them entirely. The next morning he directed they should appear in the cloaths they wore the day before. When the court was pretty full, "What a tattered company have I about me," said he; "while my sheep skin cloak, which I turn this way or that as the weather fits, is not at all the worse for yesterday's wear. For shame, learn to dress like men, and let the world judge of your ranks from your merit, not from your habit: leave silks and finery to women, or to those days of pomp and ceremony, when robes are wore for show, and not for use."

chief by invading the continent, and the coast of *Italy*.
 A.D. 813. There happened a new revolution in the *Greek* empire, which, however, did not alter the harmony which had been lately re-established, the new emperor being as desirous of preserving it as his predecessor had been, and for that purpose dispatched ambassadors to *Charlemagne*, who did not arrive till after his decease ^r.

The death of Charlemagne. ABOUT the middle of the month of *January*, at his coming out of the bath, the emperor felt himself feverish; he was always averse to physic, believing exercise the best means of preserving, and abstinence the surest way of recovering, health. His maxim failed him on this occasion, for in three or four days his disease became a pleurisy, and from this time he applied himself only to prepare for his great change; on the 27th he fell into an agony, and on the 28th, feeling his strength quite exhausted, he said with a low voice, *Into thy hands, Lord, I commend my spirit*, and so immediately expired, in the seventy-first year of his age, the forty-seventh of his reign, the forty-third from his conquest of *Italy*, and the fourteenth from his being crowned emperor ^s. He made a new will, as a private man, by which he distributed his treasures amongst his children, and to several churches throughout all parts of his dominions. He gave no directions as to the place of his burial, and therefore those about him caused his corpse to be interred in the church of *Aix la Chapelle*, and erected a tomb, covered by a triumphal arch, with a short and modest epitaph ^t. He was most sincerely regretted by his subjects of all ranks, but more especially by those who were nearest his person, with whom he lived in great familiarity, being one of the few princes who could enter into the companionable pleasures of private life, without prejudice to his dignity. His application to public affairs was very great and very constant: he was very easy of access, and scarce thought any thing too mean for his notice; but he was far from being suspicious, credulous, or cruel. By the mildness of his government he acquired the affection of his subjects, but kept his vassals within the bounds of their duty, by never suffering them to transgress it with impunity. He rewarded all services speedily and suitably; and, in order to this, he rarely bestowed more than one office upon the same man. He had his failings; and, amongst these, the greatest was indulgence to the failings of others; for he would not

^r THEOPH. Chronograph.
^s NARD. vita Caroli mag.

^t ADON. Chron.

^t EGI-

punish in his neighbour the liberties he took himself ^u. In a word, he was extremely amiable in his private life, as well as very illustrious in his public character; and this we may say with the greater assurance, since we have very ample memoirs of his life, written by his secretary, as well as some other pieces by cotemporary writers.

S E C T. IV.

The Reigns of Lewis the Gentle, Charles the Bald, Lewis the Stammerer, Emperors and Kings of France; Lewis and Carloman, Kings; and Charles the Gros, Emperor and King, or Regent of France.

AT the time of his father's death, Lewis, king of *Aquitaine*, held an assembly of the states of his dominions, which he speedily dismissed, in order to comply with the desires of the nobility, who thought his presence requisite at *Aix la Chapelle* (A). His territories were of a vast extent, and

Conduct of Lewis at his entrance on the administration

^a ADON. Chron.

(A) *Lewis*, the youngest son of *Charlemagne*, who attained the age of manhood, was crowned king, and sent into *Aquitaine*, when a child of between three and four years of age. He was educated with great care and strictness: he understood the *Greek* well, and wrote and spoke the *Latin* tongue correctly and eloquently. He was no less adroit in his exercises; so that there was not a better horseman, a better archer, or one who handled a lance with a better air than he in his whole dominions. He was tall and strong, though not either so tall or robust as his father: his countenance was high-coloured, and his aspect always serious. He fell into some licenses in his youth, and had one natural son; *Arnold*, to

whom he gave the county of *Sens*; but he reformed early and sincerely, became very religious, and not only exact but austere in his morals. His father sent for him frequently to court, instructed him in the art of government, carried him to the wars, and laboured to inspire him with sentiments suitable to his condition, in which he did not altogether succeed. His administration, however, in *Aquitaine*, after he came to years of discretion, was such as gained him very high reputation. The regularity of his manners procured him the surname of *Pious*. His attention to his domain, and the frugal management of his revenues, enabled him to live with all the splendor of a prince; and, at the same time, would

and demanded all the attention that could be given, even by a prince of the most extensive genius : *Italy* indeed had been bestowed upon his nephew *Bernard*, the son of *Pepin*, upon whom *Lewis* had no other claim than that of homage; but besides the ancient kingdoms of *Austrasia*, *Neustria*, and *Burgundy*, *Lewis* held in *Spain* what are now stiled the countries of *Navarre*, *Aragon*, and *Catalonia*. In *Germany*, beyond the *Rhine*, he held all the country of *Saxony*, the *Upper* and *Lower Panonia*, *Dacia*, on the north side the *Danube*, *Istria*, *Croatia*, *Dalmatia*, and a good part of the country now stiled *Poland* *. In his passage to *Aix la Cha-*

* EGINARD. vita Caroli mag.

have kept his coffers full, if his charity and liberality had not found other uses for his money. He gave with his own hands, and with so good a grace, that from thence he was stiled the *Debonnaire*. He found his country full of disorders, and in the worst condition possible; the nobility headstrong, haughty, and oppressive; the clergy proud, ignorant, and lewd; the common people lazy, indigent, and prone to all sorts of vices. He brought about a general and wonderful reformation, and that by his own example and authority. He applied himself to government, as a profession to which he was called by Providence: he administered justice steadily and strictly: he punished but reluctantly, and without severity: he rewarded liberally, and avowed satisfaction. His father sent commissaries to inspect his behaviour; and their report was such, that the emperor could not help bursting out into this exclamation; " Let us give thanks to God, " for having given us a son " wiser than ourselves!" There was scarce a grievance known

in his whose dominions: His only fault was his being over religious, which inclined him to follow the example of his uncle *Carloman*, and induced him to think of retiring into a convent. This was very disagreeable to *Charles*, who remonstrated to him, with some degree of heat, that Providence had called him to another kind of life; that it was his duty to respect that call, and that he ought to think of serving God as a prince, and not as a monk. He afterwards came to discern that his father was in the right; and it had been happy for him if he had discerned it sooner, and understood it better. We have shewn in the text, in what manner he was associated by his father in the empire; we shall only add, that, at the time he succeeded him, he was thirty-six years of age, and had espoused *Ermengarde*, the daughter of *Enguerand*, count of *Hesbai*, in the diocese of *Liege*, who had more of his esteem than of his affection, by whom he was the father of those sons, who, through the course of his life and reign, gave him so much disquiet.

pelle

pelle he was met by *Theodulfe*, bishop of *Orleans*, who had great credit with his father; he gave him a distinct idea of the state of the court, and inspired him with a jealousy of count *Wallon*, or *Walla*, the grandson of *Charles Martel*, and esteemed one of the wisest men of that age: he likewise insinuated the apprehensions that a great part of the court was under, but more especially his sisters, from the gravity of his disposition, and the severity of his morals, which induced him to send orders for arresting some of those princesses favourites; and one of them making some resistance, was killed, which occasioned his treating the rest with more rigour than he intended. However, he succeeded peaceably to the empire; and *Walla* was the first who did him homage ^b. He executed his father's will with great punctuality, except with regard to some of his sisters, who being in his opinion too slenderly provided for, he supplied them with what he judged requisite for their maintenance. He dismissed them, however, from the court, and sent them to the abbies which *Charlemagne* had assigned them. He retained his three natural brothers, and took care of their education, causing them to eat at his own table. He held an assembly, in which he confirmed all his father's grants; and being informed that some *Spanish* families, who had retired into his dominions to escape the tyranny of the *Moors*, were oppressed by his subjects, and reduced to a kind of vassalage, which differed but little from slavery, he redressed that grievance, and set them intirely at liberty ^c. On receiving the homage of the duke of *Beneventum*, he lessened his tribute to seven thousand pieces of gold: he restored the *Saxons* and the *Frisons* to their rights of inheritance, of which they had been deprived by his father for their frequent rebellions, for which he was generally blamed; yet the event shewed he was in the right, for they remained inviolably attached to him ^d. He received the ambassadors of the *Greek* emperor, and other princes, favourably, and renewed the several treaties of peace A.D. 814. that had been concluded with them. He had, at his accession, three sons, *Lothaire*, *Pepin*, and *Lewis*: he sent the eldest into *Bavaria*, the second into *Aquitaine*, and appointed ministers to manage their affairs ^e. His father's example seems to have been to him a law, perhaps without a due retrospect to his motives.

^b Vita Ludovici Pii. ^c NITHARDI ANGILBERTI filii Caroli magni Imperatoris, ex Bertha filia nepotis abbatis, sancti Richarii, de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii. ^d ASTRONOM. in vita Ludoyici Pii. ^e ADON. Chron.

A conspiracy, formed by Bernard, king of Italy, against the emperor, defeated.

AMONG those who addressed themselves to *Lewis* at his accession, was a *Danish* or *Norman* prince, whose name was *Heriolt*, to whom he promised his protection; and an attempt was made this year to restore him, which however did not succeed. The emperor held an assembly at *Paderborn*, where his nephew *Bernard*, king of *Italy*, and other princes, assisted; and it was soon after this, that he received the news of another conspiracy against the life of pope *Leo*, which having been discovered in time, and those, who were concerned in it secured, the pope caused them to be executed, with which the emperor being displeased, directed *Bernard*, king of *Italy*, to go to *Rome*, and by his presence put an end to these disorders ^f. This was done effectually by the death of the pope, who was succeeded by *Eugenius V.* This pontif did not wait for the emperor's confirmation, which he took amiss, and the pope, to soothe him, made a journey into *France*, where he was received with all possible honour; and having crowned the emperor and empress at *Rheims*, returned into *Italy*, where he did not long survive ^g. The emperor caused a council to be held, for establishing ecclesiastical discipline at *Aix la Chapelle*; and there he likewise gave audience to some *Moorish* ambassadors, and to those of the *Greek* emperor. He likewise received ambassadors from the kings of the *Normans*, who solicited him warmly to abandon *Heriolt*; but to break his word, and to desert a prince in distress, was not the character of this monarch: he heard the advantageous proposals they made, but, after hearing them, he sent them back without an answer ^h.

Disorders in Italy, where the popes are disposed to shake off all dependency.

ANOTHER great assembly was held at *Aix la Chapelle*, in which the emperor declared his intention to associate one of his sons in that dignity, after the example of his father, tho' the case was very different, and the reasons which determined the one were not at all applicable to the other. After a fast of three days, to implore the direction of heaven in the emperor's choice, he declared *Lothaire*, his eldest son, his coadjutor; at the same time he created *Pepin* king of *Aquitaine*, and *Lewis* king of *Bavaria*; and, after the ceremonies of their coronations were over, sent them into their respective dominions ⁱ. This news scarce reached *Italy* before *Bernard* took up arms, and having a strong party in *France*, he flattered himself with the hopes of deposing the emperor. *Lewis* upon this occasion acted with greater vigour than either his

^f Vita Ludovici Pii. ^g EGINARD. Annal. ^h ASTRONOM. in vita Ludovici Pii.

ⁱ Chron. Moissiac, Charta divilionis Imperii ap. Ludovici Pii.

friends or his enemies expected : he assembled a puissant army, and began his march directly, with a full intention to pass the *Alps*, and put an end to this defection. But by that time he arrived at *Chalons* on the *Soame*, the face of affairs changed strangely. Some of the great lords in *Italy* refused to join *Bernard*; those who had joined him abandoned him; and his army, seeing this, deserted, which affected him to such a degree, that he passed the *Alps* in person, and came to implore the clemency of his uncle ^k. *Lewis* received him coldly; told him, that, on the death of his father, he was the first who proposed to the emperor declaring him king of *Italy*; that, since his accession, he had confided in him, and, contrary to the opinion of his ministers, had heaped upon him many favours: that, however, he would not be judge in his own cause, but would refer all to the determination of the next assembly at *Aix la Chapelle*, where *Bernard*, and his associates, who were the chief ministers of the deceased emperor, and *Theodulfe*, bishop of *Orleans*, were condemned to suffer death ^l. The emperor caused the laicks to have their eyes put out, and the bishop to be deposed; *Bernard* died a few days after of grief, or of pain. The emperor caused his three brothers, at the same time, to be shaved, and put into monasteries; and thus this affair ended. But, before the end of the year, the *Abodrites*, who hitherto had been always faithful, revolted : the cause was this, *Traficon*, their duke, being assassinated by the king of the *Normans*, *Charlemagne* had appointed *Sclaomir* to succeed him; but on the accession of *Lewis*, *Ceudragne*, the son of *Traficon*, represented his father's services to the emperor, who made him joint duke; upon which *Sclaomir* called in the *Normans* ^m. A.D. 917.

In consequence of the intrigues that had been set on foot *Lewis*, by in the beginning of this reign, *Morman*, count of *Bretagne*, the persuader not only threw off his vassalage, but assumed the title of son of his king. *Lewis* moved directly with his forces on that side, ministers, and called a general assembly at *Vannes*; in which having spouses regulated certain affairs, he attacked the *Bretons* with such vigour, pursued them so closely, and wasted their country in such manner, that the people in a sedition murdered their new king, and submitted again to *Lewis*, who thereupon declared *Nomenon*, a great lord of that country, who had never entered into the revolt, count or judge of *Bretagne* ⁿ. The emperor, in his return to *Germany*, took *Angiers* in Judith the daughter of duke Guelfe.

^k Vita Ludovici Pii. ^l THEGAN. de reb. gest. a Ludovici Pii

^m Vita Ludovici Pii et al.

ⁿ EGINARD. Annal.

ⁿ Vita

Ludovici Pii.

his way, where he had left his empress *Hermengard* sick, and who deceased there soon after. He proceeded from thence to *Heristal*, where he gave audience to the ambassadors of several nations. Amongst these were deputies from *Sigon*, duke of *Beneventum*, who, by the rich presents they brought, appeased the emperor on behalf of their master, who had raised himself to that dignity by the assassination of *Grimoalde*; but he would not listen to the complaints made by *Liuduit*, duke of the *Huns*, against the count of *Frioul* °. While he was thus employed, *Lupus*, count of the *Gascons*, revolted, but he was quickly defeated by *Pepin*, king of *Aquitaine*, taken and sent prisoner to *Aix la Chapelle*, which was likewise the fate of *Sclaomir*: both these rebels were sentenced to death, but the emperor contented himself with sending them into banishment †. His courtiers and ministers, to divert him from that inclination he had to a life of privacy and retreat, prevailed upon him to marry *Judith*, the daughter of duke *Guelfe*, descended, by the father's side, from one of the noblest houses in *Bavaria*, and by the mother, from the ancient dukes of *Saxony*, beautiful in her person, and a princess otherways accomplished; but who, notwithstanding these rare qualities, proved the author, or at least the occasion, of the misfortunes that befel him and his subjects ‡. So liable are matches made from prudence as well as passion, to miscarry.

A.D. 818.

Liuduit, duke of Hungary, revolted, and maintains along and obstinate war against the emperor.

THE revolt of *Liuduit*, produced a war of some continuance: he was the chief of the *Abares* or *Huns*, who inhabited that part of *Hungary* which lies about *Buda*; but he drew into this defection the *Slavonians*, who were seated on the rivers *Save* and *Drave*, from whence he is, by some writers, stiled duke of the *Slavonians* †. The emperor immediately ordered a body of troops out of *Italy* to reduce him, but that was not so easily effected; he made a gallant and soldier-like defence; and, when fatigues and the rudeness of the season had obliged the emperor's forces to retreat, he entered the adjacent provinces, ravaged them, and repaired, by the plunder taken by his troops, the losses sustained by the war. Attacked by these armies at once, he secured himself by the same conduct, and by maintaining a secret correspondence with some of the auxiliary troops, of which those armies were composed: he likewise, by his

° NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii.

† ASTRONOM. in vita Ludovici Pii.

‡ NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii.

§ Chron. var. antiq.

intrigues,

intrigues, engaged the Normans to renew their piracies, and had also some intelligence in Italy *. But, at length, the emperor's generals changed their method of making war, and instead of ruining the open country, pursued him from place to place, till at length he was forced to quit his own territories, to take shelter in the country of the Sorabes. There he murdered the duke who had given him refuge; but not able to maintain himself long in that country, he retired to the town of a Dalmatian lord, with whom he had long held a secret correspondence. But his friend, perceiving his affairs desperate, and being afraid he might treat him as he had done his former protector, thought it most for his interest and safety to put him out of the way: and thus ended this war †.

WE have before observed, that the emperor held a council for restoring and enforcing the discipline of the church; and we have more than once remarked, that he was not only zealously but sincerely pious himself; yet it was from this right action, and from these laudable inclinations, that, for want of penetration and steadiness, the emperor suffered deeply. He had a profound respect for bishops; but his reformation had disobliterated most of that order throughout his dominions. He thought it improper for prelates to be loitering about a court, and was therefore for confining them to their benefices. To this, in the council, they could not but assent, and when they had assented, they were forced to obey; but they resented this strictness in the emperor as if it had been an injury. They found means to represent the virtues and self-denial of Adelard, abbot of Corbie, the elder brother of Walla, who was now also become a monk, in so strong a light, that, notwithstanding he was the principal author of Bernard's conspiracy against his crown and life, the emperor not only recalled him, and restored him, but soon after employed him as his minister. Adelard, in a short space, gained the confidence of Lewis to such a degree, that, upon the marriage of his son Lothaire, he interceded and procured the pardon of all his associates; and the emperor, of his own accord, added the restitution of their fortunes and honours. One would have imagined the monk might have stopped here, but he did not. He knew that his master was sincerely grieved for the death of his nephew; and from thence he took occasion to persuade him, that it would be highly meritorious to make an open con-

* NITHARD. de dissectionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii. † Idem
ibid.

profession of his crime, and to do public penance for it, setting the example of the emperor *Theodosius*, who submitted in like manner to *St. Ambrose*, bishop of *Milan*; and tho' their actions were very different, yet such an influence had he over the mind of *Lewis*, that he took it for a case in point ^u. In consequence of these strange notions, the emperor actually submitted; and in the face of the public, at the assembly of *At-tigni*, acknowledged his faults, begged pardon for the scandal he had given, and desired the bishops to enjoin him penance. He even carried it so far, as to thrust into the catalogue of his faults his discarding the old ministry, and disgracing *Walla*, whom not long after he sent, with his son *Lothaire*, into *Italy*; so that two brothers were the prime ministers, and directed the councils of the two emperors, till the death of *Adelard*, whom his brother succeeded as abbot of *Corbie* ^w.

Lothaire goes twice to Rome, is crowned by the pope, and sits there as sovereign. THE emperor's disposition was now so well known, that the pope thought he might avail himself of it. *Paschal I.* was then seated in the papal chair; he had caused himself to be crowned, without waiting for *Lewis's* confirmation, which he had excused, by throwing the blame upon the clergy and people; and he had obtained, or at least this is asserted, an extension of the charters of *Peppin* and *Charlemagne*, which have made a great noise in the world, but are suspected in several clauses by most, and believed to be all a forgery by many. This pontif thought he might take any liberties under so good a prince, and, in this persuasion, did many things that occasioned loud complaints. *Lewis* hearing these murmurs, directed his son *Lothaire* to go to *Rome*, to inquire into the causes of these disorders, and to rectify what was amiss. *Lothaire*, in obedience to his father's commands, went thither, and, after proper inquiry, made a decree in virtue of his imperial dignity, by which many grievances were removed, and all disorderless appeased ^x. The pope shewed him great respect, crowned him with his own hands, and testified great satisfaction in his presence. In a short time, however, after his departure, two noble *Romans*, *Theodorus* and *Leo*, who had distinguished themselves by their adherence to the young emperor, were seized, their eyes put out, and at length they were beheaded in the patriarchal palace of *Lateran*. This alarmed the emperor exceedingly, who sent an abbot and a nobleman, his commissaries, to *Rome*, in order to make a strict inquisition into this affair. The pope made a

^u RADBERTUS in vita Adelharde. ^w THEGAN. de gestis Ludovici Pii. ^x Vita Ludovici Pii.

strange apology; he insisted that the execution was done without his privity; but at the same time declared those great men had suffered justly. He went farther, and, in imitation of his predecessor pope *Leo*, purged himself by oath, and procured thirty-four bishops to swear with him; which, with the excuses made by his ambassadors, induced the emperor, through an excess of good nature, says the *French* historian ¹, to rest satisfied. However, he was speedily called to answer at another tribunal, which was not to be imposed upon; and, on his demise, *Eugenius II.* was elected, but with so much disorder, that *Lothaire* made another journey to *Rome*, where, with sovereign authority, he examined into and corrected many errors in the administration, occasioned by the avarice, pride, and private resentments of the popes: having by a new decree, consisting of nine articles, restored the public tranquillity, he took an oath of the *Romans*, not to proceed to the coronation of any future pope, till confirmed by the emperor, and left also an imperial judge at *Rome*, to prevent things from running again into confusion, promising that, in case he was threatened or corrupted, to send commissaries to hear appeals in the last resort ².

WHILE his sons were thus employed in *Italy*, the emperor administered affairs at home, with equal facility and dignity. The *Wilses*, a tribe of the numerous nation of the *Slavonians*, to prevent a civil war, desired *Lewis* to hear and determine the cause between two brothers, who both claimed to be their king. The elder had been deposed, but had still a party; the younger had the good graces of the people in general. Both appeared before the emperor, and said what they could in support of their respective titles: *Lewis* decreed in favour of the latter, but assigned a revenue, and an honourable establishment, to the former, with which he was satisfied ³. He restored *Heriolt* to his share of the kingdom of *Denmark*, caused him to be baptized, and sent *Ebbo*, archbishop of *Rheims*, into *Denmark*, to convert his subjects: these his endeavours might have been very successful, if it had not been for the imprudence of this prince, on whom he chiefly relied for support. The emperor also chastised the *Bretons*, and entered their country with three armies, commanded by himself, and his sons *Pepin* and *Lewis*, kings of *Aquitaine* and *Bavaria* ⁴. On the side of

A.D. 824.

¹ NITHARDI de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii.
de gestis Ludovici Pii.

² EGINARD. Annal.

³ Vita Ludovici Pii.
⁴ THEGAN.

Spain, indeed, his forces had received a check from the *Gascons*, which gave him some uneasiness; but this was soon removed by the joy he felt on the birth of his son *Charles*. It was preceded by an earthquake, which was interpreted as an omen of the misfortune that had happened in *Spain*, but was afterwards applied to this event, with equal reason indeed, as having no reference to either. But it was the failing of this monarch to be strangely affected by whatever happened out of the ordinary course of things; eclipses, inundations, famines, were all prodigies alike to him; and the memoirs of his reign were composed by one who, because he held that post in the court of this emperor, is known to posterity by no other title than that of the astronomer ^c.

Several
misfor-
tunes hap-
pen on the
frontiers,
by which
all the af-
fairs of the
empire fall
into confu-
sion.

AT the assembly held in the spring at *Aix la Chapelle*, *Viomarque*, who had been at the head of the rebellion in *Bretagne*, came with the principal lords of that country to pay their respects to the emperor, and to give him the strongest assurances of their submission and fidelity. *Lewis*, with his usual good-nature, received them with great affability and kindness, and dismissed them, more especially *Viomarque*, with rich presents. They were no sooner returned into their own country, than the rebellion broke out afresh, and *Viomarque* particularly made an inroad into *France*, in which his troops committed the greatest excesses; but count *Lambert*, who commanded on the frontier, took his opportunity in the winter, by a quick march, and with a choice body of troops, and having invested him in his house, after an obstinate resistance, cut him and his adherents in pieces ^d.

826.

Things did not go so well in *Catalonia*, where, through some mismanagement, the *Moors* made a great impression; and soon after happened that revolt in *Navarre*, which, as we have shewn in its proper place, gave rise to that kingdom. Things had gone still worse, if *Bernard*, lately advanced to the honour of count of *Barcelona*, had not been more able, or at least more fortunate, in repelling the enemy; but the force he commanded was so small, that preserving this city was all in his power ^e. In the north new disturbances broke out; in consequence of which, *Heriolt* was again driven out of his kingdom. The *Saracens* made themselves masters of the island of *Sicily*; upon which the people of *Naples*, perceiving it in vain to expect any succours from *Constantinople*, would have put themselves under the protection of *Lewis*, if the circumstances of his affairs had permitted him to have

^c P. LE LONG. FREENOY. LE GONDRE.

^d Vita Ludovici Pii. ^e See the Histories of Catalonia and Navarre.

given them relief. But things were so ill managed by *Lothaire* and *Pepin* on the side of *Spain*, that it was intirely impracticable: yet count *Boniface*, who commanded in *Corfica*, assembled a good fleet, and with a considerable body of troops on board made a descent in *Africa*, where he defeated the *Moors* several times. This distracted the enemy, and raised the reputation of the *French* arms, which in that conjuncture was of the utmost consequence ^f.

By this series of disasters, the enemies of the emperor's government obtained an opportunity of first disturbing, and next subverting, it. The empress *Judith* had gained a great ascendancy over her husband, which she employed in persuading him to place her son on a level with his brethren. In this the difficulty was great, as the emperor had already settled the succession to all his dominions. *Aquitaine* and *Bavaria* were small kingdoms, out of which, therefore, nothing could be taken; so that, whatever his share was to be, must be detached from that of *Lothaire* ^g. The empress employed her address so effectually, that she engaged *Lothaire* to consent, and even to promise, with an oath, that in case the emperor died while *Charles* was under age, he would undertake the care of him and his affairs, as his guardian and protector. But the protector having removed many from their employments, on account of the late disasters, they breathed every-where a spirit of discontent, and, by degrees, the complaints on every side became so general, and so loud, that the emperor appointed commissioners to inquire into the errors of his own government; their title in *Latin* was, *Missi Dominici*, and *Walla* was at the head of them: he had a great reputation for prudence and sanctity, and he made a very ample report in a general assembly, in which he not only treated the ministers, but the emperor himself, with great freedom. Upon this several fresh changes ensued, and four great councils were held for the reformation of the clergy ^h. But the empress, through all these mists of religion and public spirit, saw clearly that the emperor's, or at least her, ruin was intended: of this she made *Lewis* so sensible, that he sent *Walla* back to his convent, and, after much deliberation, sent for *Bernard*, count of *Barcelona*, whose sister, before he became a monk, *Walla* had espoused, and intrusted him with the chief management of affairs. He was indeed the fittest man he could have employed: he had great sagacity, much firmness, and having once embarked in any de-

^f EGINARD. Annal.
NARD. in Annal.

^g Vita Ludovici Pii.

^h EGI-

sign, pursued it without looking back. It happened unuckily, that the post bestowed upon him in the court was that of lord chamberlain, by which having frequent admission to the empress, and being a very handsome, and withal a very gallant man, this gave a new topic to the malecontents; who, seeing all their plots in danger of being unravelled, boldly gave out, that he was too familiar with that princess, and, as such reports easily gain credit, this was speedily and generally believed¹.

The emperor and his son Charles fall into the hands of Lewis and Pepin, and are very ill treated.

COUNT *Bernard*, not in the least moved with these rumours, or intimidated with the intrigues of the ecclesiastics, planned a new kingdom for *Charles*, which would have rendered him a powerful sovereign. It was to consist of so much of *Germany* as lies within the *Danube*, the *Maine*, the *Neckar*, and the *Rhine*; to which were added *Rhetia*, or the country of the *Grisons*, and that part of the kingdom of *Burgundy* which comprehended the district of *Geneva* and the *Swiss* cantons^k. The malecontents acted in conjunction with the emperor's three sons, though, as yet, they did not affect to appear. Count *Bernard* was no stranger to this; and, under colour of reducing the *Bretons*, who were again revolted, assembled an army, which the emperor was to command in person, and in which *Lewis*, king of *Bavaria*, likewise served, and *Pepin*, king of *Aquitaine*, was directed to join the army on the frontiers of *Brétagne*, with his forces. But, when they came to march, part of the forces refused to obey orders; notwithstanding which, *Lewis*, by the advice of the count, advanced with the rest. *Pepin*, with a great army, marched out of *Aquitaine*, and the malecontents having offered him their service, he made no scruple of declaring against his father; upon which, *Lewis* quitted the emperor's camp, and joined him^l. In this situation the emperor sent his consort, for safety, to the abbey of *Poitiers*, and *Bernard*, apprehending he should be the victim, demanded leave to retire to his government of *Catalonia*, which he obtained. *Pepin*, by the advice of the malecontents, sent a detachment to the abbey of *Poitiers* to seize the empress; having her in his power, he loaded her with reproaches, and told her, that, if she meant to preserve herself, she must go and persuade his father to two things; that she should take the veil as a nun in the monastery from which she came, and that he,

¹ THEGAN. de gestis Ludovici Pii. ADON. Chron. ~~ADON.~~ Chron. THEGAN. de gestis Ludovici Pii. Annales BERTHIANI.

^k NITHARDI de discessionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii. PASCHASIUS RADBERTUS in vita Valæ abbatis. ADON. Chron.

resigning his dignity, should become a monk. *Judith* promised all that he could desire; but, in her interview with the emperor, is supposed to have advised him not to renounce his dignity. However he permitted, that she should go and take the veil, as she did; and, for himself, demanded a conference with the peers and prelates. His army having abandoned him, he fell, with his son *Charles*, into the hands of the rebels, who treated him very coarsely; causing a small assembly to be held at *Compiègne*, in which they expected he should have resigned the crown. He appeared therein confused and disconsolate, made a kind of apology for his conduct, protested the rectitude of his intentions, and promised to act with more circumspection for the future. He stood while he was speaking, tho' there was a throne in the hall; but, when he had finished his discourse, the bishops and great lords, who were present, obliged him to sit thereon^m.

THIS disconcerted the schemes of *Pepin* and the abbot of *Corbie*. *Lothaire* arrived soon after with an army from *Italy*, and, as it was upon him the malecontents principally depended, *Pepin* and *Lewis* found themselves so little considered, that they thought it their best way to retire each into his dominions. *Lothaire* used his father with much exterior respect, but did not allow him the smallest share of power; and tho' he did not talk of deposing him, yet he put certain monks about him, who were instructed to persuade him to quit the worldⁿ. They were so far from succeeding in their commission, that, the emperor discoursing with them very graciously, they entered thoroughly into his interest; and one of them, whose name was *Gombaud*, undertook to negotiate a reconciliation with *Lewis* and *Pepin*, in which he succeeded^o. At the great assembly held at *Nimeguen*, the emperor, finding himself surrounded by several *German* princes, attended by their guards, began to resume his courage. He sent for *Hilduin*, abbot of *St. Denis*, who had been very active during the whole affair, and asked him, what he meant by bringing so many men armed in his train, ordered him to dismiss them immediately, and to retire to *Paiderborn*. He treated *Walla*, abbot of *Corbie*, in the same manner^p. At length he sent for his son *Lothaire*,

^m THEGAN. de gestis Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ abbatis.

ⁿ Vita Ludovici Pii. NITHARD. de dissensionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii.

^o THEG. de gestis Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ abbatis.

^p PASCHASIUS RADBERTUS in vit. Valæ abbatis. THEG. de gestis Ludovici Pii. NITHARD. de dissensionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii.

A.D. 830. to whom he represented, in so strong a light, the folly, as well as wickedness, of this behaviour, that he burst out into tears, and intreated his pardon. At that instant the two parties were on the point of coming to blows; but, the two emperors appearing together, all things were pacified, and the dyet, which met to depose the emperor, confirmed his authority. The first use he made of it was to arrest the chiefs of the defection, whom he brought to a trial at the winter assembly held at *Aix la Chapelle*; where they were sentenced to suffer death, but he was content to send them into exile¹.

New intrigues and disturbances in the empire, and among the imperial family.

THE emperor was resolved to recall his consort to court; but, as she had taken the veil, it was thought requisite to have the advice of the bishops, and the consent of the pope. Gregory the fourth, then in possession of the see of Rome, declared, that, as she had taken the veil by force, her vows were not binding. Soon after her return, count Bernard was recalled; but first it was judged expedient, that the empress should purge herself, by oath, with respect to the heavy crimes laid to her charge¹. The return of count Bernard created fresh murmurs; the monk *Gombaud* thought that being made prime minister was the least that could be done for one who had restored the emperor; the kings *Pepin* and *Lewis* were for governing likewise; and the empress judged every attempt of this kind an intrusion upon her province. The exiles were recalled, or, at least, as many as were content to acknowledge their errors, and subscribe to the provision made for the emperor's youngest son². *Lothaire* was deposed from being emperor, but was allowed to keep the title of king of *Italy*, provided he did nothing of consequence without receiving his father's instruction. Before the end of the year, count Bernard, perceiving that the empress was conducted by other councils, reconciled himself to *Pepin*, king of *Aquitaine*, and, by his intrigues, the three brothers were³ more closely united than ever in a league against their father⁴.

A. D.
831.

Upon the death of Pepin, king of

THE king of *Aquitaine*, having made his escape from court, made all the haste possible into his own dominions, and where he no sooner arrived than he took up arms. The emperor, being acquainted with this, assembled an army,

¹ Vita Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ abbatis. ² THEO. de gestis Ludovici Pii. NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ abbatis. ³ Vita Ludovici Pii. ⁴ THEO. de gestis Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ abbatis. NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii.

and declared; that he would hold his great court at *Orleans*; Aquibut his forces were marcè in motion before he had intelligence of the revolt of his son *Lewis*, which constrained him to return, and to appoint the assembly at *Mentz* ^{emperor}. The king of *Bavaria* made no doubt but the *Saxons* and *Allemani* ^{sets aside his sons in favour of his son.} would have joined him; more especially when he knew they had taken up arms; but they marched directly to the emperor's army, which was of the last consequence to his affairs; for it gave him such superiority, and raised his courage so much, that he compelled *Lewis* to come and throw himself at his feet; from whom he exacted an oath, that he would never swerve from his duty any more. Upon his return from this expedition, *Lothaire* met his father at *Francfort*, assuring him of his fidelity, and that he had no correspondence with the rebels; tho' in reality, he was to have been at the head of the revolt. *Lewis* marched next against the king of *Aquitaine*, held an assembly at *Orleans*, and obliged him to surrender himself, and then sent him, under an escort, prisoner to *Treves*. On the road he found means to make his escape, returned into his own dominions, and raised a new rebellion; which so provoked the emperor, that he declared the kingdom of *Aquitaine* forfeited, and in that light gave it to his son *Charles*, who was then about nine years of age ^x.

A. D.
832.

THIS revived the murmurs of the people, and created a general discontent amongst the nobility. *Lothaire*, who was returned into *Italy*, where he had a numerous army, applied himself to pope *Gregory* the fourth; representing to him, that, having been crowned emperor by one of his predecessors, and the act, by which himself and his brother were declared kings, being in the papal archives, he ought in justice to espouse their cause. *Gregory*, won by these solicitations, tho' he had been confirmed in the papal see by the emperor *Lewis*, yet consented to come with *Lothaire*, and his army, into *France*; where the very name of the pope brought many bishops, and other ecclesiastics, to join them, and amongst the rest *Walla*, abbot of *Corbie* ^y. On the other hand, some of the bishops, and particularly *Dreux*, bishop of *Mentz*, the emperor's natural brother, tho' he had not

^u Annales BERTINIANI. NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii. ^w Vita Ludovici Pii. THEG. de gestis Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ abbatis. ^x ADON. Chron. NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ abbatis. ^y AGOBERT. de Comparatione utriusque Regiminis. PASCHASIUS RABERTUS in vit. Valæ abbatis.

been kindly used, adhered firmly to that monarch, and wrote in very strong terms to the pontif; in which they went so far, as to reproach him with entering *France* without the emperor's leave, and being in a camp where sons had displayed their banners against their father. The pope replied in very high terms to them; but had afterwards an interview with the emperor, in which he endeavoured to excuse himself^a. In the mean time *Lothaire* and his friends corrupted the emperor's army, so that he fell into their hands, with his empress and his son *Charles*; and, in an assembly held hastily on the spot, *Lewis* was deposed, the throne declared vacant, and *Lothaire* placed thereon^a. As for the empress they sent her to *Tortona*, and put her into a nunnery, the young prince *Charles* being sent to a castle in the forest of *Arden*. The pope being returned to *Rome*, and *Lewis* and *Pepin*, who had joined their brother, being retired into their respective kingdoms, *Lothaire*, in another assembly, composed chiefly of ecclesiastics, caused a long charge to be exhibited against his father, degraded him with many ceremonies, caused his sword to be taken from him at the altar, and put him into a habit of penitence, after the model of king *Wamba*'s usage in *Spain*. He likewise caused false news to be told him, that the empress, having taken the veil, died soon after; and that his son *Charles*, being shaved, was put into a monastery, in hopes that this would have determined him to become a monk^b. All these contrivances had effects the very reverse of those that were expected from them. The emperor behaved with great humility, but at the same time with much firmness: he acknowledged the chastisement to be just from the hand of God, but he conceived that the notions he had formerly entertained of becoming a monk, and abandoning the rank to which Providence had called him, had brought these misfortunes upon him. On the other hand, the people in general, and the monks in particular, began to alter their sentiments, and to cry out, that the usage of so good a prince, by an unnatural son, was not to be endured^c.

Lothaire, WHILE things took this turn in the heart of his dominions, *Dreux*, bishop of *Mentz*, went to the court of his nephew, *Lewis*, king of *Bavaria*, and represented to him, in
after a long strug-

^a THEG. de gestis Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ abbatis. Epist. Pap. Greg. IV. ^a THEG. de gestis Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ abbatis. Annales BERTINIANI. ^b Acta exauctorationis Ludovici Pii. THEG. de gestis Ludovici Pii. ^c NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii. THEGAN. de gestis Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ abbatis.

the most pathetic terms, the weakness, as well as wickedness, *gle, is com-*
of his conduct towards his father, since he had very little *pelled, in*
reason to hope the same tenderness from his brother *Lothaire the most*
that the emperor had shewn him. At the same time count *bumble*
Bernard, though the emperor had deprived him of his dig-
nities for the share he had in *Pepin's* rebellion, repaired to *demand*
the court of that prince, and demonstrated to him so clearly, *pardon of*
that it was his interest to restore his father, notwithstanding *his father.*
it was in his quarrel he had been deposed, that he began his
march with a numerous army for that purpose ^d. *Lewis*, of
Bavaria, was first in the field, and had no sooner declared on
his father's behalf, than the *Saxons*, with their usual alacrity,
asssembled their whole force to join him ^e. Several of the no-
bility in *France* took up arms on his side, insomuch that *Lo-*
thaire, perceiving himself in danger of being surrounded,
sent his father and his brother *Charles* to the abbey of *St.*
Denis, and, with the few forces he still retained about him,
retired into *Burgundy*; where, being joined by some of his
adherents, he did a great deal of mischief; but was at length
reduced to the necessity of throwing himself at his father's
feet, and, with the utmost humility, demanding pardon, in
the sight of the whole army ^f.

IMMEDIATELY after this happy event, the empress *Judith* *These who*
was recalled; and tho' the emperor had been absolved by such *were deep-*
bishops as were about the court at *St. Denis*, and afterwards *est in this*
presented by them with his sword and crown, yet such was *treason*
either the scruples of this prince, or the superstition of his *convicted*
subjects, that a more formal act of restitution was thought *and pun-*
necessary. Accordingly, in an assembly held at *Thionville*, *ished, but*
all that had been done in the assembly at *Compiègne* was de- *not rigor-*
clared void, the emperor was again absolved, seven arch-
bishops laying their hands upon his head, and *Ebbo*, arch-
bishop of *Rhims*, who had the boldness to degrade him,
which he had done with much brutality, tho' raised by the em-
peror from the dregs of the people, read publicly his recan-
tation, and afterwards resigned his dignity, from which he
would have been otherwise deposed ^g. The disorders which
these civil wars had occasioned were such, as, in a manner,
banished all appearance of government or of justice; but the
emperor quickly appointed commissaries to redress these

^d THEG. de gestis Ludovici Pii. NITHARD. de dissentionibus
filiorum Ludovici Pii. ^e Vita Valæ abbatis. ^f NI-
THARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii. THEG. de
gestis Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ abbatis. ^g NITHARD. de
dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii.

A.D. 836.

grievances, and to restore the vigour of the laws; which they, in a good measure, performed. He might now certainly have spent the remainder of his days in perfect tranquillity, if it had not been for the intrigues of the empress, who, having a restless desire to see her son settled in a kingdom, recurred to her first project, and entered again into a negotiation with *Lothaire*. He did not entertain this at first so warmly as she expected, though he sent some ministers of his own to treat in his father's court, at the head of whom was *Walla*, who was kindly received and caressed by the empress, tho' he had been the principal author of the troubles that, from the very beginning, had disturbed her husband's reign^b. But while this treaty went on slowly, *Lothaire* was taking every possible method to strengthen himself in *Italy*, that in case the emperor, who was become very infirm, should die, he might be able, at all events, to put himself into possession of his dominions. The manner in which he executed this design disoblged many of the nobility, and bore so hard upon the pope, that he joined his complaints to theirs at the court of the emperor; who was at length so much provoked, that he resolved to go in person with an army of choice troops into *Italy*, and sent his orders to *Lothaire*, to provide the magazines necessary for his march to *Rome*^c. What the consequence of this journey might have been cannot be easily conjectured; but the depredations committed on the coast of *France*, by the *Norman* pirates, obliged the emperor to lay it aside, that he might more effectually provide for the security of his dominions; which, whatever chagrin it might give to the empress *Judith* and her partizans, was not at all disagreeable to the wiser and better part of the emperor's ministers, who were very far from approving of this expedition^k.

The three
sons cabal
again, in
order to
compel
their fa-
ther to de-
fist, but
without
effect.

AT length, after mature deliberation, the empress determined to engage *Lewis* to add to the dominions, formerly intended for her son, the kingdom of *Neustria*, and some other districts. This resolution was at that time kept very secret; notwithstanding which, the three brothers had intelligence of it, and deliberated jointly whether they should renew the war, or dissemble their resentment. The passages from *Italy* were so well guarded, the dominions of the kingdoms of *Bavaria* and *Aquitaine* were at such a distance from each other, and the nobility of *France* and *Germany* so little dis-

^b THFG. de gestis Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ abbatis.
Ludovici Pii.

^c NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludo-

vici Pii.

posed to begin a new troubles, that they were constrained to be quiet. The emperor, therefore, having summoned an assembly at *Chiersi* on the *Oise*, introduced his son *Charles*, then about fourteen, and with great solemnity declared him king of *Neustria*, *Lewis*, king of *Bavaria*, being there in person, and the deputies of the king of *Aquitaine* subscribing with the rest¹. Things did not remain in this state long; the death of *Pepin* opened the way to a new division. He left behind him two sons, *Pepin* and *Charles*, and two princesses, who were married. *Judith* prevailed on the emperor to revenge the injuries he had received from his son upon his grand-children, who were absolutely innocent, by depriving his eldest son *Pepin* of the kingdom of *Aquitaine*. In order to this an assembly was convened at *Worms*, to which *Lothaire* was invited; and, tho' not without some inquietude, thither he came. His father received him kindly, but the empress covered him with caresses.

THE great point was to engage him to acquiesce in a new *Newtown* scheme, by which *Charles* was to have, as the spoil of his *break* brother *Pepin*, the kingdom of *Aquitaine*, and to divide the rest of the *French* dominions with *Lothaire*, and, according to the old project, was to be the tutor and protector of his nephew. As he was not in a condition to dispute, he assented, or rather submitted, to what was expected from him; and, by this partition, the *Meuse*, the country of *Switzerland*, the *Rhône*, and the ocean, became the boundaries of *Charles's* kingdom; except on the side of *Spain*, where he had all that the emperor possessed^m. But *Lewis*, king of *Bavaria*, tho' he suffered nothing by this partition, was so much provoked at it, that he assembled the whole force of his dominions, in hopes of extending them as far as the *Rhine*. But upon the first commotion the emperor advanced with a small army to *Mentz*, and, upon his approach, the *Saxons* began immediately to arm; which put the dominions of the king of *Bavaria* in such apparent danger, that, having caused his forces to separate, he sent to intreat his father's pardon. This insurrection was scarce extinguished before the bishop of *Poitiers* came to inform him, that some of the lords, and the greatest part of the people in *Aquitaine*, were extremely discontented, and looked upon the treatment that the young prince *Pepin* had received as a flagrant act of injustice. Upon which the emperor appointed an assembly at *Chalons* on the

¹ Annales BERTINIANI. Vita Ludovici Pii. ^m NITHARP. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii. Vita Valæ abbatis. Vita Ludovici Pii.

A.D. 839.

Soane, to which the lords of *Aquitaine* were ordered to repair. Thither he carried the empress and her son *Charles*, and, to the utmost of his power, laboured to give general satisfaction; assigning the motives that induced him to dispose of the kingdom of *Aquitaine* to his son, of whose education he promised to take the utmost care; and assuring them, at the same time, that he would provide for his grandchildren. The majority of the nobility and prelates acquiesced; but those, who had embraced the party of the young prince, were not to be moved, either to acknowledge *Charles*, or to deliver up *Pepin* to his grandfather. Having done, therefore, all that could be done in this assembly, he went to *Poitiers*, where he kept his *Christmas*, fully resolved to march, with the troops he had about him, into *Aquitaine* in the spring.

The death of the emperor in an island of the Rhine, partly of disease and partly of grief.

WHILE he remained there, the season being wet and cold, he became much indisposed; and in this situation, and at the entrance of *Lent*, which it was his custom to observe very strictly, he received the unwelcome news, that his son, the king of *Bavaria*, was again in arms, that the *Saxons* and *Thuringians* had joined him, and that he had already made himself master of the best part of *Germany*. This obliged the emperor to turn his arms on that side, at a juncture when, through the whole course of his life, he had spent his time in fasting, prayer, and retirement, and when he was also in an ill state of health. He left part of his troops to guard his wife and son, and with the rest proceeded, with the utmost expedition, to *Aix la Chapelle*; and making but a very short stay there, he passed the *Rhine*, with an intent to give his son battle. But *Lewis*, finding his troops not to be depended upon, withdrew into his own dominions, and abandoned all his conquests. This undoubtedly had given the emperor great joy; but there happened unfortunately at this time a great eclipse, in which the stars became visible. This affected the weak superstitious old man to such a degree, that it rendered his malady, which was otherwise not very dangerous, mortal. He caused himself to be carried into an island in the *Rhine*, the air of which he fancied to be very salubrious; there, tormenting himself with anxious thoughts, receiving the communion, and scarce any thing else, daily, he lingered for six weeks. When he found there were no hopes

A.D. 840.

* THEGAN. de gestis Ludovici Pii. • Vita Ludovici Pii.
 P. Annales BERTINIANI. NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum
 Ludovici Pii. THEG. de gestis Ludovici Pii. 9 Vita Ludovici Pii.

of recovery, he divided his treasures and rich moveables amongst his family, the great churches in his dominions, and the poor. He left a crown, a scepter, and a very rich sword, to *Lothaire*, by which it was also supposed that he left him the empire; but it was upon condition that he performed the promise he had made with respect to the empress and her son^r. His brother, the bishop of *Mentz*, perceiving that he left nothing to his son *Lewis*, put him in mind that, as a Christian, it was his duty to forgive him: to which the dying emperor, with some eagerness, answered, "I pardon him with all my heart; but tell him from me, that he ought to think seriously of obtaining pardon from God also, for bringing my grey hairs with sorrow to the ground". He died the 20th of *June* 840, in the 72d year of his age, and in the 27th of his reign: his corpse was interred in the church of *St. Arnold*, at *Mentz*, near that of his mother queen *Hildegard*^r (B).

As

^r *Annales BERTINIANI. THEG. de gestis Ludovici Pii. ADON. Chron. Vita Ludovici Pii. THEG. de gestis Ludovici Pii, c. xx. ADON. Chron. Vita Ludovici Pii.*

(B) We have observed in the text, that the emperor *Lewis* followed his father's example sometimes without considering his motives; in the main, however, it was of great use to him, and served in some measure to preserve the constitution (1). He courted the favour of bishops a little too much, of which, however, he had but a small share; because he shewed himself desirous of confining their cares to the proper duties of their function. He suffered his ministers likewise to have too great an ascendancy over him, which was probably owing to the manner in which he had been brought up, but more especially to his natural modesty and mildness of temper; for

his misfortunes were not so much owing to the narrowness of his genius, as to the softness and diffidence of his temper (2). He did not consider that men, who had better understandings, might have worse intentions, than himself; and it fared with him as with many other princes, the uprightness of his own nature made him sometimes an instrument of injustice, as directed by the arts of others. He was governed in her life-time by his first wife *Ermengarde*, who induced him to associate *Lothaire* in the empire, and to make *Pepin* and *Lewis* kings of *Aquitaine* and *Germany*: the former of those princes had, by his wife *Ingeltrude*, *Pepin*, who died a prisoner in the castle of

(1) *Adon. Chron. Theg. de gestis Ludovici Pii. Reginon. Chron. de gestis Ludovici Pii. Annen, lib. v.*

Lothaire As soon as the news of the emperor *Lewis's* death reached *Succeds as Italy*, *Lothaire* looked upon himself as his successor in the utmost extent of the word, and resolved to make himself master, if he could, of all his dominions. He was a prince of great subtlety and address; could wear any appearance, that the state of his affairs required; haughty in his manner, affecting great steadiness, which he really had not; and tho' he laid his plans with much prudence, was nevertheless liable to be disconcerted if he met with any unexpected difficulties in their execution. He judged his own situation to be far superior to that of his brethren, as *Lewis of Bavaria* had by no means a great character, and *Charles*, who was scarce seventeen, and under the tuition of his mother, could scarce be said to have any character at all ^u. As soon as he had passed the mountains, he seized *Worms*, and, with a very numerous army, marched to *Francfort*, intending to strip *Lewis of Bavaria*, before he had so much as a suspicion of his intention. Here he found his first mistake. *Lewis*, who had always fled before his father, appeared at the head of a corps of veteran troops, and offered battle to his brother. This disposed *Lothaire* to a negotiation; upon which followed a truce for three months ^w. He did this, in order to see whether he might not succeed more easily in falling upon *Charles*, to

^u Annales BERTINIANI. Vita Ludovicj Pii.
de diffentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii, lib. ii.

^w NITHARD.

Senlis, *Charles*, archbishop of *Mentz*, and *Bertha*, who married *Gerald*, count of *Berry* (3). Of the posterity of *Lewis the German* we treat elsewhere. By this empress he had also five daughters; *Alpaide*, who married *Begon*, count of *Paris*; *Gesle*, who espoused *Ewerard*, duke of *Frioul*, by whom she became the mother of *Berenger*, king of *Italy*; *Hildegarde*, the wife of count *Thierry*; *Adelaide*, who, some writers say, was first espoused to count *Conrade*, and afterwards to *Robert le Fort*,

count of *Paris*; and *Rotrude*, who died unmarried (4). His second empress *Judith* was, in the sentiments of a great historian, a very artful coquet, who, by her intrigues, produced most of her husband's misfortunes, in which she had her share (5). By her he had only one son *Charles*, who succeeded him, first in the realm of *France*, and afterwards in the imperial dignity, and who, in his life-time, his father, on the decease of his son *Pepin*, created king of *Aquitaine*.

(3) M. le P. Fauchet. P. Anselme. Menzelay. (4) Fauchet. Du Phaix. Le Gendry. (5) Vita Ludovicj Pii. Aimon, lib. v. Paul. Æmil. Annal. Francor. lib. v. Annal. Bertin. & Fuld.

whom he had sent agents, with assurances that he meant to adhere strictly to his promises, but desired at the same time that he would forbear passing their nephew *Pepin*, whose pretensions ought to be examined in an assembly. His views in this were, on the one hand, to acquire the reputation of a just and equitable prince with the vulgar, and, on the other, to raise a formidable enemy on the back of *Charles*, while he attacked in front *. To facilitate this scheme, his agents were likewise charged to make use of persuasions, money, and promises, in order to divert the nobility from his brother's interest; he had also his emissaries about *Pepin*, who dissuaded him from going to the assembly at *Bourges*, to which he was invited by *Charles* and the empress dowager, with a promise of safety and satisfaction. As soon, therefore, as *Lothaire* had concluded a truce with *Lewis*, he marched directly, tho' slowly, towards *Paris*, giving soft answers to the ambassadors from *Charles*, who were sent to put him in mind of his promises and oaths, as well as of his father's dying expressions †. The affairs of *Charles* were at this time in a very critical situation; many of the lords in *Neustria* were little affected to him, and most had nothing but their own interest at heart; he was far from being beloved in *Aquitaine*, where the party of *Pepin* was daily increasing; and, to add to all these misfortunes, the *Normans* threatened an invasion upon the coasts ‡.

THERE was, however, a small party for him in *Neustria*, *Lothaire* composed of the ablest and bravest of the nobility; who, and *Pepin* considering the youth of *Charles*, and knowing the disposition of *Lothaire* perfectly, determined to prefer the former to the latter; and, having signified their sentiments to him, *Charles* came and joined them. All this time *Lothaire* was advancing, sending his emissaries on every side to seek out his old friends, and to draw over, by any means, either such as were neutral or affected to his brother's interest. He found many of both sorts; more especially *Pepin*, the son of *Bernard*, king of *Italy*, *Ebbo*, the famous archbishop of *Rheims*, who had presided in the assembly which deposed his father, with others who had been in his party in his father's time, who had suffered for him then, and hoped to be rewarded now. Of the latter sort also there were great numbers §. *Charles* was not idle on his side; but he had scarce assembled a small army, before he had news, that his competitor *Pepin*, with

* Annales Metenses. † NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii, lib. ii. ‡ Chron. var. antiq. § ADON. Chron. NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii.

a considerable force, besieged *Bourges*. He did not hesitate a moment in marching to the relief of that place, where his mother was in danger of losing her liberty; and, having beaten *Pepin* and raised the siege, he returned again into *Neustria*, but with a small force. *Lothaire* had by this time gained all the country between the *Meuse* and the *Seine*; but the nobility about *Charles*, very happily for him, were so far from resenting his leaving them to go to the relief of his mother, that they esteemed him for it, assured him he might rely upon their fidelity, and advised him to offer his brother battle ^b. He followed their advice; but fighting was not the thing that *Lothaire* affected most; he had a superior army, and, taking the advantage of this, he offered hard terms to his brother; which, in his present circumstances, *Charles* thought fit to accept, upon condition that all things should be finally settled in an assembly to be held in the month of *May*, at *Attigni*; that *Lothaire* should make no attempts to his prejudice in the mean time; that the truce with the king of *Bavaria* should be prolonged, and that, in case any of the articles were violated, the treaty should be void. *Lothaire* consented to all this, and broke most of the articles as soon as he had made them. He disposed a great part of his troops along the river *Seine*; and, having augmented the remainder into a considerable army, endeavoured to surprise *Lewis*, king of *Bavaria*; but that prince, who had never confided in him, was in arms, and in a condition to defend his own territories, provided his own subjects remained faithful ^c. In the mean time *Charles*, with a small corps of troops, passed the *Seine*, in spite of all the care that *Lothaire's* officers could take, and marched to *Attigni*. This relieved *Lewis*, by drawing *Lothaire* back into *France*, where he might have fought *Charles* with a superior army; but whilst he endeavoured, tho' without effect, to corrupt and debauch his forces, *Lewis* of *Bavaria* beat the troops he had left upon the *Rhine*, passed that river, and marched, with great rapidity, to the relief of his brother *Charles*. Upon the junction of their forces, *Lothaire* retired till he was likewise joined by *Pepin*, who claimed the crown of *Aquitaine*; then, rejecting all the propositions that were made him by his brothers, he resolved to leave all to the decision of a battle. This was fought in the neighbourhood of *Fontenoy*, on the 25th of *June*, and was one of the most memorable, as well as the most bloody, that the *French* history records ^d.

A.D. 842.

^b Annales Metenses.

filiorum Ludovici Pii, l. ii.

^c NITHARD. de dissentionibus^d ADON. Chron. Chron. var. antiq.

At length *Lothaire* and *Pepin* were totally defeated, and it is said there fell on the spot, on both sides, not fewer than one hundred thousand men ^e.

LEWIS and *Charles*, like young men, lost in a great measure the fruits of their victory, the former returning, with the utmost diligence, into his own territories, and the latter following *Pepin* into *Aquitaine*. As for *Lothaire*, he retired to *Aix la Chapelle*, and by the help of those artificial expedients, of which he was a great master, set on foot a new army, with which he once more entered *Neustria*; causing it to be given out by his emissaries, that *Charles* was killed in the battle, and the monarch of *Bavaria* so wounded, that he could not live. *Charles*, perceiving his mistake, returned into *Neustria*, but with so small a force, that he was constrained to entrench himself on the other side of the *Seine*. *Lothaire* marched to attack him with a numerous army, and found the waters so low, that he might have done it without difficulty. His irresolution hindered him, till the river, swelling on a sudden, rendered it impracticable. The prelates and nobility of *Charles's* party cried this up for a miracle, by which, in a short time, his army was so much augmented, that he was enabled, without fear of disturbance from *Lothaire*, to continue his march for *Straßburgh* ^f, where he joined the army of *Bavaria*, which his brother *Lewis* commanded in person, and there, in the presence of the prelates, nobility, and troops, they swore perpetual concord and amity, and pushed things so far as to declare, that, if either of them broke this treaty, his subjects were absolved from their allegiance, and at liberty to adhere to the other; which was attended with very pernicious consequences in succeeding times. For the present, their union was in itself wonderful, and produced wonders; they eat together at the same table; they slept under the same roof; their councils, and even their pleasures, were in common: and this harmony diffusing itself thro' their forces, they pushed the war with such vigour, that *Lothaire*, his troops deserting daily, retired on the other side of the *Rhône*, abandoning all *Austrasia* and part of *Burgundy* ^g. The two princes were very desirous of keeping what they had acquired, but at the same time had a mind to claim it by some better title than that of conquest: in order to this they applied themselves to the bishops; who, after making a kind of enquiry into the conduct of *Lothaire*,

^e NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii, lib. ii.

^f Annales Metenses. ADON. Chron.

^g NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii, lib. ii.

both in his father's life-time and since, and reckoning up all the acts of treason, cruelty, perfidy, and tyranny, of which he had been guilty; and having demanded of the two kings, whether they meant to govern like him, or according to the laws of God and the land, they answered, that they intended to govern according to law^h. Upon which he was declared to have forfeited all title to his dominions, and they were flattered with having a title given them by the declaration of Providence in their favourⁱ. But, notwithstanding this, *Lothaire* solicited his brothers to establish peace upon settled and solid terms, and proposed several projects for that purpose; which they rejected. At length they accepted this; that the kingdoms of *Italy*, *Aquitaine*, and *Bavaria*, except all the dominions of the deceased emperor, should be divided into three equal portions, of which *Lothaire* was to take his choice, and his brethren were to have the other two^k. In consequence of this agreement, forty commissioners were named by each of the three kings, a whole year was spun out in their conferences; but at length it was settled, that *Charles*, besides *Aquitaine*, should have all the country between the *Loire* and the *Meuse*; that the rest of *Germany* should be annexed to *Lewis's* kingdom, who from thence was stiled *Lewis the German*; and that the titles of emperor and *Augustus*, being left to *Lothaire*, he should not only retain all *Italy* and the city of *Rome*, but should likewise possess the whole tract of country lying within the rivers of *Rhone*, *Rhine*, *Saone*, *Meuse*, and *Scheld*. The whole of what he held on this side the mountains, was, from him, stiled *Lotharingia*, *Royaume Lotharienne*, that is, the kingdom of *Lothaire*, from whence, by corruption, rose the name of *Lorraine*, tho' that is now given to a duchy, which contains only a small part of that kingdom^l; which, in point of extent and situation, was very considerable.

A.D. 845

Each of
the kings
exposed to
great in-
conveni-
ency from
the com-
mon
weakness

THE Empress *Judith* died a little before this partition was made. Indeed it was high time for these kings to put an end to quarrels, alike injurious to them all, and which, if they had lasted longer, might have been fatal. The *Saracens* surprised *Beneventum*, and made themselves masters of most part of that fine duchy, while *Lothaire* was engaged on this side the *Alps*; and, pope *Gregory* being dead, *Sergius* the second was elected, and took possession of the see of *Rome*,

^h ADON. Chron. NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii, ⁱ Annales Metenses. ^k ADON. Chron. ^l NITHARD, de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii, lib. ii.

without taking any notice of the emperor^m; who there-^{war had} upon sent his son *Lewis*, with an army, to obtain satisfaction; ^{brought} which he did, and the pope crowned him king of the *Lom-*^{on all.} *bards*. *Charles* was not less perplexed; *Pepin* defeated and cut to pieces a great corps of troops, the *Normans* landed at the mouth of the *Garonne* and ruined all the country, the duke of *Bretagne* revoltedⁿ. The emperor and the kings of *France* and *Germany* were now so well united, that they sent deputies to *Pepin*, to the *Normans*, and to the *Bretons*, to let them know, that, if they attacked any one of the three, they would certainly attack them with joint forces. But this had little or no effect, their neighbours being well apprised, that there was not any sincere affection amongst them, and that this pretended amity was purely the effects of weakness^o. To follow a state was the *French* empire fallen, since the demise of *Charlemagne*.

CHARLES, suffering his resentment or false notions of *Charles*, policy to prevail, caused *Bernard*, duke of *Languedoc*, who ^{by endea-} had once made such a figure in the court of his father, to be ^{vouring to} arrested; and, after a year's confinement, to be put to death, ^{extend his} which had a very bad effect; for his son *William* seized im- ^{authority,} mediately several places of consequence. He, to revenge his ^{and by} father's death, joined *Pepin* with all the force he could raise. ^{some ill-} The *Normans* made another descent, and pillaged *Toulouse*; ^{timed acts} of rigour, the duke of *Bretagne* was inclined, not only to throw off all ^{ruins his} dependence, but to assume the title of king. In this per- ^{affairs.} plexity he was alarmed with the news of a fresh fleet and army of *Normans*, who entered the mouth of the *Seine*, where they made themselves masters of *Rouen*; and, not satisfied with the pillage of that place, marched directly to *Paris*, which they likewise pillaged; and were at the point of attacking the king, with a small army, in an intrenched camp at *St Denis*^p. But *Charles*, by the^q advice chiefly of ^{A.D. 845.} the prelates, entered into a negotiation with them, and, by giving them seven hundred weight of silver, engaged them to retire, and to promise, with reiterated oaths, never to return. To pacify the troubles of *Aquitaine*, he yielded the best part of that country to his nephew *Pepin*, who rendered him homage, and took an oath of fealty^r. *Charles* now found himself at leisure to enter *Bretagne*, which he did with

^m Annales BERTINIANI. ADON. Chron. . ⁿ Annales Fuld. FLODOART Hist. Rem. ^o NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii, lib. ii.

^p NITHARD. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii, lib. ii.

^q Annales BERTINIANI. .

the best army he was able to assemble, but had the misfortune to be twice beaten. This great change in affairs was chiefly owing to an alteration in the king himself. While a youth he was very tractable, and took the advice of his principal nobility: now he thought himself of age to govern, and soon gave specimens not much to the advantage either of his own reputation, or of the happiness of his subjects. He amassed wealth, by oppressing his people; from paying a superstitious obedience, he came wholly to neglect the bishops. Selfish, despotic, and wrong-headed, he soon incurred the contempt and hatred of his subjects; shewing, by the flagrant errors in his conduct, that the good qualities, by which he had been formerly distinguished, were only artificial and affected. The prince of the *Bretons* seeing also that, neglecting all other enemies, *Charles* was on the point of entering his country with another numerous army, he judged it most expedient for his own safety, and for fear of being over-powered by the *Normans*, to return to his former situation; and, upon his offer of submission, peace was very quickly made. Thus, for the present, domestic tranquillity was restored in *France*, where it was exceedingly wanted, the great towns being decayed, the people miserably consumed, and all the naval establishments dwindled to nothing.

The strange disorders in the French empire, which expose it to all the barbarous nations. THE *Saracens* gave *Lothaire* as much disturbance, as the *Normans* had done *Charles*; had pillaged the church of *St. Peter*, which was then without the walls of *Rome*; had beaten the troops sent to oppose them, and threatened still greater mischiefs. The *Sclavonians* had revolted against *Lewis*, king of *Germany*. The *Moorish* pirates were become almost as troublesome to *Charles* as the *Normans*; and, in the midst of these disasters, *Charles* and *Lothaire* were still upon bad terms. *Lewis*, king of *Germany*, prevailed upon them both to consent to a new interview at *Mersen*, near *Maastricht*; where (having shewn them that, through their quarrels, the *French* kingdom had lost much of its lustre; that the great lords in their dominions, were every day growing more independent; and that nothing but a strict union among themselves could prevent the ruin of them all) they settled, while together, a kind of constitution, by which things were to be regulated for the future, more espe-

* NITHARDI de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii, lib. ii.

• NITHARDI de Dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii, lib. ii.

cially in regard to the succession, which even *Charlemagne* had left very loose; and the rule now established was, that the children of the reigning prince, whether of age or not of age, should succeed to their father's dominions, and owe nothing but the respect, arising from the ties of blood, to the other princes of the house of *Charlemagne* ¹. The *Moors* A.D. 847. having received a great defeat in *Spain*, were content to make peace with *France*; and this negotiation was very luckily concluded with them, when the *Normans*, making a fresh descent with a great force, besieged *Bourdeaux*. *Charles* marched immediately to its relief; and having taken and sunk some of their ships, compelled these barbarous invaders to raise the siege: but he no sooner quitted the country, than they returned, and, through the treachery of the *Jews*, having surprized the city, pillaged and burnt it ². This proved an affair of great consequence to *Charles*; for *Bourdeaux* belonging at this time to *Pepin*, and the nobility conceiving that it was lost through some negligence of his, revolted, and submitted themselves again to *Charles*, and he was accordingly crowned and anointed king of *Aquitaine*, at *Orleans*. *Lewis*, king of *Germany*, had enough to do to bridle his rebels; and *Lothaire* was not less distressed by the *Saracens*; notwithstanding which, he solicited his brother *Lewis* to enter into a league with him against *Charles*, which he prudently and peremptorily refused ³.

RELIGIOUS disturbances were quickly added to the rest ^{The Bre-} of the disorders that distracted *France*; and while the king ^{tons re-} was employed in holding councils for redressing these, the ^{volt, and,} sea coasts of his dominions were ravaged by *Moorish*, *Greek*, ^{from the} and *Norman*, pirates. *Pepin* started out of those obscure ^{situation} places where, since the last revolution, he had concealed ^{of affairs,} himself, and, in a short space of time, recovered a great part ^{oblige} of *Aquitaine*. *Lothaire* and *Lewis* were not at all more at their ^{Charles} ease, insomuch, that it looked as if the barbarous nations had ^{to grant} conspired to destroy the *French*, as they formerly did the ^{their de-} *Roman* empire ^{mands.} ⁷. *Charles* marched into *Aquitaine*, and met with great success, taking prisoner *Charles*, the brother of *Pepin*, whom he obliged to enter into holy orders. He had done still more, if *Nominoi*, duke of *Bretagne*, had not revolted; and by the assistance of count *Lambert*, who had formerly made a great figure in the court of the emperor, *Lewis* rendered himself master of *Rennes*, after which he

¹ Annales BERTINIANI. ² Chron. var. antiq. ³ NI-
THARDI de dissensionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii, lib. ii.
⁴ Annales BERTINIANI.

recurred to his old scheme, and assumed the title of king. He held it during his life, and transmitted it to his son *Herisfee*, against whom *Charles* led all the forces of his dominions, scarce doubting of success, since count *Lambert* was also dead; but he was mistaken, for the new king of *Bretagne* gave him an entire defeat, in which a great number of troops, and not a few of the nobility, perished^a. *Charles* retiring to *Angiers*, in order to recruit his forces, *Herisfee* having demanded a safe conduct, went thither likewise, and concluded a treaty upon very advantageous terms, since the regal honours were conceded to him, together with his conquests, and nothing reserved to *Charles*, but the honour of receiving homage from a king. He had some amends made him for this, by the seizing of *Pepin* the younger, by a prince of the *Gascons*, who delivered him into his hands; upon which he caused him to be immediately shaved, and sent him prisoner to the convent of *St. Medard de Soissons*. The country which his father left him in *Spain* was almost intirely lost, either by the revolt of those who were intrusted with the government of cities and fortresses, or conquered by the *Moors*; so that the king had enemies on every side, and great discontent even in his own court^a.

Death of
the emperor
Lothaire,
and the di-
vision of
his domi-
nions a-
mongst his
children.

As the inconstancy and mutinous disposition of the people of *Aquitaine* had, from the very beginning of his reign, given him a great deal of trouble, he resolved to lay hold of this opportunity to chastise them; and, in doing this, he carried things so far, that the greater part of his subjects determined to throw off their allegiance, with which view they sent deputies, who were likewise to serve for hostages, to *Lewis*, king of *Germany*, beseeching him either to come in person and accept the kingdom, or to send them one of his sons; and the *German*, forgetting the treaties, confirmed by the most solemn oaths, that subsisted between them, sent them his son *Levis*, escorted by a small body of troops^b. At this juncture, both the brothers solicited the emperor to join with them against each other; and he, infligated by the same motives of ambition, made alliances with both, but took care to assist neither. In the mean time, an incident happened, which was not unfavourable to *Charles*. *Pepin* made his escape out of the monastery, and returned into *Aquitaine*, where most of the discontented party joined him, and quitted the king they had sent for out of *Germany*; of which *Charles* taking advantage, attacked *Lewis*, who was

^a NITHARDI de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii, lib. ii.

^b Annales BERTINIANI.

^c Annales Fuldens.

at the same time attacked by *Pepin*, who thereupon prudently compromised matters with his uncle, and with his leave returned into *Germany*. *Lothaire*, whose ambition, perfidy, and other vices, had been so prejudicial to the interests of his family, finding his end draw near, took the habit of a monk, that, according to the superstition of those times, he might, by this second baptism as they phrased it, atone for all his crimes, and, though he lived a tyrant, die a saint ^d. In this disguise of a monk, which he did not wear quite a week, he expired, on the 29th of *September*, leaving behind him three sons, *Lewis*, *Lothaire*, and *Charles*. *Lewis*, who had been associated by his father in the government, had the kingdom of *Italy*, and the title of emperor; *Lothaire*, the best part of the dominions his father held in *France*, and was stiled king of *Lorraine*; the rest, consisting of *Provence*, *Dauphine*, and part of the kingdom of *Burgundy*, fell to *Charles*, who thenceforward was called the king of *Provence*. One would have imagined there were kings enough in this family; but *Charles*, whom for the future we must stile *Charles the Bald*, though probably that surname was not given him in his life-time, declared his son of the same name, though a child, king of *Aquitaine*; and the people were so pleased with it for the present, that, the *Normans* landing in their country, they took arms with alacrity, and attacked them with such vigour and valour, that scarce three hundred of them found their way back to their ships ^f.

A.D. 855;

THIS fit of loyalty did not last long, they became more discontented than ever, renounced their allegiance to *Charles*, king of *Germany*, recalled *Pepin*, whose affairs were so desperate that he had joined with the *Normans*, and, in conjunction, pillaged the countries over which he pretended to reign. In a little time they deserted him, and had recourse once more to *Lewis the German*. *Charles the Bald* had not in his power to punish or even to restrain them. The nobility of *France* were become so turbulent, and the bishops so unruly, that he knew not how to act, or in whom to confide. In these circumstances he demanded the advice of his uncle, by the mother's side, who told him very freely what the malecontents said in vindication of their own conduct; which was, that, at the expence of their blood and fortune, they had raised him to a throne, and that he now behaved to them ungratefully, and like a tyrant. Upon this *Charles* addressed his circular letters to the nobility and prelates, reciting what

^c Chron. var. antiq.
BERTINIANI.

^d Annales Fuldens.
^e Chron. var. antiq.

^f Annales

his uncle had told them, and requiring such as thought themselves really aggrieved through negligence, misinformation, or otherwise, to appear and demonstrate their complaints in an open, free, and general assembly, to be held at *Verberie*, promising ample retribution and justice, as well as oblivion, for every thing past; but declaring, that all acts of disobedience should be regarded for the future as rebellion &c. In full confidence that this would give satisfaction, he marched with all his forces to besiege a strong post, which the *Danes* had taken, in the very heart of his dominions; and while he was thus employed, the malecontents in *France*, after the example of those in *Aquitaine*, invited *Lewis* of *Germany* to come and take possession of the kingdom, which he accordingly did, with a formidable army, while *Charles*, abandoned by the greatest part of his subjects, was obliged to raise the siege, and retire into a distant part of his dominions^h. *Lewis*, upon this, assembled the prelates of his party, who declared *Charles the Bald* fallen from the regal dignity for mal-administration; and *Ganelon*, archbishop of *Sens*, in virtue of this decree; solemnly crowned *Lewis*, to whom the nobility and bishops did homage, as king of *France*, notwithstanding the prelates, who still adhered to *Charles*, had declared all to be excommunicated who should attempt any such thing. The princes of the blood also acquiesced in this matter; insomuch that *Pepin* of *Aquitaine*, who had been lately reconciled to *Charles*, and the king of *Lorraine*, who had entered into a close alliance with him, and in consequence of these engagements served in his army, quitted him, and went to acknowledge *Lewis*; though this was not more the effects of levity than of forceⁱ.

Charles, by an artful contrivance, recovers the kingdom as easily as he lost it. AMONGST those who were the most forward in this enterprise, though they did not enter into it at the beginning, were *Conrad* and *Wolf*, the sons of count *Conrad*, brother to the empress *Judith*, and consequently cousin-german to *Charles the Bald*, who, by their extraordinary zeal and assiduity, quickly acquired the confidence of their new master. These lords represented to *Lewis*, that, being called to the throne by the nobility, having the bishops at his devotion, and no army in the field to oppose him, it would be proper for him to gratify such as had been most instrumental in this change, and also to send back the troops he had brought with him, that he might fix the affections of his new subjects, by appearing to rely intirely upon their attachment; and hinted

^h *Annales Fuldens.*
var antiqu.

ⁱ *Annales BERTINIANI.*

¹ *Chron.*

to him at the same time, that, when this was done, his competitor *Charles* might be prevailed upon, in consideration of some small territory, to renounce his pretensions ^k. *Lewis* followed their advice, and then sent them, with full powers, to treat with their cousin *Charles*, with whom they had been all this while acting in concert. They acquainted him that *Lewis* having sent back his own army, and distributed his treasures amongst those who had assisted him, the only thing that *Charles* had to do was to march with the forces that were still about him towards his brother *Lewis*; and that, having both the hopes and fears on his side, there was little reason to doubt of his success ^l. *Charles* executed their scheme immediately, and was restored with as much ease as he had been dethroned; *Lewis*, at his approach, finding himself obliged to retire into his own dominions, and the king of *Lorrain*, who had deserted him, went to compliment *Charles* at his return ^m. A.D. 859:

THESE intestine disturbances had terrible effects on the general system of affairs. The *Normans* not only ruined the coasts, pillaging sometimes one great town, sometimes another, but had actually seated themselves on the *Seine* and on the *Somme*. *Solomon*, who had killed duke *Herisfee*, possessed *Bretagne*, with the title of king; and taking advantage of these troubles, had not only settled his government so as not to be easily shaken, but had also made considerable acquisitions. In the midst of this desolation and disorder, *Charles the Bald* was bent upon revenging the injury he had received from his brother *Lewis*. Their nephew, the king of *Lorrain*, interposed, procured an interview; at which himself was present, and with much difficulty composed their quarrel. In a little time after, he began to entertain suspicions of his uncle *Charles*; and to secure himself effectually on that side, sacrificed the fertile province of *Alsace* to the emperor his brother, with whom he made a strict alliance. His motive to this was equally scandalous and unjust ⁿ. He had married *Theutberge*, the sister of count *Hubert*, against whom, without any cause, he had taken an inveterate hatred: he was therefore desirous of depriving her of the share she had in his bed and throne, in order to admit to both a mistress of his, whose name was *Walrade*, and of whom he was passionately fond. In order to this, he charged his queen with the horrid crime of incest with her brother *Hubert*, for which he put her to the trial of boiling water, according

^k Annales BERTINIANI.
nales BERTINIANI.

^l Chron. var. antiq.

^m An-

ⁿ Capit. Caroli calvi.

the barbarous custom of those times; and being declared innocent, he revived the same accusation, pretending to have fresh proofs. These consisted in the queen's voluntary confession of her guilt, supported by the testimony of *Gonthaire*, archbishop of *Cologne*, who was her confessor; but the truth of the matter was, that he threatened the queen into this confession, by putting her in fear of her life, and brought the archbishop to act the scandalous part he did, by promising to marry his niece as soon as the queen was divorced^o. In the management of this affair several of the prelates in his dominions concurred: but, while it was depending, both the queen and duke *Hubert* her brother made their escape into *France*, where they were received and protected by *Charles the Bald*; and it was this that engaged *Lothaire* to purchase the friendship of his brother at so dear a rate^p. The insolence of the *Bretons* at length enraged *Charles* so much, that, having procured from his brother *Lewis*, for a sum of money, a body of *Saxon* horse, he made an irruption into *Bretagne*; and, having engaged the army of *Solomon* two days successively, was at length forced to retreat, with the loss of the best part of his army: he found means, however, to draw over, or rather to retrieve, *Robert le Fort*, that is the *Stout*, or the *Strong*, who commanded *Solomon's* army, esteemed one of the greatest captains of that age, upon whom he bestowed the duchy of *France*, comprehending the country between the *Seine* and *Loire*, by which we are to understand he made him governor of this province, with the title of duke^q. We shall hereafter see what the consequences were of this act of royal policy and bounty.

Charles engages one body of Normans to assist in expelling another, for a sum of money. THE wrong turn his affairs had taken in *Bretagne*, disabled *Charles* from attacking the *Normans* with his own troops; but what he wanted in force he supplied by address. He was informed that *Wailand*, a famous *Norman* pirate, was returned from *England*, and had taken his winter quarters on the banks of the *Soane*; but not having it in his power to expel him, he thought it best to dissemble it, as he likewise did his pillaging the country of *Terouenne*. This famous free-booter had formerly offered him his service, to dislodge his countrymen upon the *Seine*, for three thousand pounds of silver, which proposition the king rejected, not having the money to give^r. He thought proper to renew the negotiation at this juncture; notwithstanding *Wailand* raised his price, and demanded peremptorily five thousand

^o Annales Metenses.

^p HINCMAR de divort. Lothar.

^q Annales BERTINIANI.

^r Chron. var. antiq.

pounds of silver, which the king, with great difficulty, raised and gave him. In consequence of this subsidy, he, with a fleet of two hundred and sixty sail, came up the *Seine*, and attacked the *Normans* in the island of *Oiselle*, who, after a long and obstinate resistance, were compelled to capitulate; and having paid six thousand pounds of gold and silver, by way of ransom, had leave to go and join those who had reduced them *. This produced a new mischief, for they still shewed no inclination to depart; and the king, insensible of the miseries to which his subjects were exposed, employed all his thoughts on the base project he had formed of despoiling his nephew, the king of *Provence*, a weak and infirm prince, of his dominions, in which, however, he failed; and then thought, by denying it, to deceive the world, in which he had as little success. At his return, he attempted and executed a scheme he had formed against the *Normans*, whom he reduced to such distress, that they were forced to capitulate, and give him hostages to depart the kingdom †.

A.D. 861.

THEY executed this treaty but indifferently, since a great part of them entered into the service of the king of *Bretagne*. Upon this *Charles*, by the advice of count *Robert*, recalled *Wailand*, and for six thousand pounds in gold engaged him and his followers to enter into his service. Count *Robert* had likewise the good fortune to defeat the *Normans*, in the service of the king of *Bretagne*, sinking twelve of their ships, and putting all who were on board them to the sword. These successes might have put it in the king's power to have restored his authority, and his affairs; but now the troubles in his family began. His daughter *Judith* had espoused *Ethelwolf*, king of the *West Saxons*; and, after his decease, to the scandal of all the Christian world, she became the wife of his eldest son *Ethelbald*; and he being also dead, she returned to the court of her father, still a young woman, and full of amorous inclinations †. This put her upon running away with *Baldwin*, forrester of *Flanders*, with the privacy of her eldest brother *Lewis*. This drew the displeasure of the king both upon her and the prince, who thereupon fled into *Bretagne*, where he married without his father's consent, in which he was imitated by his brother *Charles*, king of *Aquitaine*. In these misfortunes he was not alone; his brother, *Lewis the German*, being rather more perplexed by his son *Carloman*, who revolted and submitted several

863.

The king
of Lor-
rain's di-
vorce
occasions
fresh di-
sturbances
in France,
and in
Italy.

times ^w, but not without creating great prejudices to the realm of *Germany*, and the *French* empire ^x.

THE affair of the king of *Lorraine* broke out again with fresh violence: he caused one assembly of bishops to be held, at *Aix la Chapelle*, in which the archbishops of *Cologne* and *Treves* presided; and, having procured their consent, he wrote to the pope to approve his marriage with *Waltrade*, which he took care to solemnize before he received an answer ^y. The pope *Nicholas I.* sent two legates to hold a council at *Metz*, in which this affair was to be finally determined; and, in their passage through *France*, they delivered *Charles the Bald* a letter from the pope, intreating him to pardon *Baldwin* and his daughter, which he did; and the marriage being celebrated, he bestowed upon his son-in-law the county of *Flanders* ^z. These legates had other letters also to deliver, which they suppressed, being corrupted by the king of *Lorraine*. In consequence of this, they confirmed all that had been done in the assembly at *Aix la Chapelle*, and, in hopes of deceiving the pope, the archbishops of *Cologne* and *Treves* were sent to make a report to him of the whole business ^a. He was previously informed by *Charles the Bald*, and was so much provoked, that, by a council held at *Rome*, the council of *Metz* was declared a wicked assembly, and both the archbishops deposed ^b. These prelates fled to the emperor, and gave him such an account of the matter, that he went to *Rome* with a body of troops, entered it in a hostile manner, and kept the pope shut up in the church of *St. Peter* forty-eight hours, without meat or drink. At length he was so far pacified as to admit of an interview, in which, being informed of the truth, he ordered the two prelates to quit his dominions immediately ^c. About this time died *Charles*, king of *Provence*; and, after some disturbance, the emperor and the king of *Lorraine* divided his dominions between them. *Charles the Bald*, being now somewhat at ease, obliged the king of *Bretagne* to do him homage; after which he marched with a great army into *Aquitaine*, and compelled his son *Charles* to submission. The *Normans* in the mean time, with *Pepin* at their head, penetrated as far as *Clermont*, in *Auvergne*, from whence, though with some difficulty, they made their retreat to the coast; in which, however, *Pepin* was taken, and carried to

^w Annales BERTINIANI. ^x Chron. var. antiq. ^y HINC-
MAR DE DIVORT. Lothar et Theutberg. ^z Annales BERTI-
NIANI. ^a Epist. NICOL. PAP. ^b Chron. var. antiq.
^c Annales BERTINIANI.

his uncle. As he was in the habit of a *Norman*, and there were some suspicions of his having apostatized, the nobility and prelates of *Aquitaine*, made no scruple of condemning him to death. His uncle, however, sent him to the castle of *Senlis*, where he spent the remainder of his days under a gentle confinement^d. His successor, *Charles*, king of *Aquitaine*, being in his father's court, involved himself in some foolish quarrel, in which receiving a cut over the head, he languished for some time, and then died, leaving behind a very indifferent reputation, and no issue by the widow he married^e.

THE *Normans*, notwithstanding their repeated treaties, Chales and the vast sums of money which they had received, continued to make descents perpetually in the territories of *France*, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, which gave the king inexpressible trouble. Sometimes he repelled force by force; at others he was constrained to procure their departure, by paying them large sums of money, which differed little from tribute, by which the kingdom was at length so exhausted, that, having engaged to pay them four thousand pounds in silver, he was compelled to have recourse to a capitation in order to levy it. What was still a heavier misfortune both to him and to the nation, was the death of *Robert le Fort*, who, with two other generals, fell in an engagement with the *Danes*^f. The king had married his second wife, by whom he had several children, but they died young. He was very desirous to have her publicly crowned, from a superstitious opinion that the children he might have by her afterwards would survive. This ceremony was accordingly performed; and the king being apprehensive that it might increase the discontent of his eldest son, *Lewis*, whose continual intrigues with the king of *Bretagne* had given him excessive trouble, he resolved, once for all, to try if it was not possible to consent both. With this view he declared *Lewis* king of *Aquitaine*, in the room of his brother, with which both the prince and the people were equally pleased, and he consented that the county of *Contenten*, should be incorporated, and for ever annexed to *Bretagne*^g. It had been happy for him and his subjects, if all his designs had been as just in their nature, and as fortunate in their issue, as these; for both the kings remained perfectly satisfied with these concessions, and engaged, whenever the circumstances of his affairs should require it, to

A.D. 867

^d Chron. var. antiq.
BERTINIANI.

^e Annales Metenses.
^f Chron. var. antiq.

^g Annales

second him against his enemies, each of them with a certain corps of troops, which was a point of great consequence to his government, and contributed not a little to the repose of France ^h.

The king of Lorraine makes a journey to Rome, dies in his return; dispute about his succession.

THE case of the king of *Lorraine* was by this time become of the last importance. *Lothaire* flattered himself, that pope *Adrian* would treat him with more tenderness than his predecessor had done, notwithstanding the discoveries that had been made by the archbishops of *Cologne* and *Treves*, who being abandoned by the king, after all they had done, went to *Rome*, and laid open all that scene of corruption and perjury in which they had been partakers ⁱ. It seems indeed to have been the pope's intention; who, having commanded him to put away his mistress, to take an oath to have nothing more to do with her, and to engage twelve of his principal nobility to support this oath by their own, encouraged him to come to *Rome*, in order to receive absolution ^k. This did not, by any means, please his uncle, who, in case the sentence of excommunication had been pronounced, would infallibly have dispossessed him of his dominions: and, in order to settle the method of division among themselves, the two kings of *Germany* and *France* had an interview at *Metz*, where the matter was entirely settled between them. This coming to the ears of *Lothaire*, heightened his uneasiness exceedingly. He applied himself, therefore, with great assiduity to obtain the good-will of his uncle, *Lewis the German*, upon whose word he could better rely than upon that of *Charles*: and after several interviews, and laying before him the difficulties he was under, he carried his point, inasmuch that he promised, not only to make no attempts upon his dominions in his absence, but likewise to protect his son *Hugh*, whom he had by *Waldrade*; and even restored to him the county of *Alsace*, which he had yielded some years before, and agreed that it should be erected into a dukedom, in favour of that young prince ^l. In confidence that his uncle would perform his promise, *Lothaire* proceeded in his voyage to *Italy*, where his brother the emperor declined seeing him; but he sent his consort to meet him, who accompanied him to his interview with the pope ^m. *Adrian* gave him hopes, celebrated mass in his presence; and, when they came to communicate, purged him and the lords who

^h Annales BERTINIANI.
 bibliothec in Adriano. REGIMONIS Chronicon.
 ADRIAN VI. VII. VIII. Annales Fuldenses.
 Caroli calvi, tit. 33.

ⁱ Continuat ANASTASII B.
^k Epist.
^l Capitula
 Caroli: Chron.

were with him, as to the oath they had formerly taken. *Lothaire*, and the greatest part of his attendants, communicated; though some, upon hearing the pope's exhortation, drew backⁿ. *Adrian* intended to have had the whole affair examined over again by the bishops of *Lorraine* and *Germany*, and, upon their report to a council which was to have been held at *Rome*, to have decided which was the king's lawful spouse; for, in the second cause before the pope's legates, *Lothaire* had affirmed, that he had married *Waldrade* before he espoused *Theutberg*^o. But there was no occasion for these proceedings, since, in his return to his dominions, *Lothaire* died of a fever at *Placentia*, on the 7th of *August*. It was generally believed that he was himself perjured, and that the lords who communicated with him knew it. They all died in a very short space, and he did not survive them a full month. By the demise of this prince, without lawful issue, the succession to his dominions lay open; but *Charles* of *France*, who had an army ready to march, and withal a very strong party in *Lorraine*, entered and took possession immediately: and having been solemnly crowned at *Metz*, looked upon this realm as his own, notwithstanding the pope interfered in favour of the emperor, who, as the brother of the deceased, seemed to have the best right; and, notwithstanding, the king of *Germany* insisted on his claim. But, when the latter had prepared to assert it by arms, *Charles* consented to a division, which took place in the succeeding year^p, by which the flames of war were kept from breaking out.

It was judged necessary, in order to this, that the two kings should have an interview; and with this view *Charles* went to *Herstal*, and *Lewis* came to *Mersen*, and from thence each advanced to a royal palace, at an equal distance from both places, and, after a month's time spent in conferences, the business was amicably settled^q. *Lewis* obtained by this partition, the cities of *Cologne*, *Utrecht*, *Straßburg*, *Basil*, and *Germany*, as many, as to the kingdom of *Treves*, *Metz*, and their dependencies, with all the countries between the rivers *Ourt* and *Meuse*, together with *Aix la Chapelle*, and most of the districts between the *Rhine* and *Meuse*. On the other hand, *Charles* acquired *Lyons*, *Besancon*, *Vienna*, *Tongres*, *Toul*, *Verdun*, *Cambray*, *Viviers*, and *Uzes*, together with *Hainbault*, *Zealand*, and *Holland*. The pope still interposed very warmly, and left no method

ⁿ *LOTHARII Regis Gesta Rom.*

^o *Concil. Gall. tom. iii.*

^p *Ibid. ADON. Chron.*

^q *AMMONIUS, lib. v. cap. xiv.*

^r *Annales BEATINIANI.*

untried to have procured at least something for the emperor, if it had been in his power ; but it was to no purpose, at least with regard to *Charles*, who, when he found the pontif grew very angry, and treated him but very coarsely in his letters, laid them aside, without giving the pope any answer *. His son *Carloman*, whom he had put in to orders, but whom, notwithstanding, he had suffered to command his forces more than once, having no inclination to that course of life to which he had been destined by his father, left the court †; and putting himself at the head of a body of desperate thieves, committed horrid devastations in the country between the *Meuse* and the *Seine*, which gave the king great disquiet, and the more, because all the promises of pardon he could make were vain, and without effect ‡.

A.D. 870.

The pope is obliged to bend to Charles and to promise him his assistance in obtaining the empire. POPE *Adrian* being misinformed, or not having sagacity enough to make a right judgment of affairs, interposed in this business also §. For the king, taking advantage of *Carloman's* being in orders, resolved to prosecute him by church censures, but first procured the bishops in his dominions to excommunicate those who had seduced his son into rebellion, or who supported and assisted him therein ; and *Hincmar*, bishop of *Laon*, having refused to sign the excommunication, was also proceeded against in the same way ; and at length *Carloman* himself, who thereupon applied to the pope ; and he writing in a very rough stile to *Charles*, gave him an opportunity of shewing him in a very contemptible light to posterity. The circumstances of the *French* monarch were very much changed ¶. In the beginning of his reign he courted equally the nobility and the bishops ; afterwards, being abandoned by the former, he cajoled the latter, and it was chiefly by the help of their authority that he had emerged from his troubles : but now his power and his experience being greater, he answered the pope with great spirit and good sense, reproached him for the indecent language he had used, and made him so sensible of the rashness of his conduct, that he found it necessary to pen a recantation, which, no doubt, he flattered himself would be kept a secret ; and with which posterity being acquainted, is from thence enabled to form a right judgment of the piety and policy of the court of *Rome* §. He went farther : from affecting to dictate to *Charles* he became his creature ; and, in

* Concil. Gall. tom. iii. † Annales BERT.
Chron. ‡ FLEURY Hist. Eccles. l. ii. § 22.
MARI Rhemenfis Episcopus tom. ii. p. 704.
Hist. de l'Eglise, A. D. 871.

§ ADON.
* HINC-
MAR LE SUZUK

hopes of raising his own family, promised all the assistance possible in promoting his design of assuming the imperial dignity, and taking possession of the kingdom of *Italy*, in case of his nephew's demise ². The empress, in the mean time, was negotiating on the same subject with *Lewis*, king of *Germany*, and engaged him to make a cession, by treaty, of that part of the kingdom of *Lorraine* which he possessed, in consideration of the emperor's devolving that title and his dominions, by will, either upon him or on one of his sons. *Adrian*, in consequence of this treaty, solemnly crowned the emperor as king of *Lorraine*; but it is not clear that he ever had the possession: and the pope, notwithstanding this ceremony, remained firm in the interests of *Charles the Bald* to the time of his demise, which happened not long after ².

871.

872.

THE realms of *Germany* and *France* were equally disturbed, by the ambition and selfishness of the sons of *Lewis* and *Charles*, and by the incursions of the *Normans*. *Lewis* had many, but three sons, and two of them were in rebellion. *Carloman* was in arms against *Charles*, and against the peace and property of his subjects, spoiling, killing, and burning, wherever he came ^b. The different characters of these kings, appeared from the manner they took to deliver themselves from these misfortunes. *Lewis* prevailed upon his sons to return to court, upon his bare promise that they should not be punished; and, having shewn them how little it was their interest to act in the manner they had done, and what good effects would follow from their returning to their duty, and living in harmony with each other, he reclaimed them as he had done his eldest son formerly, and found them ever after both faithful and obedient ^c. In like manner he compromised matters with the *Normans*, and turned their incursions upon his enemies ^d. *Charles*, on the other hand, after much forbearance and indulgence, abandoned *Carloman* to the justice due to his subjects; so that being taken and condemned to death, he ordered his eyes to be put out, and then sent him to a prison, from whence escaping, he fled to his uncle, the king of *Germany*, who gave him protection and subsistence, and nothing more, till, in a short time, death delivered him from all his troubles ^e. In respect to the *Normans*, *Charles* had so obliged *Salomon*, whom he stiled duke, though the pope and other princes treated him as king of *Bretagne*, by sending him a very rich crown, that he very

Troubles

in Ger-

France,

and Bre-

tagne.

Death of

Lewis the

German.

* ADON. Chron.
 Annales Fulden.
 Metenses.

* Contin. ANAST. Biblioth. in Adrian.
 * Annales BERT.
 * Annales BERT.

873. readily concurred in the proposal made him of attacking those dangerous invaders. This enabled the king to besiege them in *Angiers*, which made a long and obstinate defence; and which certainly had not been taken at last, but by the address of the duke of *Bretagne*, who having reduced them to extremity, *Charles* admitted them to a capitulation, and, for a large sum of money, suffered them to preserve their ships, which the duke would otherwise have destroyed ^f. In the succeeding year, this powerful prince, who had governed his country with much reputation, and seemed in all respects (but the manner in which he acquired it, that is, by the murder of his sovereign and relation) to deserve the regal dignity, to which he aspired, became himself the victim of a conspiracy formed by his own subjects, in conjunction with some *French* lords ^g. This threw the country of *Bretagne* into dreadful dissensions, which it took some time to appease; and while these troubles continued, the emperor *Lewis* II. died, in the month of *August*, without having issue male, which occasioned a great struggle ^h.

Charles the Bald enters Italy with an army, and deceiving Carlo-man, marches directly to Rome.

LEWIS, king of *Germany*, claimed the title of emperor, as the elder brother of *Charles*; for, in respect to the deceased, they were uncles alike. He relied upon the intrigues of the empress, the good-will of the *Greek* emperor *Basil*, and had some hopes of the pope *John* VIII ⁱ. *Charles the Bald* took his measures somewhat better, for he relied chiefly on himself. As soon as he had the news of his nephew's death, he sent his only son *Lewis* into *Lorraine*, to assemble an army on the frontiers of that kingdom; and at the same time he began to march with the forces, that he had long held ready for that purpose, into *Italy* ^k. King *Lewis* sent his son *Charles* thither, with a small body of troops; and upon the news of his brother's expedition, dispatched his son *Carloman* after him, with a considerable reinforcement. *Carloman* beat the *French* troops that guarded the passages, entered *Italy*, and, though his army was much inferior to his uncle's, would have hazarded a battle. It was a maxim with *Charles the Bald* not to fight if it might be avoided: he therefore dispatched some ministers, in the first place, to sound the pope, and then proposed to his nephew that both armies should retire, till the dispute could be amicably settled between him and his father ^l. *Carloman* accepted the proposition, and executed his part of it punctually; but *Charles*, in consequence

^f *Annales Metenses et BERTIN.*

^g *Annales Metenses.*

^h *Annales BERTIN.*

ⁱ *Annales Fuldenses.*

^k *Annales BERTIN.*

^l *Annales Fuldenses.*

of his message, having received a message from the pope, pretended he was bound in conscience to comply with it; and, while *Carloman* was returning into *Germany*, marched directly to *Rome*, where he was received with applause, and on *Christmas-day* received the imperial crown from the hands of the pontif. This affair was very expensive, but *Charles* took care that it should cost him nothing; for the first act of his imperial power was to seize his predecessor's treasures, and out of them he gratified those who had been instrumental in this business ^m.

At the opening of the succeeding year, the emperor sent to *Pavia*, and held there an assembly of the states of *Lombardy*, in which he received the homage and oaths of fidelity of all the prelates and great lords in that kingdom. There was, however, one thing that made him still uneasy; his nephew and predecessor had left an only daughter in the care of the duke of *Frioul*, and he was very apprehensive, that some *Greek* prince, by espousing her, might set up a title to the kingdom of *Italy* at least; and, to prevent this, he could think of no better expedient than to advise *Boson*, whose sister he had married, to carry away this young princess, and espouse her by force ⁿ. This done, he affected to be exceedingly displeased with the ravisher, and to threaten him with the severest punishment; but, as soon as he perceived that the action was not so ill taken as he expected, he suffered himself to be appeased; and, that his brother-in-law might in some measure appear worthy of so illustrious a comfort, he created him duke of *Lombardy*, and left him his viceroy in *Italy* ^o. In the mean time, *Lewis*, king of *Germany*, had invaded *France* in his absence, penetrated as far as *Champagne*, and had committed divers devastations; but hearing that *Charles* was returning from *Italy* with a great army, and that the pope was unalterably attached to his interest, he retired into his own dominions; where he continued to make great military preparations, tho' at the same time he did not neglect to make overtures of accommodation ^p. His new title had a great effect on the mind of *Charles the Bald*; he appeared almost always in the *Greek* habit, and with the ensigns of imperial dignity; treated his subjects, ecclesiastics as well as laics, with great haughtiness; and, in conjunction with the pope, fought to lessen the authority of the prelates in his dominions, tho' he had more than once

^m Annales BERTIN. ⁿ Concil. Gall. tom. iii. ^o Anal. Fuld. ^p Monach. SANGAL. Annales Fuld. Annales BERTINIANI.

stood indebted to them for the preservation of his own[†]. By the accession of *Italy* to the rest of his dominions he was certainly become more powerful than his brother *Lewis*, yet he was very apprehensive of being attacked by that prince; who was not only an able statesman and a great general, but had also a strong party amongst the *French* nobility. However, he was delivered from all these fears by the death of that monarch; who, of all the descendants of *Charlemagne*, resembled him most. His dominions, in pursuance of a partition made four years before in a general dyet, were divided in the following manner; *Carloman* had *Bavaria*, *Bohemia*, *Carinthia*, *Sclavonia*, *Austria*, and part of *Hungary*. *Francia*, *Saxony*, *Frisia*, *Thuringia*, the lower *Lorrain*, together with *Cologne*, and the cities on the *Rhine*, fell to *Lewis*. All the country between the *Maine* and the *Alps* was the lot of *Charles*. In modern history, *Carloman* is generally stiled king of *Bavaria*, *Lewis* of *Germany*, and *Charles the Gross*, or *the Fat*, of *Almain*[‡]. The emperor had no sooner intelligence of this, than, supposing that these brethren would fall out amongst themselves, he marched with a great army, in order to seize that part of *Lorrain* which he had yielded to his brother, and which he pretended ought to revert to him upon his decease. The scheme was well imagined, but the emperor found himself mistaken; the brothers lived in perfect unity, and tho' *Lewis*, king of *Germany*, sent ambassadors to intreat his uncle not to attack his dominions, yet he passed the *Rhine* at the same time with an army to offer battle. *Charles the Bald* had fifty thousand men, his nephew was far inferior in number; but having caused the village that was before his camp to be occupied by a great body of infantry, who made an obstinate defence, and, when they were at last forced, *Charles* thought the victory secure; but as his forces advanced in much disorder, *Lewis* attacked them in flank with his cavalry, and defeated them totally with great carnage. This loss, and the news that the *Normans* were come up the *Seine* with a numerous fleet, and a great body of troops on board, obliged *Charles* to turn his eyes on that side, and to leave his nephews quiet[§]. These disappointments affected him so much, that he fell dangerously ill, and was, with great difficulty, recovered.

*Charles,
by the
persuasion*

THE pope being at this time beset with enemies, and depending solely on the emperor's protection, pressed him vehemently to enter *Italy* with an army, tho' he knew he was

[†] Verus Chron. in hist. Norm.
[‡] Annal Fuld. Annal BERTHIANI.

[§] Aimon, lib. v.

but just recovered from a pleurisy, which had brought him *of the pope,* to the very brink of the grave. Charles, whose interests were *makes an-* closely connected with those of the pontif, yielded to his in- *other ex-* treaties. But before he left *France*, he held, in the month of *July,* an assembly of the nobility and prelates, to concert the proper measures for the defence of his dominions, and for the maintenance of their tranquility in his absence. *He* made choice of his only son *Lewis* for regent, and fixed a proper council about him ^t. He gave the command of his numerous army to Duke *Boson*, his empress's brother, abbot *Hugo*, Bernard count of *Auvergne*, and Bernard marquis of *Languedoc*; when he had done this, he set out with the empress, who had a most magnificent equipage, and, with a small corps of troops, which ought rather to be esteemed an escorte than an army, passed the *Alps*, and marched directly towards *Rome* ^u. The pope, to shew his affection, came as far as *Pavia* to meet him; but they had scarce conferred together before they had news, that *Carloman*, king of *Bavaria*, had entered *Italy* with a very numerous army, claiming the imperial dignity and the kingdom of *Italy*, in virtue of the late emperor's will. Upon this the emperor *Charles* repassed the *Po*, and returned to *Tortona*, where the pope crowned the empress. The design of *Charles* was to wait for his army; but the four lords, who commanded it, entered into a conspiracy, and refused to pass the *Alps*; and on this news the empress retired to *Morienne*, and the pope fled to *Rome*. In the present critical juncture of affairs, the emperor judged it most expedient to return into *France*; and, what is very extraordinary, his nephew *Carloman*, on a false rumour that all the *French* forces had passed the mountains, retired precipitately into his own dominions ^w. *Charles*, having joined the empress at *Morienne*, felt a return of his distemper, notwithstanding which he prosecuted his retreat; but a Jew physician, whose name was *Zedechias*, having given him poison, he felt himself so ill that he was obliged to stop at a village called *Brios*; where the empress found him in a miserable cottage, and where he breathed his last, on the sixth of *October*, in the second year of his empire, the thirty-eighth of his reign, and the fifty-fourth of his age ^x. His body was embalmed, with intent to carry it to the abby of *St. Denis*; but the poison he had taken corrupted it in such a manner, that they were forced to inter it by the way: however his bones were afterwards carried

^t FLEUR Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. lii. § 41.

^u ANNAL BERTIN.

^w SIGON. de regn. Ital. lib. v.

^x Capit. Caroli Calvi.

thither, or, at least, it is certain, that a tomb erected to his memory is extant in that convent¹. He appointed, by an instrument, his only son his successor, and sent him by the empress his crown, his sword, and other ensigns, as well of the imperial as regal dignity, in token of his desire, that he should possess both² (C).

As

¹ AIMON, l. v.
NIANI.

Annal. Mtenfese Annal. BERTI-

(C) In the reign of *Charles the Bald*, there were many excellent laws made for the government of the church and state; but he wanted attention, and perhaps he wanted authority, to carry them thoroughly into execution. In his reign they began in *France* to date according to that which is styled the Christian æra. He held frequent councils, and was present in them himself (1). Before he became emperor he was a zealous defender of the episcopal rights; he grew afterwards more complaisant to the pope, and suffered his legates to give law, even in his presence, to the prelates of *France* (2). He compelled them also to acknowledge *Ansegise*, archbishop of *Sens*, in quality of primate of the *Gauls*, and of *Germany*; which lost him his old servant *Hincmar*, archbishop of *Reims*, who opposed this stretch of papal power with great vigour and steadiness. *Charles*, however, had one great point in his favour, the practice of translations; that is, removing a bishop from one see to another was coming into use, and

he knew perfectly well how to avail himself of such advantages (3). He became, in the latter part of his life a great politician, and by a variety of methods both raised and secured his authority, at the expence, however, of being generally hated by his subjects of all ranks. His first consort was *Hermetrude*, by whom he had four sons and one daughter; that princess herself being the daughter of *Eudes*, count of *Orleans*; of his eldest son *Lewis* we shall speak hereafter. *Charles* he declared king of *Aquitaine*, and tho' he died very young, yet it was not before he shewed himself undutiful, and in a great measure unworthy of the honour conferred upon him. *Lothaire* became an abbot. *Carloman* was forced to receive deacon's orders; was of a vicious headstrong disposition, and, as we have shewn in the text, gave occasion, by his frequent rebellions, for his father to punish him with the loss of his sight and imprisonment; but, by the assistance of two monks, made his escape, blind as he was, and died in the do-

(1) *Annal. Bertin. Concil. Gall. tom. iii.*

Concil. Gall.

(2) *Aimon, l. v. Par'. Æmil. de rebus gestis Fran-*

corum.

(3) *Opuscul. Hincmar.*

As soon as *Lewis*, the son of the deceased emperor, who, from an impediment in his speech, had the surname of *Stammerer*, received the news of his death, he left the frontier in order to meet the empress, and the great lords who came out of *Italy*, at *St. Denis*. As he was sensible of the exorbitant power of the nobility and clergy, he thought to secure the tranquillity of his reign, by attaching to his interest such as were about his person; and therefore he distributed lands, honours, governments, abbies, and other preferments, with a profusion that evidently discovered his fear, much more than his affection for those on whom he bestowed them ^a. But for certain causes, with which he was acquainted on the road, he turned aside to *Compiègne*. The empress, on her return from *Italy*, joined with the malecontents, who affected to make it a crime in *Lewis* that he had given away so many posts before he was inaugurated; but the real offence was, that they were afraid of not having their share: however, after mature deliberation, they held it the best expedient to come in and take what was left ^b. Accordingly the empress delivered up the instrument and the

AIMON, l. v.

^b Annal. BERTINIANI.

minions of his uncle (4). His daughter *Judith* had none of the fairest characters. She became first mother-in-law, and then sister-in-law, to our famous king *Afred* (5). Afterwards, returning to her father's court, she ran away with *Baldwin*, the forrester; and being reconciled to the king, by the interposition of the pope, he was created count of *Flanders* (6). His second consort was *Richilde*, the sister of count *Boson*, a very artful woman, who had a great influence over him as long as he lived; and, after his decease, joined with her brother, and the rest of the malecontents, tho' they had procured a Jew

physician to poison her husband. By this princess *Charles* had four sons; but none of them survived him (7). The empress, seven years after his decease, caused the remains of *Charles* to be removed, as some historians say, to the abbey of *St. Denis*; which we mention, because of the reason assigned, that he was once abbot there (8). The popes, in writing to him, styled *Charles* the most Christian king; which form they had also used to his ancestor *Pepin* (9). We are not informed, that the Jew who poisoned him was punished; which renders it probable that he was protected by the faction by whom he was employed.

(4) *Annal. Fuld. Aimon, lib. v. gestis Francorum. Affer. Meneven.*

(5) *Paulus Æmilius de rebus*

(7) *P. Anselm.* (8) *Histoire de France, par M. Chabons.*

(9) *Le P. Fauchet, Duplex, Chabons.*

The pope adheres to the French interest, and at length retires into France from the Italian malecontents.

ensigns of royalty, which had been committed to her care; and, in the beginning of *December*, the king was crowned by *Hincmar*, archbishop of *Rhims*^c. The pope made as great a stand as he was able in favour of the new king, in hopes of having him elected in the place of his father, but being opposed by the duke of *Spoleto*, and the marquis of *Tuscany*, he abandoned *Rome*, and went by sea into *France*. He was received there with all possible respect, and, on the thirteenth of *August*, opened a council at *Verdun*, where many canons were made in support of the episcopal power; the first of them is too remarkable to be passed over in silence: all secular powers are commanded, under pain of excommunication, to pay bishops proper respects, and all persons, of what dignity soever, are forbid to sit in their presence without their permission^d. At the request of the king, the pope crowned him with his own hands; but those historians, who say he was now crowned emperor, are certainly mistaken, since neither in the charter which he granted, or in the addresses that were made to him after this time, is he ever so styled^e. But the pope absolutely refused to crown his consort *Adelaide*, for reasons that the reader will see at the bottom of the page (D). The truth is, the pope found the king's

^c REG. Chron.

^d AIMON, l. 4. Epist. Joan. Papæ.

^e Annales BERTINIANI.

(D) *Lewis* had probably an education suitable to his birth; but we do not find him celebrated for his abilities. The family of *Charlemagne* declined apace. *Lewis*, while a young man, was too much under the dominion of his passions, which led him not only to countenance his sister *Judith*, after she had been twice a queen, in running away with an adventurer, but also made a very idle match himself with *Ansgarde*, the daughter of one count and the widow of another, but we know not the names of either; with which his father was so much offended, that he would not be reconciled to him till he parted with her, and, in all probabi-

lity, disavowed the marriage; which drew into controversy the legality of the births of *Lewis* and *Carloman*, who nevertheless succeeded him. He married a second time *Adelaide*, or *Alex*, an *English* lady, the sister of *Wilfrid*, abbot of *Flavigny*; but it is supposed that *Ansgarde* was still living, when the pope crowned *Lewis*, and refused to crown her, as doubting of the validity of their marriage; but, concerning this, there is somewhat more to be said. Both the *Tillet*s, that is, *John du Tillet*, secretary to the parliament of *Paris*, who wrote the *Inventory of the kings of France*, and his brother *John du Tillet*, bishop of *Meaux*, who, from

king's power very much weakened, and therefore he entered into a close friendship with duke *Boson*, who had married *Hermenigard*, daughter to the emperor *Lewis* the second, and who conducted him back to *Pavia*; in the progress of which journey, the pope permitted him to use his utmost endeavours to prevent *Carloman's* getting possession of the kingdom of *Italy*. Before his departure he so far gratified the king, as to excommunicate some lords who were in rebellion; but without any great effect ^f. After he was gone, the king wrote to his cousin *Lewis* of *Germany*, assuring him of his sincere desire to live in perfect friendship with him and his brethren; and, upon receiving assurances of the same kind from him, the two kings had an interview in the month of *November*, in which they concluded a treaty for their mutual benefit; and, which rarely happens amongst princes, parted as good friends as they met, and perfectly satisfied of the rectitude of each other's intentions ^g.

It was, amongst other things, stipulated at this interview, that a general assembly should be held in the month of *February* following; to which *Charles* and *Carloman*, as well as the king of *Germany*, were to send their ambassadors; but this was prevented by the rebellion of the marquis of *Louis* ^{the death of Lewis the second, who is by some styled Louis I.}

^f *AIMON*, l. v.

^g *Annal. Fuld. Annal. BERTINIANI.*

from antient authors, composed a chronicle of the kings of *France*, affirm, that *Lewis* was crowned emperor by the pope, in which they are followed by *Dupleix*, *Mexeray*, and other historians, and by us, in the title of this section, that it may correspond with other histories of *France*. Yet, as we hinted in the text, this notion appears to be false, for the reasons there assigned. We will add, that, in a very antient chronicle, and of the greatest authority, we find something that confirms this, for we are told, that two bishops presented to the pope, in council, letters written by *Charles the Bald*, in which he nominated his son his successor, and, by way of investiture, sent him the

sword of *St. Peter*; whence they inferred, that the kingdom mentioned was that of *Italy*, and the sword a mark of the imperial dignity. This was so much the more probable, as *Charles* himself, tho' so fond of coronations, was never crowned king of *France*. But the pope paid no regard to this, and we are told the reason: he likewise produced a paper written by *Charles the Bald*, in which he promised him the abbey of *St. Denis*, which he desired *Lewis* to confirm; and, as the king declined this, the pope did not think fit to do the other. So early, it seems, it became a maxim at *Rome* not to do any thing for nothing.

Faineant, *Languedoc*, who, notwithstanding the excommunication pronounced against him by the pope in the council of *Troies*, *leaving his family and subjects in distress*, and the king's having disposed of all his places and governments to other persons, not only maintained himself in the possession of *Languedoc*, but made excursions also into adjacent provinces^h. To suppress these disorders, the king

marched with all the forces he could draw together, taking his route through *Burgundy*; but when he arrived at *Trou*, he fell dangerously ill: he caused himself to be removed from thence to *Compiègne*, where, finding all hopes of recovery vain, he committed his sword and crown to the care of two of his counsellors, with instructions to carry them, without

A. D. 879. delay, to his son *Lewis*ⁱ. He departed this life, *April* the 10th, which was *Good Friday*, after a reign of about eighteen months^k. He was, beyond doubt, a prince of weak parts, and great infirmities. At his demise, he left his dominions in confusion, and for his heirs two sons by his first consort, and his second queen *Adelaide* pregnant, who, some time after his decease, was delivered of a son, baptized by the name of *Charles*.

An inter-regnum on the death of Lewis the Stammerer, and a faction formed for Lewis the German. THERE followed upon the death of *Lewis the Stammerer* a kind of interregnum, occasioned by the weakness of the government, and the factions of the great. The deceased king had intrusted the care of his sons to four great lords, some of whom had not shewn themselves very well affected to his father: these were duke *Boson*, his father's brother-in-law, a man of great art and abilities, which were all employed to gratify the ambition he had of becoming a sovereign prince; the second was *Hugo*, sometimes styled the abbot *Hugo*, and sometimes *Hugo l'Abbé*, or *Hugo the Abbot*. It seems very clear that he was first intended for the church; but, betaking himself to arms before he had received orders, he altered his views, and turned that into a surname, which was before a mark of dignity. He was an ambitious and designing man, but had more respect to his character than most persons of his rank, being the grandson of the famous *Robert le Fort*, count of *France*. The third lord was *Thierry*, the king's chamberlain, who was attached to the late king's family, but from views of interest; and the fourth, *Bernard*, count of *Auvergne*, of whom we know nothing particularly^l. *Boson* and *Thierry* quarrelled about the county of *Autun*, which the former wanted to serve his purposes, and which

^h REGIN. Chron. ⁱ AIMON, l. v. ^k ANNAL. BERTINIANI. ANNAL. FULD. ^l ANNALES BERTIN. PAUL. ÆMIL. de rebus gestis Francorum.

the king had given to the latter. *Hugo l'Abbé*, with some difficulty, reconciled them: in the mean time abbot *Goslin*, who had been a favourite, and much intrusted, by *Lewis*, had formed another project, and drew into it *Conrade*, count of *Palz*, and several other lords. His pretences were the nobility of *France*, and the glory of *Charlemagne's* family; the expedient he offered was to set aside the children of *Lothar*, and to offer the crown to the king of *Germany*^m. In order to carry this into execution, while the other lords were assembled at *Meaux*, they had a meeting at *Creil*, where they came to a resolution to invite *Lewis* of *Germany*, in the name of the nobility and relatives of *France*, to become their sovereign; which proposition he accepted, notwithstanding the treaty he had signed and sworn to the father of the princes he was to set aside. The news of this amazed the lords at *Meaux*, who very probably had acquiesced under it, if *Hugo l'Abbé* had not bethought himself of proposing to the king of *Germany*, who was now in full march for *France* with an army, to yield to him that part of *Lorraine* which had been possessed by the two last kings; which acquisition appeared to him so considerable, that he readily accepted itⁿ. But the abbé *Goslin*, and his faction, finding themselves abandoned, applied to the queen *Lutgarde*, a woman of boundless ambition; who promised them her protection, and her interest with the king, to induce him to pay no greater regard to the new treaty than he had done to his old one. At this time died *Conrade*, king of *Bavaria*, one of the bravest, wisest, and most equitable princes of that age^o. He left only a natural son *Arnold*, to whom he gave *Carinthia* and *Tyrol*; the rest of his dominions he shared between his brothers, *Lewis* having *Bavaria*, and *Charles the Gross* the kingdom of *Italy*^p.

THE assembly of *Meaux*, in the mean time, resolved to crown both the sons of their deceased king, tho' he had explained his intention to be that *Lewis* only should succeed him; but duke *Boson* had married his daughter to *Carloman*, and, next to another great design he had in his head, he was desirous of seeing her queen^q. This scheme was managed by his emissaries, so that he appeared to have no hand in it, till it came to the execution. *Boson*, in his government of the southern parts of *France*, had rendered himself very acceptable to the clergy; he had also a great interest with

^m Annales Metenses. • PAUL. ÆMILIUS de rebus gestis Francorum.

ⁿ AÏMON Chron.

^o Annales FERTINIANI.

^p Chron. var. antiq. PIGON de regno Ital.

^q Annal. Metens.

the pope, and had behaved very obligingly to the nobility. Three archbishops, twenty bishops, and a great number of counts, assembled at the town of *Mante*; where, taking into consideration the confusions and calamities of *France*, they judged it expedient to erect a new kingdom, that might remain happy through the superior wisdom and equity of its monarch; which kingdom was that of *Provence*; and this incomparable prince *Boson*, to whom, by a solemn instrument subscribed by them all, they offered the crown, he accepted graciously, and with many expressions of gratitude and humility, accepted it. It appears from their subscriptions, that this new kingdom was composed of the countries now stiled *Lyonnois*, *Dauphiny*, *Savoie*, *Franche Comté*, and part of the kingdom of *Burgundy*, extending on one side into *Languedoc*, and on the other beyond the lake of *Geneva*, and was sometimes called, from its capital, the kingdom of *Arles*. Thus the two young kings found themselves despoiled of countries of a vast extent on each side of the dominions that were left them. *Hugo*, who had now the sole conduct of these princes, carried them, under an escorte of a small body of troops, as far as the lake of *Geneva*, to confer with *Charles*, king of *Almain* and *Italy*; who treated them very kindly, and promised them all the assistance in his power. Upon their return they found the king of *Germany*, with a considerable army, almost in the heart of their own dominions; tho', in some measure, forced into it by the solicitations of his queen, and partly by the importunity of the malecontents, who were not able to perform near so much as they promised; and therefore the king willingly listened to the proposal of an interview, where all things were amicably settled, and a congress appointed in the month of *June*, at *Gondreville* on the *Meuse*, at which all the descendants from *Charlemagne* were to assist. *Charles* came thither on purpose from *Italy*, *Lewis* and *Carloman* were likewise there, and the king of *Germany* sent deputies, being himself indisposed. There the two young kings made a solemn resignation of their rights to *Lorrain* and the kingdom of *Italy*, in consequence of which the other two monarchs promised them assistance against all their enemies; and the king of *Germany* actually furnished them with an army to dispossess *Hugo*, the bastard of *Lothaire*, who had seized several strong places in *Lorrain*. This done, they marched through *Burgundy* to the territories of *Boson*, where the army was

† AIMON Chron. † REGIN. Chron. SIGON. de regn. Ital. † Chion. de gestis Norman.

joined by a reinforcement, under the command of *Charles le Gros*, who directed the siege of *Macon* in person; and, after having reduced it, formed that of *Vienne*, in which was *Hermingard*, the consort of *Boson*, whose presence engaged the garrison to make an obstinate defence. *Charles* was obliged to leave the army to go to *Rome*, where *Christmas-day* had been fixed upon for crowning him emperor, and the two young kings were, not long after, obliged to separate; *Lewis*, who was styled king of *France*, marching against the *Normans*, and *Carloman*, king of *Aquitaine*, remaining before the place to command the siege ^u.

A.D. 880.

THE great merit of the two kings consisted in their cordial affection for each other, and which manifestly appeared in the sorrow they expressed at parting. *Lewis* gave the *Normans* battle at a place called *Saumur*; was so fortunate as to defeat them, and to kill near nine thousand of their men ^w. It is, however, certain, that he did not prosecute this victory; for which he is much blamed by some, tho' others say, that his forces were so much weakened by that engagement, that he durst not run the hazard of another ^x. The *Normans*, finding themselves at liberty, and having great advantages from their manner of making war, with horse and foot, and a fleet attending them, ruined all the frontiers of his and the *German* kingdom, burning towns, villages, castles, and palaces, wherever they came; and, what did not a little augment the confusion, was the death of *Lewis*, king of *Germany*, without issue: upon which the inhabitants of *Lorraine* offered their crown to *Lewis* of *France*, who declined it, either through political motives, or, as himself affirmed, out of respect to the late treaty ^y. *Carloman* continued all this time before *Vienne*, having changed his siege into a blockade. *Lewis*, tho' he respected the right of *Charles le Gros* to the kingdom of *Lorraine*, yet he generously contributed to its defence against the *Normans*, by sending a good body of troops to their assistance. Immediately after he had made this detachment, he received a strenuous invitation from the duke of *Bretagne* to join him with his army, in order to act against another body of *Normans*, with which he immediately complied; but he had not advanced farther than *Tours* before he felt himself so much indisposed, that he directed those who

The death of Lewis, as some suspect, by poison, by which the crown of France devolves on Carloman.

881:

^u Annales Metens. PAUL. ÆMIL. de rebus gestis Francorum.

^w Annales Metens. PAUL. ÆMIL. de rebus gestis Francorum.

REGIN. Chron. ^x PAUL. ÆMIL. de rebus gestis Francorum.

Chron. Centic. Chron. Norm. ^y Annal. Fuld. REGIN.

Chron.

were about him to convey him to the abbey of *St. Denis*; where he died, in the month of *August*, in the twenty-second year of his age ². His actions shew him to have been a brave and equitable prince: some writers, indeed, say, that he was very debauched, and that his excesses proved fatal to him; but it may be they received this account from some of the great lords, who were very strongly suspected of poisoning him, as they did his father; so that, probably, if he had been less active, he might have lived longer ³.

Carlo-
man is
killed ac-
cidentally
while
hunting,
which
brings
great mis-
chiefs up-
on France.

THE nobility of *France* went immediately to salute *Carloman* as their sovereign, and to assure him of their fidelity. He was still before *Vienne*; but, at their request, he left the command of the blockade to some of his chief officers, and went to put himself at the head of the forces, which his brother had levied to act against the *Normans*, whom he defeated twice; but, at length, he was obliged to compound with them for money, finding their strength to be greater than any that he could oppose to them ⁴. The price at which he purchases conquest, or rather a respite of their depredations, was twelve thousand pounds of fine silver. To balance this he had the satisfaction of seeing *Vienne* surrendered, by capitulation, after a siege of near thirty months, *Hermingard* being permitted to retire to *Autun* ⁵. *Charles le Gros*, who came out of *Italy* into *Germany*, with an intent to expell or to exterminate the *Normans*, who had in the same manner wasted his territories, had the like misfortunes as *Carloman*; for diseases prevailing in his army, which was very numerous, he thought it best to treat with them; which he did, and granted one of their chiefs a settlement in his country of *Frise*, upon his becoming a Christian ⁶. *Charles* and *Carloman* lived in perfect harmony, and acted jointly against those who were enemies to either of them; but the young king of *France* found himself not a little embarrassed by the disobedient and refractory behaviour of some of his nobility; who, knowing too well that he was unable to reward them to their wish, or to punish them as they deserved, respected his commands no farther than they appeared consistent with their own interests ⁷. In time, perhaps, he might have brought his affairs into a better situation; but, being one day hunting, one of his domestic, throwing a javelin at

² Annal. BERTIN. Annal. Fuld. REGIN. Chron. ³ Chron. var. ant. ⁴ Annal. Fuld. Chron. Norm. ⁵ REGIN. Chron. SIGON. de regn. Ital. ⁶ Annal. Fuld. REGIN. Chron. PAUL. ÆMIL. de rebus gestis Francorum. ⁷ Annales BERTINIANI. AÏMON, l. v.

a boar, wounded him in the thigh, of which he died in seven days^f. Some say he was wounded by the boar; but we are told by an ancient writer, that this story was only given out by the king himself, to prevent his domestic's suffering for an involuntary fault; which adds very much to this young prince's character. He deceased on the 6th of September, when he had just entered the sixth year of his reign^g. He was contracted at least, if not married, to the daughter of duke *Boson*; it is not very clear whether that marriage was consummated, but it is very certain that he died without issue; so that his crown ought to have descended to his brother *Charles*, then about five years of age; and there wanted not some who pretended, that his right was prior to that of his two brothers; whereas some again make it a doubt whether he had any right at all^h.

THE family of *Charlemagne* had been long declining; the nobility of *France* were anxious about their own safety, which was very natural and very allowable; and this made them very wary in the disposal of the governmentⁱ. *Hugo l'Abbé*, who had been hitherto the firm protector of the children of *Lewis the Stammerer*, exerted himself strenuously in favour of the infant *Charles*; but it was to no purpose, the major part of them being devoted to the emperor^k. At this distance of time their conduct appeared strange, since under a minority it should seem they might have aggrandised themselves more easily than under a prince advanced in years, and who was already very potent; but very probably they dreaded the advancement of *Hugo* to the regency, who in that case would have exerted regal power in support of his pupil^l. The pretences by which they covered their choice were, that the emperor *Charles*, when declared king of *France*, would have dominions nearly equal in extent to those of *Charlemagne*^m; without considering, that a great empire is a great weight, and that a prince, who may be able to conduct his affairs while restrained within a certain compass, may notwithstanding prove very unfit for directing a government of much greater extent; and of this they were convinced by experience; for *Charles* had governed the countries left him by his father without any visible defect of judgment, had raised himself to the imperial dignity, and

^f Annal. Fuld. Chron. Norm. PAUL. ÆMIL. de rebus gestis Francorum. ^g Annal. Fuld. ^h Annales Metens.

REGIN. Chron. PAULUS ÆMIL. de rebus gestis Francorum.

ⁱ REGIN. Chron. ^k AIMON, l. v. ^l Annal. Metenses.

^m REGIN. Chron.

had shewn, on several occasions, that he wanted not courage or conduct, and on others, that he was a prince of a mild disposition, and had a great regard to justice and equity. It was no wonder, therefore, that the French promised themselves much happiness under this reign, or that they should be disappointed, since the genius of Charles was of such a kind, as, instead of enlarging itself to the size of that empire to which he gradually attained, it was indeed oppressed, and contracted itself in such a manner, that at length his incapacity became too visible to be disputed.

At his first
entrance on
the go-
vernment,
he brings
on a war
with the
Nor-
mans.

THE emperor was not long in discovering the fault he had committed in granting an establishment to the Normans in Friezland; for their king Godfrey, who had married the natural daughter of Lothaire, persisted still in his intrigues in favour of her brother Hugo, who had made many attempts on the kingdom of Lorraine. The Normans still continued to harass France; and therefore, when the emperor saw that this king of Friezland was bent upon a war, he listened to the advice of Henry, duke or governor of Saxony, esteemed the ablest man in his service, and gave him full power to act in this matter, in the manner most advantageous to his government. Henry, upon this, entered into a negotiation with the monarch of Friezland; and, in one of their conferences, encouraged a nobleman, whom he had injured, to cleave his scull with a battle-axe. Soon after this, the bastard Hugo, having been drawn by fair promises into the hands of the emperor's ministers, they caused his eyes to be put out, and shut him up afterwards as a monk in the abbey of Prum, in the forest of Arden. These bold strokes ought to have been sustained by a like conduct throughout; but that was beyond the abilities of this prince. The Normans understood this perfectly, and, under pretence of revenging the death of their king Godfrey, came up the river Seine with a fleet of seven hundred sail; and, having taken several places in the neighbourhood, attempted to surprise Paris; but thro' the prudence of the bishop Gossin, and Eudes, who commanded in the place, they were disappointed; which so enraged them, that, after having blocked up the place for some time, they determined to undertake a regular siege; though, in these kind of military operations, they were far from being able, and had seldom been successful.

A.D. 885.

ⁿ Chron. var. ant.

• ° AIMON, l. v.

^p REGINON.

Chron.

^q Annales Metenses. AIMON, l. v. PAULUS

ÆMILIUS de rebus gestis Francorum.

^r REGIN. Chron.

AIMON, l. v.

^s ABRON. Monach. de bello Parisiacæ urbis, libri duo. Chron. de gestis Norm.

THE city of *Paris*, thus besieged, consisted only of that part of the place now so called, which is expressly and particularly stiled the city, built entirely on an island in the *Seine*, over which were bridges on both sides, the heads of which were well-fortified, at least for those times. The army of the *Normans* consisted of about thirty thousand men; they were commanded by *Sigefroy*, who was fierce and cruel, but not at all deficient in the talents then thought requisite in a general. He sometimes soothed, and sometimes threatened, but was never idle. He ravaged all the adjacent country, not only for booty, but to hinder the besieged from receiving any provisions. He employed all the machines that in this age were in use to batter the walls, and open a passage to his troops: he caused several assaults to be given with great fury, but in vain. *Hugo l'Abbé*, then count of *Paris*, gave his advice in all things, and directed the manner of the defence. *Eudes* commanded the troops, and by his example encouraged them to behave gallantly on all occasions. The bishop went from place to place, exhorting and consoling the inhabitants; his nephew *Ebbon* behaved very bravely on all occasions: but, notwithstanding all this, things sunk at last so low, that *Eudes* was sent to the emperor to solicit relief. Upon this, *Henry*, duke of *Saxony*, was sent with an army, which, tho' not strong enough to drive the *Normans* from before it, enabled him to enter the place, and carry with him considerable succours. He afterwards augmented his army, and made an attempt to attack the *Normans* in their line; but behaving in this with a little too much spirit, or rather with too little prudence, his horse and himself fell into a ditch, covered with straw upon hurdles, where he was presently murdered. Upon which his army disbanded, and *Paris* was left more exposed, and in a worse condition, than ever.

IN the course of this siege, the bishop *Gollin* departed this life; as did also *Hugo l'Abbé*, who was succeeded in the count of *Paris*, or rather count of the isle of *France*, by his nephew *Eudes*, who continued to make an admirable defence, tho' the *Normans* exerted all the arts of fraud and force to carry their point, and were sometimes very near it. At length, the emperor *Charles* was exceedingly pressed on all sides to deliver a city of such consequence out of the hands of these barbarians, who were otherwise bent upon

Who come with a fleet and army before Paris, and besiege that place both by land and water.

A.D. 886.

The emperor goes in person to its relief, and makes a treaty with the Normans.

¹ P. DANIEL. MEZERAY. M. CHALONS.
² Chronicon Norman. ³ REGIMON. Chron.
 lib. v. ⁴ PAUL. EMIL.

⁵ ABBON.
⁶ Y AIMON.

fortifying it, and converting it into the capital of that principality which they were to raise in France. With this view he assembled, through the whole extent of his dominions, a prodigious army, with the best part of which he advanced out of Germany, to the relief of Paris; he appeared with his whole army under arms on the mountain of *Montmart*, fully persuaded that, at the sight of his standards, the Normans would retire with precipitation ^a. He quickly found his mistake; they continued in their works, and shewed not the smallest disposition of raising the siege. The emperor upon this changed his measures, began a negotiation with them, and, by a pecuniary assistance, induced them to promise they would withdraw their troops and their vessels ^b. This was in the month of November; and as he was not able to collect the money before the spring, he consented they should take winter quarters in Burgundy, in which country the people had not, as yet, acknowledged his authority. They had some difficulty to open a passage thither; for the Parisians absolutely refused to permit their vessels to sail under their bridges ^c. In this situation the Normans found themselves obliged to carry their vessels over land, and launch them again upon the *Seine*, at a certain distance above Paris; which, when they had done, they proceeded into Burgundy, laid waste and destroyed the country on every side, and amassed, exclusive of the ransom they were to receive, an immense booty in cattle and valuable effects, as well as in money, to the amazement of the whole French nation ^d.

The unfortunate emperor Charles declines at once in mind, body, and estate.

THIS ignominious treaty ruined the reputation of the emperor, which was much declined before. He returned into Germany indisposed as to his health, and distracted in his mind. He had no ministers in whom he could confide; for they did not either love or fear him. He had suspicions in his mind about the chastity of his empress *Rachael*, and this as to *Ludard*, bishop of *Vercil*, the only person of weight or authority still remaining in his service, and in this fit of ill humour, he forbid him his court, and confined the empress ^e. The latter kept no measures; she insisted upon being admitted to her purification, affirming, that she was not only innocent with respect to that prelate, and every other man, but also that she was untouched by the emperor himself, and a pure virgin, in support of which she was ready to undergo any trial that should be assigned her. The em-

^a ABBON. Monach.

^b AIMON, lib. v.

^c REGI-

MON. Chronicon. PAUL ÆMIL.

^d Chron. var. antiq.

^e AIMON. lib. v.

peror had appointed a diet, as the last resource for settling his affairs; but, falling sick at *Privar*, which is a place between *Mentz* and *Oppenheim*, it very quickly appeared that his faculties were quite gone. In such a situation, it might naturally be expected that *Charles* would arise, and that the great lords of the court would be more attentive to their own particular interests than to the miserable state of their languishing prince; but one would scarce imagine that they should be so far lost to compassion and decency, as well as duty, as to forget that he was living and in distress; and yet it so fell out, being absolutely abandoned, that he would not have had bread to eat, or a servant to attend him in his sickness, if it had not been for the archbishop of *Mentz*, who, on a principle of charity, generosity, and duty, supplied all.

ARNOLD, the natural son of *Carloman*, king of *Bavaria*, *Deserted* upon the deposition of *Charles*, succeeded him in the imperial dignity, and to his discretion he was left for a subsistence, during the remaining part of his miserable life; and the allowance, at length given him, was proportioned to the necessity he was in, and not at all to the dignity he had possessed, consisting only in the revenues of three or four villages. It is true he made some efforts to recover such of the nobility as owed their grandeur to his favour, in hopes that, by their assistance, he might have risen again into some degree of splendor, more especially as no public step had been taken to his prejudice in *France*: but finding it to no purpose, and seeing himself scarce the object of jealousy to those who were struggling for and seizing his dominions on every side, he seems to have reconciled himself to his fate, dying in the condition of a private man, on the 14th of *January*, in the year of our Lord 888 (E). He was certainly a prince

^f *Annales Metens.*
lib. v. *REGINON. Chron.*

^s *Annal. Fuldens.*

^h *AIMON.*

(E) In speaking of *Lewis the German* in the text, we have shewn that this prince, the youngest of his sons, was not exempt from the foolish ambition of that age; but was, at sometimes, in arms against his father. But whether it arose from penitence, from a melancholy constitution, or from some grievous malady, so

that in his youth he fancied he saw the devil, and that he was possessed by him, having, indeed, very grievous convulsions, so that six strong men had much ado to hold him. It is from hence conjectured, that he was never thoroughly cured of this disease; but that the indisposition, with which he was from time to time afflicted,

prince as free from vices, and as sincerely religious, as any of that age; but wanting genius and application, and being rather inclined to the pleasures of privacy, than to the splen-

dified, were the reliicks of this disorder. He was learned for those times, and very religious, being much given to fasting and prayer, which left him too much in the hands of his minister. By his first consort, with whose name we are not acquainted, he had a son, who died young. He had also a natural son, whose name was *Bernard*, and for whom he had a great affection. The notion which some have that he was not king in his own right, but only regent to his cousin *Charles the Simple*, the posthumous son of *Lewis the Stammerer*; does not seem to be very well founded, since in the public instruments of this monarch, that are still remaining, he styles himself *Rex Francorum et Romanorum*: but that he was very ill obeyed, and but very little esteemed, by the *French*, seems to be true. Yet it does not appear, that the *French* lords had any hand in deserting or dethroning him, which was chiefly owing to his being attacked, in his return to *Germany*, by a violent pain in his head, for which he suffered such incisions as are supposed to have affected his understanding. The intrigues of the women also had some share in this business. The widow of *Boson*, who had assumed the title of king of *Arls*, pressed him exceedingly to adopt her son *Lewis*, as being on the mother's side directly descended from *Charlemagne* with which he complied: and it may be this gave offence to his father

Hilgard, abbeys of *Zurich*, who was very forward in advising the lords about him to leave him, and to join *Arnold*, who had taken the title of king of *Germany*, and to whom the emperor gave his natural son, to *procurer* the best terms for he could. He continued all this time in a weak and languishing condition; but whether he died of his malady, or of despair, is very uncertain; since some writers intimate that, both causes acting too slowly, in the opinions of those who wished to see him removed, his death was hastened by a dose of poison; a practice but too frequent in that age, as his competitor experienced in his turn. It does not appear, in this whole affair, that pope *Stephen*, whom some reckon the fifth, and others the sixth, of that name, interposed in this behalf, tho' few of the *Roman* pontiffs have been abler statesmen, or had greater credit: but the intrigues that were then carrying on in *Italy*, and his connection with some of the principal authors, occupied all his attention, and prevented his expostulating with those who quitted the part of the emperor, because his friends were to be enriched with that monarch's spoils. In the end, however, *Rome* paid very dear for this kind of tampering policy, and had cause sufficient to regret the protection that had been ever afforded them by the family of *Charlemagne*.

did enjoyments of a court, he suffered himself to be guided by such of his ministers as were near him, and to be imposed on by the representations of governors, and other officers, at a distance; so that he had never any right apprehension of the state of his dominionsⁱ. His death threw the kingdom of *France* into a general consternation, as they were still harrassed by the *Normans*, oppressed by a kind of independent nobility, who tracked their tenants to gratify their avarice and ambition, and without any form of government, or so much as the appearance of it, to which they might resort for protection against foreign invaders or domestic tyrants. It is true they had still the posthumous child of *Lewis the Stammerer* amongst them; and many affirm that they considered him as the lawful heir of the crown, and *Charles the Gross* only as his tutor or protector; but of this there is no distinct or uncontroverted proof. On the contrary, it is very plain that the titles of *Lewis* and *Carloman* had been called in question, as they had been no better than bastards, because their mother was repudiated; and, notwithstanding this, the title of their younger brother was also questioned, upon a supposition that, if the marriage of their mother was valid, then the mother of *Charles* was but a concubine, and himself a bastard^k. Had he been of age, however, and in any degree capable either of conducting a party or an army, these objections had been quickly silenced: as it was, the nation could not be without a king, and therefore the nobility thought it both their interest and their duty to choose one, as we shall see in the next section.

ⁱ REGINON. Chron. PAUL ÆMIL.^k AIMON, lib. v.

S E C T. V.

The Reigns of Eudes, Charles the Simple, Raoul, Lewis IV. surnamed the Stranger, Lothaire, and Lewis V. in whom ended the Race of Charlemagne.

THE crown of *France* was an object of such importance, as to occupy the thoughts of a great variety of pretenders, who laboured to recommend themselves by very plausible claims, at the same time they were preparing to support them by force. *Guy*, duke of *Spoletto*, and *Berenger*, duke of *Frioul*, stood both in the fourth degree of descent from *Charlemagne*; the one springing from a daughter of *Lewis the Debonnaire*, and the other from the daughter of *Eudes*, count of *Paris*, is elected king of *France*, and crowned king during the

minority of King Pepin ^a. Lewis, the son of *Boson*, talked likewise of a kind of right, his mother being the daughter of the emperor *Charles the Simple*. *Lewis II.* and himself adopted by *Charles the Bald*. He was, however, a child, and his pretensions therefore of little weight; yet in process of time, by the recommendation of the pope, he was chosen king of *Arles*. About the same time, *Raoul*, or *Rodolph*, the son of *Conrade*, count of *Paris* seized the farther *Burgundy*, and converted it into a kingdom ^b. *Herbert*, count of *Vermandois*, shewed himself a kind of competitor, being descended in a right line from *Bernard*, king of *Italy*. It is true there was a suspicion of bastardy; but that was of no great importance, since *Bernard* himself was a bastard, and yet declared king of *Italy* by *Charlemagne*, at the request of *Lewis the Debonnaire* ^c. The most formidable pretender was *Arnold*, king of *Germany*, who looked upon himself as emperor, and who, in virtue of his power, thought to become king of *France*. But the nobility were unwilling to admit of a stranger; and therefore they chose *Eudes*, count of *Paris*, the son of the famous *Robert le Fort*; and some attempts have been made to frame a title for him, as being descended, in a right line, from *Childebrand*, the brother of *Charles Martel*, on the father's side, and on the mother's, from *Adelaide*, the daughter of *Lewis the Debonnaire* ^d. But these stories are at best uncertain. *Eudes* had a far superior right, arising from the public necessity, the unbiassed voices of the nobility, and his own superior merit. He accepted the crown then, upon these conditions; first, that the consent of *Arnold*, king of *Germany*, should be obtained, to prevent his elevation being made the pretence of a civil war; and next, that he should hold this dignity in trust for the right heir *Charles the Simple*, who was not of age to execute its functions ^e. Under these conditions he was crowned by the bishop of *Sens*. Soon after he went, of his own accord, to the diet at *Worms*, where he told *Arnold*, that he was very ready to resign the ensigns of royalty, rather than involve the *French* nation in a quarrel on his account; with which generous and candid proceeding *Arnold* was so much pleased, that he owned him, without scruple, for king of *France*, and entered into a treaty with him in that capacity ^f.

^a LUITPRAND lib. i. PAUL. ÆMIL.

antiqu. Vita Ludovici Pii.

MEZERAY. P. DANIEL.

^c Annales Metens.

^b Chron. var.

^d LE P. FAUCHET.

^e Annales Fuldens.

THE *Normans* continuing to desolate the kingdom by perpetual irruptions, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, *Eudes*, who had but a small number of forces, was constrained to supply that defect by vigilance and activity. He had the good fortune to surprize a body, or rather an army, of these plunderers, consisting of near twenty thousand horse and foot, in the neighbourhood of a town called *Montfaucon*, at the entrance of a wood; and though he had but a thousand horse under his command, yet disposing these into different places, and causing the attack to be made at the same instant, the ranks were broke before they discovered their superiority; and the people of the country, seeing their disorder, fell upon them with such fury, that few or none could make their escape^b. This victory gained him great reputation; and would, no doubt, have been highly advantageous to *France*, if an insurrection had not broke out in *Aquitaine*, which made the king's presence necessary there; and though he was so fortunate as to subdue the malecontents with little trouble, yet, in the mean time, the *Normans* took *Meaux*, and breaking their capitulation, destroyed it^c. They likewise made themselves masters of *Troie*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, and made a second and third attempt upon *Paris*; though without effect. They also committed great disorders throughout *Lorraine*, till they were severely chastised by order of the king of *Germany*, who, with the assistance of the *French*, defeated them with great slaughter^d. All this time the king was employed in establishing his authority, and in repressing those disorders which were so detrimental to the state: and though, in doing this, he shewed all the mildness and moderation possible, yet those who perhaps owed their wealth and their power to nothing but the continuance of these disorders, were extremely offended, and testified their disaffection in such a manner, as induced some of the ambitious nobility, who only waited and wanted such an opportunity to disturb the public peace^e, to concur with them, and put the kingdom in a flame.

THE first who declared himself openly, was count *Wal-* *Eudes em-*
gaire, who surprized the city of *Laon*; and, that he might *barked in*
 give some kind of colour to this proceeding, proclaimed *a civil*
 king *Charles*. *Eudes*, than whom there never was a more *war with*
 active prince, foreseeing the consequences of this revolt, in- *the parti-*
 vested the place unexpectedly, and, attacking it with great *isans of*
Charles.

^a ALBONIS Monach. de Bello Parisiæ Urbis, libri duo.

^b Chron. de Norm. Gestis.

^c REGINON. Chron.

^d FLO-

BOARD Hist. Rhem. lib. iv.

^e Annal. Metens.

the son of *Eigour*, compelled the garrison to surrender: he then called *Lewis* the count *Walgaire* to answer before the nobility who were about him, and, upon their adjudging him a traitor, caused him immediately to be beheaded^m. This act of severity had not the consequences that he expected. *Eblon*, abbot of *St. Denis*, who had been the king's most intimate friend, with some other noblemen, raised all *Aquitaine*. *Eudes* marched thither immediately, and brought things into order basely; by his presenceⁿ. In the mean time, the party of count *Walgaire* had time to act. They brought over queen *Adelaide*, and her son *Charles*, from *England*; and, being joined by *Herbert*, count of *Vermandois*, and *Philip*, count of *Senlis*, both descended from *Charlemagne*, they carried the young prince to *Rheims*, where he was crowned by *Fouques*, the archbishop, who wrote a letter to *Arnold*, king of *Germany*, to intreat his assistance. This was in some measure obtained; and the party who had *Charles* at their head, came, with a great army, and laid siege to *Laon*^o. The inhabitants made a brave defence, which gave *Eudes* time to come to their assistance, with a small but gallant army, at the approach of which the forces of *Charles* mouldered away, and he was obliged to retire. *Eudes* found means to justify himself to *Arnold*, king of *Germany*, which he did, by making him sensible that his government was far from being prejudicial to *Charles*, and that those who were about that young king had his interest much less at heart; and of this he gave a convincing proof, by dividing the kingdom with *Charles*, and doing homage to him for the small part that he retained^p. He did not long survive this agreement, dying at *La Fere*, in *Picardy*, on the 3d of *January*, in the year 898, in the 40th year of his age; hated by the nobility, whose oppression he had restrained, beloved by the people, and esteemed by all the world^q. He left behind him a son, *Arnold*, to whom some would have given the title of king; but he survived him for so short a space, that it afforded no time for the adherents of his father to take their measures in his favour: they attached themselves, therefore, to *Robert*, the brother of *Eudes*, who succeeded him in his county, and was one of the gallantest and greatest men that age produced: and, but for some such spirits, the monarchy had been subverted, as well as the family of *Charlemagne*.

^m Annal. Fuldens. REGINON. Chron.ⁿ Annales Me-^o Chron de Gestis Normân.^p Chronicon Breve.

REGINON. Chron.

^q Annales Metenses.^r Vita St.

Genulsi lib. ii.

His competitor being removed, *Charles* was acknowledged *Charles*, in his own right, king of *France*: but, alas! that country ^{sur-named} was not now what it had been under his predecessors, in the ^{ple, seated} Sim-point of extent, wealth, or number of people. *Arnold*, king of *Germany*, was in possession of *Lorrain*; and *Charles* him-^{upon the} self had relinquished his claims upon it, in consideration of the assistance and countenance he had received *. On the ^{throne,} other side, *Burgundy* was erected into a kingdom, which ^{when the} comprehended what is now called *Switzerland*, together with ^{gov-ern-} *Franche Comté*, or at least the best part of it †. *Lewis*, the ^{ment was} son of *Boson*, held the country which has been before de-^{declining.} scribed under the name of the kingdom of *Arles*; and it had been well if, after all these sacrifices, *Charles* could have been said to hold the rest †. But this was so far from being true, that it is very difficult to say what he held, except the title of king, and the power of giving away. It is true that, not long after he mounted the throne, he had a fair opportunity of recovering part of his dominions, and establishing his reputation, by the revolt of the people of *Lorrain*, against the son of *Arnold*; and accordingly he marched, with a great army, into that country, where he might have done what he had pleased, and, by reannexing it to the crown, had received an honourable and ample subsistence: but he loved the pleasures of a court, and hated rather the fatigues than perils of a camp; for he was personally brave, and, when necessity required, did his duty as an officer without reproach; but he was naturally indolent, and easily imposed upon †. *Zuentibold*, king of *Lorrain*, who was much of the same temper, and had lost his dominions by indulging it, perceived what errors were committed by *Charles*; and though he had but a small body of troops, yet he kept the field, and at length distressed the *French* in such a manner, that *Charles* was glad to conclude, by a treaty, a war that ought to have been ended by the sword, and, for the sake of some very small acquisitions, abandoned entirely a kingdom that he had almost obtained *. This gave a great blow to his credit; but so long as he enjoyed the assistance of *Fouques*, archbishop of *Rheims*, and followed the wise counsels he gave, he in some measure maintained his dignity: but when that prelate was assassinated, by the order of the earl of *Flanders*, his behaviour procured him the depreciating surname of *Charles the Simple*; and it is hard to say, whether this be alleviated or exaggerat-

A.D. 900.

* Chron. var. antiq. • † REGINON. Chron. • LE P. FAUCHET. CORDEMOY. MEZERAY. • AVENTIN. Hist. Boior. • CORDEMOY. MEZERAY. LE GENDRE.

ed by what some historians have observed, that, if he had not been unworthy of the crown, he had never been permitted to wear it ^y. Scandalous source of royalty indeed!

The great change in the French monarchy by the introduction of fiefs.

THE nobility of *France*, having had leisure to frame their system, had now the fairest opportunity of carrying it into execution. Such, therefore, as had been intrusted with, or had got into possession of governments, demanded confirmations of them, not barely for life, but to them and to their heirs; and either by their own power, or by the assistance of some great person at court, obtained what they demanded, upon the easy terms of doing homage ^z. It cannot be affirmed that nothing of this kind had taken place before the reign of *Charles the Simple*, because some instances, perhaps, might be given in earlier times; but the mischief did not become general till now, when, out of one large, well-ordered, and wisely-governed kingdom, there started up a multitude of principalities, in some degree, and but in some degree, dependent on the crown ^a. Considered in this light, they may be truly stiled principalities, tho' the possessors of them took indiscriminately the titles of dukes, marquises, or counts: nor does it appear, that there was any rank or precedence in these titles: duke had been formerly in most esteem, but that of count seems to have been in most credit now. Under this highest class of nobility there were other considerable lords, who held of them in like manner; and these again had others, who held of them, and even these had their vassals. Instead, therefore, of that easy equal government, regulated by laws and customs, which had hitherto prevailed, a multitude of little insupportable tyrannies were erected ^b.

The Normans become more dangerous and formidable to the French crown than ever.

IT has been observed, that the king, by suffering the murder of *Fouques*, archbishop of *Rheims*, to whom he had so many and so great obligations, to escape unpunished, though perhaps against his will, lessened him exceedingly in the eyes of his subjects; and their contempt of him was still farther increased by the ravages of the *Normans*, who, for five or six years together, desolated the finest provinces in *France*. Those who sailed up the *Loire* burnt the famous church of *St. Martin at Tours*; and those who entered the *Seine* took the city of *Rouen* by composition, which they had observed with greater fidelity than was customary with this nation ^c.

^y Chron. var. antiq.

^z LE P. FAUCHET. JEAN DU TILLET. LE P. HENAUT. ^a CORDEMOY. MEZERAY.

LE GENÈVE. ^b Origines des Dignitez et Magistrats de France, recueillies par CLAUDE FAUCHET. ^c GULIELM. GEMETIENS, Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie.

This was ascribed to their chief named *Rollo*, who was not barely the captain of a numerous banditti, but was, in reality, a great prince by birth; and, which was more, endowed with qualities worthy of his rank and descent. He made use therefore of this place, to serve him for a kind of head quarters; made several expeditions from thence, and, when they were finished, returned thither again, while the *French*, seeing him lay waste not only all *Neustria*, but the counties that are now called *Artois* and *Picardy*, clamoured against *Charles* for idly sitting still in his absence, and not recovering and fortifying *Rouen*, as he might have done^d. The king was equally at a loss how to repress these northern invaders, or to silence the outcries of his own people, which were not either the less loud or general, from his having at first encouraged and allied himself with these *Normans* in the days of king *Eudes*. At length, it was judged most expedient to engage *Francon*, archbishop of *Rouen*, to propose to *Rollo* a truce for five or six months, in which time a stable and solid peace might be made, by the grant of a fair and ample establishment^e. *Rollo*, whose parts were not at all inferior to his courage, observed to the archbishop, that of these two propositions the first was directly repugnant to his inclinations and his interests, and the latter perfectly consistent with both: that, notwithstanding this, he was very willing to accept the one, for the sake of the other; and, upon full assurances given on both sides, the truce took place^f. *Richard*, duke of *Burgundy*, that is, the possessor of what is now stiled the dukedom of *Burgundy*, and some of the great lords of *Aquitaine*, were extremely dissatisfied with this measure, as it appeared alike dishonourable to the king, and dangerous to the public; and therefore, by promising to give him all the assistance he could desire, they prevailed upon him to break the truce, which so provoked *Rollo*, that he marched immediately, with a considerable body of forces, and invested *Chartres*^g. The confederated lords, in pursuance of their engagements, advanced to its relief, attacked the *Normans* in their camp, and, with the assistance of a sally from the place, at the head of which was the bishop in his robes, forced *Rollo* to abandon his enterprize, and to retire to an eminence, where they besieged him and his *Normans* in their turn^h. However, having, by a stratagem,

^d DUDONIS de moribus et actis primorum Normannæ Ducum, libri tres.

^e FAUCHET. DU TILLET. LE GENDRE.

^f GULIELM. GEMETICENS. Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie.

^g Chron. var. antiq.

^h DUDO. de moribus et actis Norm. Duc.

forced a passage through their camp, *Rollo* returned to his old station; and being reinforced there by many thousands of his countrymen, renewed his depredations on all sides, with circumstances which very plainly shewed that resentment instigated these excesses ⁱ.

Rollo compels Charles the Simple to grant him Neustria, with the title of a duchy.

In this critical and perplexed situation of affairs, finding no hopes of the like assistance, *Charles* suffered himself to be governed by *Robert*, the brother of *Eudes*, now stiled duke *Robert*, who prevailed upon him to recur to the first method of negotiation ^k. *Francon*, archbishop of *Rouen*, was again the mediator; and *Rollo*, though by a great accession of strength he was become more formidable, and, by the usage he had met with, more provoked, yet so great an ascendancy had the prelate over his mind, that he made no scruple of declaring to him, that he was content to treat upon the old basis, provided the treaty was speedy and sincere ^l. *Francon*, being well instructed, proposed to him three things; the first was, that he should become a Christian, that the king might escape the imputation of giving the pagans a settlement in *France*; the second, that he should marry *Gisele*, the king's daughter, by which *Charles* might gain an honourable pretence of bestowing the noble country of *Neustria* as her dowry; and lastly, that he should do homage to the king in the same manner, and hold this country to himself and his heirs on the same terms, as the great lords of *France*, that it might not be said the king paid greater deference to a stranger, than to the native nobility of his realm ^m. The *Norman* expressed himself well satisfied with these offers, to which he made only one objection, that the country of *Neustria*, tho' extensive, rich, and fertile in itself, was at this time so wasted and depopulated, as not to afford him and his people subsistence; and, therefore, he desired that he might have some other country assigned him, for the supply of immediate wants ⁿ. This demand was hard of digestion, and some affirm that, had it not been for the influence of duke *Robert*, it might have stopped the treaty. Subsequent events have contributed to render this probable; and yet, perhaps, it is equally probable that the same necessity which produced the negotiation, drove it on to a conclusion ^o. The first country offered to *Rollo* was *Flanders*, dependent

ⁱ FAUCHET. DU TILLET. LE GENDRE. * Chron. var. antiq. ^l GULIELM. GEMETICENS. Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie. ^m DUDON. de moribus et actis Norm. Duc. * FAUCHET. DU TILLET. LE GENDRE. ^o GULIELM. GEMETICENS. Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie.

only on the crown of *France*, and then in the possession of prince with whom *Charles* had good reason to be offended so that there wanted not policy in the offer; yet *Rollo* rejected it, as lying at too great a distance from *Neustria*, and being in other respects inconvenient^p. *Bretagne* was next mentioned, and accepted. The preliminaries being thus adjusted, the king and this *Norman* prince had an interview at *Saint Clair*, upon the *Epte*, where, in the presence of the whole court, *Rollo* did homage, in quality of the duke of *Neustria*, to his new sovereign; but he was somewhat awkward in the performance of the ceremony, and when he came to the last, which was kneeling and making a semblance of kissing the king's foot, he peremptorily refused to go farther. An expedient was found, which was, that one of his guards should do it for him; but it seems all the *Normans* were bad courtiers; for this life-guard man tossed *Charles's* foot so high, that, if some of the *French* lords had not caught him, he had turned him and his chair over. This accident was passed by with much good humour, because resentment had been ill placed^q. A.D. 911.

On *Easter-day*, *Rollo* received, with great solemnity, the rite of baptism; his old friend, duke *Robert*, being one of the sponsors, and bestowing upon him his own name, which is the reason that, in the *French* historians, we find him seldom called *Rollo* after this, but *Robert*. He was, without question, a prince of extraordinary abilities, since, upon this critical occasion, he acted throughout with the utmost dignity, and with the most consummate prudence^r. The principal officers in his army, led by his example, became Christians likewise, and, in deference to his councils, entered readily into the plan he proposed for regulating his new state after the model of that of *France*^s. He began with establishing bishopricks and religious houses, which he liberally endowed. He appointed governors of districts, with the title of counts; placed under them inferior magistrates; and enacted such laws, as he judged most expedient for bringing his new government into a tolerable condition. He was particularly severe in punishing theft, and in the equal distribution of justice, which he saw was the great basis of policy, and without which his people must naturally recur to their old method of living by robbery and piracy^t. It is amazing with what speed and success he executed what he had pro-

^p Chron. var. antiq. • ^q FAUCHET. DU TILLET. L'X GENDRE. ^r GULIELM. GEMEICENS. ^s Chron. var. antiq. ^t DUDONIS de moribus et actis Norm. Duc.

A.D. 912.

posed, and in how short a time that ruined and depopulated country was not only filled with inhabitants, but those too vigilant and industrious, and, which was more extraordinary, regular in their manners, and perfectly obedient. One great cause of this, was the resort of the better sort of *Normans*, from all parts, into his dominions, who, weary of that restless and roving kind of life which they had hitherto led, very gladly came to participate in the advantages which he had procured for the people under his command, which he most readily imparted, as knowing that the power of a prince is always in proportion to the number and employments of his subjects^u. He complied also, as soon as things were in a tolerable condition, with the intended marriage, tho' very unequal in point of years; for, at this time, the duke was at least sixty, and the lady could not be above fourteen. Thus *Charles*, though some of his subjects continually reproached him with it, saw the new duchy of *Normandy*, for so in honour of its inhabitants it was siled, thoroughly fixed, and thereby an end put to the terrors so long spread by the *Normans*.

The line of
Charle-
magne re-
duced to
Charles,
the king-
doms of
Germany
and Italy
going in to
other
that of
Lorrain
reverting
to him.

WHILE these things passed in *France*, there happened great alterations amongst her neighbours. *Arnold*, king of *Germany*, and who also assumed the title of emperor, died, and left behind him two sons; *Lewis*, by the queen his consort, who succeeded him as king of the *Germans* and *Romans*, and *Zuintibold*, his natural son, king of *Lorrain*, who would have disputed the whole succession with *Lewis*; but being slain in battle, the last-mentioned prince added to the rest of his dominions the kingdom of *Lorrain*. *Berenger*, whom the emperor *Arnold* had shut up in a corner of *Lombardy*, and still preserving the title of king, availed himself of his death, and was again crowned at *Pavia*^x. *Lewis*, the son of *Boson*, king of *Arles*, passed the *Alps* with an army, and met at first with such success, that he procured himself to be crowned emperor at *Rome*; but, in the short space of four years, he fell into the hands of *Berenger*, who put out his eyes; and he dying not long after, the regal title was lost in his family, *Hugo*, count of *Arles*, assuming the title of king. *Berenger*, pushing this good fortune, compelled pope *John IX.* to crown him emperor, though he had great opposition given him by *Lambert*, the son of *Guy*, duke of *Spoleto*, who, for a time, bore the title of emperor, and

^u GULIEM. GEMETICENS. *Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie.* ^x FAUCHET. DU TILLET. LE GENDRE. * An-
pal. Metenses.

who, as some writers say, had been also crowned king of France at Langres¹. But, in the end, the death of *Lambert* left him without a rival, and *Berenger* had the satisfaction of bearing the lofty titles of emperor and king of Italy; being, as we observed, descended by a female from *Charlemagne*, and the last of his blood who enjoyed sovereign authority on the other side of the *Alps*. On the other hand, the very year that *Charles* erected the new duchy of *Normandy*, *Lewis*, king of the *Germans*, *Romans*, and people of *Lorraine*, breathed his last, and in him ended the male line of *Charlemagne* in *Germany*. Upon which the great lords of that country elected *Conrade*, duke of *Franconia*. But the people of *Lorraine*, more inclined to the *French* government, or having still an high veneration for the *Carlovingian* race, resolved to call in the only surviving prince, and to place their crown once more on the head of *Charles the Simple*², who by this acquisition was, in some measure, indemnified for the cession he had been forced to make of *Normandy*. His conduct soon after sufficiently acquainted the world, how much easier it is to acquire kingdoms than to preserve them; more especially when countries are cantoned amongst a powerful nobility, as was the case at this time in *Lorraine*, as well as *France*.

CHARLES, if we may give credit to the bulk of the *Charles French* historians, had no great abilities as a politician, much less was he capable of managing affairs in so perplexed a situation as they then stood: but he seems to have been sensible of this, and of something more, which was, that he ran a greater hazard in trusting any of his nobility, than in relying on his own parts, slender as they were. It gave him therefore vast satisfaction, when he found one *Haganon*, a gentleman not distinguished either by birth or fortune, upon whom he could rest the weight of his affairs; and who, tho' in other respects he might be deficient, possessed two qualities that were truly valuable, fidelity and penetration³. *Charles*, who was an honest and good man, had such an affection for this minister, that he was hardly ever out of his company, and did not keep even the necessary appearances for the grandees⁴. An instance will explain this clearly. *Charles* being at *Aix la Chapelle*, *Henry*, duke of *Saxony*, afterwards king of *Germany*, came to pay his respects to him, and for four days successively missed of an audience, receiv-

¹ DU CHESNE, tom. ii. p. 585.

² Contin. REGINON.

Chron.

³ FLODOARDI Chronicon.

AIMON Hist. lib. v.

⁴ Fragmentum Historie Francorum.

giving continually the same answer, "The king is busy with *Haganon*," which so much provoked him, that he took his leave, with this observation; "I make no doubt but, in a little time, one of these two things will happen, either *Haganon* will seat himself on the same throne with *Charles*, or *Charles* will become a private gentleman like *Haganon*." The king being informed of this, was forced to send *Hervé*, archbishop of *Rheims*, to intreat the duke to return, and to endeavour, when he did return, to efface, by his caresses, the bad effects of his indiscretion, which *Henry*, who was truly a great prince, easily overlooked. But, when verified by the event, this shrewd prediction was universally remembered.

The mobility of France form a resolution of deposing Charles, which is avoided by a treaty.

AMONGST the great lords, of whom the king and his minister were most jealous, were the two *Roberts*, dukes of *Normandy* and *France*. The former was his son-in-law, but had never consummated his marriage; and, by the advice of *Haganon*, he sent two gentlemen to his court to have an eye on his proceedings. These the dukes for a long time concealed; but at length they were discovered, and the duke, without any ceremony, hanged them as spies, which provoked *Charles* so much, that they were on the point of coming to a rupture^d. The other duke *Robert*, out of pure friendship, as he would have it understood, began hostilities first, and acted without scruple against *Charles*, sending envoys to the duke of *Normandy* to express his zeal; for which the *Norman* testifying much gratitude, they went somewhat farther, and acquainted him, that their master had great connections with the *French* nobility, and doubted not, with his and their assistance, to depose *Charles*, and to seat himself upon the throne, which his brother *Eudes* had formerly occupied. To this proposition they received a very unexpected answer. The duke of *Normandy* told them, that the views of their master were extravagant, and that he was equally incapable of suffering or assisting injustice; which calmed the intestine troubles of the kingdom for some time^e. But duke *Robert*, having still the same object in view, and the duke of *Normandy* being dead, he took advantage of an assembly of the nobility held at *Soissons*, and engaged the major part of those who were present, not only to expostulate with *Charles* on the indignity offered to them, by reposing such entire confidence in his minister, but also to give

^e Fragmentum Gallici Scriptoris ex CONRADO Abbate Urspergensis. ^d DUD. lib. ii. ALMON Hist. lib. iv. ^e FLO-BOARDI Chronicon Append.

him to understand that they looked upon him as unworthy to be their king, and that they meant to consider him no longer in that light. After this they retired; but, through the interposition of the archbishop of *Rheims*, and count *Hugo*, a kind of treaty of pacification was concluded for a year, in consequence of which *Haganon* was discarded, at least in appearance, and some of the malecontent lords repaired again to court ^f. However, this insincere compromise did not last long, as answering the intentions of neither party.

RICHARD, duke of *Burgundy*, a very wise and very worthy prince, who had always adhered to *Charles*, dying, the malecontents renewed their intrigues; upon which the king, looking upon the former agreement as void, recalled *Haganon*, and heaped upon him new favours ^g. The disaffected lords magnified this as a direct breach of the convention, and taking arms, forced *Laon*, where all *Haganon's* treasures were; and having distributed these amongst their troops, they no longer kept any measures, but, declaring *Charles* to be weak and incapable of the royal dignity, proclaimed *Robert*, duke of *France*, carried him from thence to *Rheims*, in a kind of triumph, and there the archbishop *Hervé* set the crown upon his head, on the last day of *June*, and died three days after. *Charles*, in the mean time, collected what strength he could, in order to defend his crown, and reduce his enemies, amongst whom was *Gilbert*, whom he had made duke of *Lorraine*, though most of the lords in that country still adhered to his interest ^h. The duke of *Aquitaine*, and the lords in that country were for *Charles*; but *Rodolph*, the new duke of *Burgundy*, having espoused the daughter of king *Robert*, abetted his party with great zeal. *Herbert*, count of *Vermandois*, who was a man of parts and power, descended by the male line from *Charlemagne*, and who had always boasted his loyalty to *Charles*, deserted him to join *Robert*, who, that he might leave the unfortunate monarch no resource, went in person to confer with *Henry*, king of *Germany*; and having detached him from the interests of his competitor, returned, with a full persuasion, that he should quickly oblige *Charles* to abandon the kingdom, or, like *Charles the Gross*, to accept of a precarious subsistence, and lead for the future a private life; the only thing wanting to his own establishment ⁱ.

^f FLODOARDI Chronicon. ADEMARI Chronicon Append.
^g REGIN Chron. ^h DUPLÉIX. LE GENDRE. ⁱ AIMON
 Hist. lib. v. ^j P. FAUCHET. P. DANIEL.

Charles
charging
the forces
of his com-
petitor
unexpected-
ly, kills
him on the
spot.

In order to execute this plan, he assembled an army under the walls of *Soissons*, and having the principal part of his lords about him, consulted with them how these purposes might be soonest effected. In the mean time *Charles*, having still a good body of troops, but perceiving plainly that he could not provide long for their subsistence, resolved to make a sudden and desperate effort, and passing the river *Aisne* unexpectedly, surprized *Robert* and his adherents, as they were going to dinner^k. That prince, who was naturally brave, immediately mounted and put his troops in the best order he could; but while^l he encouraged them to do their duty, and carried his own standard in his hand, *Charles*, who was in the first ranks of his own troops, engaged him, and bore him to the ground with his lance, where he was presently killed: yet his son *Hugo*, and *Herbert*, count of *Vermandois*, not only restored the battle, but, in the end, beat the king's army, and made themselves masters of his baggage, which left them at liberty to consult how they might best prosecute their affairs, and of whom they should make choice to supply the place of their late king^l, the constitution being now so totally subverted, that the nobility were become hereditary, and the crown elective. This action happened on the 15th of *June*; and some say the shortness of his reign, others his not being universally owned, prevented the name of *Robert* from being taken into the list of *French* kings. The competitors for the succession were *Hugo*, duke of *France*, the son of *Robert*, by the sister of *Herbert*, count of *Vermandois*; *Herbert* himself; and *Rodolph*, duke of *Burgundy*, who had espoused *Emma*, the daughter of duke *Robert*, and the sister of *Hugo*. The nobility in general, though they admired the courage and the capacity of *Herbert*, detested his ingratitude. *Hugo* seeing the dispute lay between him and *Rodolph*, left it to the choice of his sister, who, desirous of being a queen, declared for her husband, and *Hugo*, as he had promised, procured him to be elected; and accordingly the crown was set upon his head at *Soissons*, on the 13th of *July*^m. The few lords that still adhered to *Charles*, either pleased with the choice of this prince for the sake of novelty, or through fear of being despoiled of their estates, began to drop away: so that, in a short time, he was as much abandoned as *Charles the Great*, his unfortunate cousin, and the victim of other mens ambition.

^k FLODOARDI Chronicon.

^l AIMON. Hist. lib. v. ADE-

MARI Chronicon.

^m GLABRI RUDOLPHI Cluniacensis Monachi Hist. sui temporis.

IN this situation, as weak as his enemies represent him, Rodolph, he did not sink into despair; on the contrary, he endeavoured to retire to *William*, duke of *Normandy*, who, like his father, knew no king but him who gave him his duchy; in which, through the vigilance of *Rodolph* and his party, he was disappointed, which brought him so low, that he was obliged to apply himself to *Henry*, king of *Germany*, and to offer to quit in his favour the claims he had on the kingdom of *Lorraine*, provided he would grant him his assistance. *Henry*, considering how much he was to be the gainer, and how honourable the enterprise was in itself, determined to undertake it, and began to raise an army for this purpose. King *Rodolph* began in his turn to feel great apprehensions, well knowing that the dukes of *Normandy* and *Aquitaine* disapproved his election. Out of this perplexity he was delivered by *Herbert*, count of *Vermandois*, who, dreading the restitution of *Charles*, sent deputies to implore his clemency, to assure him of his fidelity, and to desire that he would march such forces as he had about him into his country, that he might be the better able to defend it against their common enemies. *Charles* was the more easily deceived by these deputies, because they were first deceived themselves, and really believed the count to be in earnest. He marched therefore into *Vermandois*, with a handful of troops, and was received by count *Herbert* with all possible testimonies of the most profound respect. At first, however, the king acted with some precaution; but being at length persuaded to enter the towers of *Chateau-Thierry*, *Herbert*, the very same night, caused him to be seized in his bed, and then sent one of his adherents to compliment *Rodolph* on his having nothing to fear, since *Charles* was a prisoner for life. The queen of this unfortunate monarch, whose name was *Egiva*, fled with her son *Lewis* to the court of her brother in *England*. *Rodolph*, having now leisure, turned his arms against *William*, duke of *Aquitaine*, who perceiving that he had no assistance to expect, thought it expedient to make the best terms he could for himself; and in order to this, did homage to *Rodolph*; but it is certain he did this to a conqueror, and not to a king, submitting only because he found himself unable to resist (A). This war was scarce ended,

A.D. 924

* FLODOARDI Chronicon.

* GLAB. Hist. sui temp.

* Ibid. FAUCHET.

* BALUZ in notis Append. Capitular.

(A) This *William*, duke of *Aquitaine*, surnamed *the Devious*, was extremely attached to the family of *Charlemagne*, and so were

ended, before *Rodolph* found himself embarked in another against the *Normans*; by which we are not to understand the subjects of duke *William*, but a new swarm of these plunderers from the north, commanded by one *Rainold*, who fell into *Burgundy*, and wasted it with fire and sword. The king managed this war but with indifferent success; and after, lying sometime before their intrenchments, was content to let them make their escape. In this state of things, the

‘ *FLODOARDI Chronicon. DUFLEIS. P. DANIEL.*

were all the nobility in the adjacent countries, chiefly on account of the lenity of those princes, who left them in a kind of independency, and expected nothing from them beyond the ordinary compliment of homage, and dating their charters according to the years of their reigns, in which they were, as we shall see, very correct. We must observe, that the very title of duke of *Aquitaine* was derived from the favour of this king, the proper title of this nobleman being count of *Auvergne*, which, in all probability, might be a government erected by *Charlemagne*, or *Lewis the Debonnaire*, which, according to the custom of that time, was become hereditary in this family: but there were many counts in his neighbourhood, not at all inferior to him in birth and fortune, till he was honoured with this title of duke of *Aquitaine*, which implied nearly the same thing with the king's lieutenant, and in virtue of which he became their superior; and therefore his own dignity, being in a great measure dependent on the prince who bestowed it, bound him strictly to *Charles*, and rendered him very unwilling to submit to his competitor. How far he did this, and in

what way the gentry in these parts, following the example of their lord, evaded acknowledging this prince, otherwise than as a conqueror, appears from a charter still preserved, which is thus dated; ‘ Done the fifth before the ides of *October*, in the fourth year since king *Charles* was degraded by the *French*, and *Rodolph* elected contrary to the laws.’ Other instances of the same nature might be produced, and particularly the will of this duke's successor, which is dated in the same manner, but a year later. He was the nephew of *William*, and, upon his demise, the title came to *Aimar*, count of *Poitiers*, who likewise inherited the county of *Auvergne*. We shall see in the text that king *Lothaire*, the grandson of *Charles the Simple*, deprived this family of the ducal title, in order to transfer it to *Hugo the White*, who was duke of *France* and of *Burgundy* before. We may likewise collect from hence, the true reason why the title of duke sunk in esteem, which was no other than this, that it implied a dependence, and that they held it from another; whereas, they looked upon their counties as their own.

Normans settled in *France* broke out into hostilities, on account of some injuries they had received; and while *Rodolph* was employed in raising an army to bring them to reason, the great lords of *Lorrain* revolted, and submitted themselves to the king of *Germany*; which tho' *Rodolph* could not possibly help, and in his present circumstances was as little able to resent, yet it lessened his reputation. For the nobility of *France* were equally jealous of the power of their kings, and ready to despise them if they wanted power; and, on the other hand, the lords of *Lorrain* expected to be better gratified by the *German* monarch for bringing him a kingdom, than they could be by *Rodolph* for preserving it; in which they were chiefly governed by duke *Gilbert*, who was very nearly allied to the *German*, though he owed his great preferments to *Charles*, against whom he was one of the first that revolted.

A BODY of *Normans* having made an irruption into the county of *Artois*, *Rodolph* marched against them with his forces; and as he approached them on one side, *Herbert*, count of *Vermandois*, with the whole strength of his estates, advanced on the other, and, by this means, the *Normans* found themselves besieged in their camp; but as they had been always famous for defending intrenchments with the utmost intrepidity, the king delayed the attack, in hopes of receiving some propositions from them. But the *Normans* quitting their camp in a dark night, attacked that of the king, forced it, and had infallibly destroyed both him and his army, if the count of *Vermandois* had not come to his relief. As it was, the king was wounded, the officer who commanded under him killed, and his forces so roughly treated, that he was forced to retire with them to *Laon*, and leave the *Normans* to live at discretion, till, by the payment of a sum of money, he procured their retreat. He was chiefly induced to this, that he might humble *William*, duke of *Aquitaine*, whom he still regarded as his most formidable enemy. But when he was ready to pass the *Loire* with a numerous army, or, as some historians say, had actually passed it, he was constrained to return, in order to repel the *Hungarians*, a most barbarous people, as some authors, particularly *Mezeray*, assert, who had penetrated through *Lorrain* to the frontiers of his dominions. The presence of the king, say some, restored peace, and engaged these

* GLAB. Hist. sui temp. AIMON. Hist. lib. v. FLO-
BOARDI Chronicon. " Abrege Chronologique de l' Histoire
de France, tom. i.

A.D. 926. terrible enemies to retire; but others insinuate, that plunder being their aim, they were induced to retire by receiving a large sum of money. A domestic misfortune followed next: the count of *Laon* dying, *Herbert*, who had served the king so much, and whose services had been so well paid, demanded that place, which lay conveniently for him, though the deceased count had left several children; which favour the king refusing to grant, *Herbert* turned his eyes upon his royal prisoner, and brought *Charles* again upon the stage, with all the honours due to a great prince *.

The death of that unfortunate prince under a second captivity by the count of Vermandois. *HUGO*, duke of the country between the *Seine* and *Loire*, styled commonly duke of *France*, or of the *French*, had lately married *Ethelinda*, the daughter of king *Edward*, and the sister of *Charles's* consort, and therefore he entered readily into *Herbert's* measures. The next point was to engage the duke of *Normandy* to concur with them; and, in order to this, they had an interview, in which they concluded, first, a marriage between *Letgarde*, the count's daughter, and the duke, and afterwards a treaty, by which they engaged to set *Charles* once more upon the throne of *France*: and, as a farther proof of his sincerity, the duke, in another conference held at *Eu*, treated *Charles* with great magnificence, and did homage to him for his dominions *. This turn was so unexpected, and their party was become so formidable, that king *Rodolph*, leaving *Emma* his consort in *Laon*, went into *Burgundy* to raise an army, with which he quickly took the field, as the confederates likewise did; but duke *Hugo*, doubting the issue of the war, negotiated a treaty between king *Rodolph* and the count of *Vermandois*, by which he was gratified in respect to the county of *Laon*, orders being sent by king *Rodolph* to his consort to deliver it immediately, with which, out of a spirit of womanish obstinacy, she refused to comply. This rendered the reconciliation more difficult; for *Henry*, king of *Germany*, and *William*, duke of *Normandy*, insisted that *Charles* should be restored; and pope *John IX.* threatened the count of *Vermandois* with excommunication if he did not comply with his engagements; besides, he had given his son over as a hostage to the duke of *Normandy*, and was therefore obliged to save appearances. With this

928. view he called an assembly of prelates and great lords, in whose presence he did homage, for all his estates, to king *Charles* v, by which he procured his son's liberty; and, un-

* AIMON. Hist. lib. v.
FAUCHET. LE GENDRE,
MEZERAY.

* FLOBOARDI Chronicon. P.
y GLAB. Hist. sui temp.

derstanding the pope was dead, he summoned king *Rodolph* to make good his treaty; and the king, having gained *Henry the German*, caused the county of *Laon* to be delivered up to *Herbert*, so that *Charles* was once more abandoned; and *Herbert* having done homage to his competitor, shut him up again in prison; upon which the queen *Eglva*, who with her son had returned into *France*, withdrew again, by the advice of the duke of *Normandy*, into *England*². But *Rodolph*, having no great confidence in one who had so often deceived him, made a tour to *Rheims*, and desired that the count of *Vermandois* would bring *Charles* thither, which he did; and *Rodolph* received him with great respect, and made him very rich presents, as all the nobility and prelates also did, and, at the same time, settled a competent allowance for his maintenance; which, however, he did not long enjoy, since he died in the castle of *Peronne* on the 9th of *October* following, in the 51st year of his age, leaving his competitor in the quiet possession of his dominions^a (B). A.D. 929.

THIS event produced a great alteration in the face of affairs. *Rodolph*, finding himself more at liberty, resolved to live and act like a king: he pursued the *Normans of the Loire*, so called to distinguish them from those of the *Seine*, now become a flourishing and fixed people, till he had compelled them either to quit the kingdom, or to betake themselves to some settled habitation. In like manner he visited the frontiers, compelled several lords, who had hitherto been subject to the kings of *Provence*, to do him homage, constrained the duke of *Gascony* to follow their example, and most of the lords of *Languedoc*, and the countries adjacent; who having enjoyed independency so long, were very unwilling to stoop to the yoke. He repelled likewise the *Hunga-*

King Rodolph a-7s with great spirit, and endeavours to humble the great lords of France.

² AIMON. DUPLEIX. P. DANIEL. 6^a GLAB. Hist. sui temp.

(B) We have no mention made in any of the ancient historians of the first wife of *Charles the Simple*, by whom he became the father of *Gisele*, who espoused *Robert*, or *Rollo*, duke of *Normandy*. His second consort was *Frederune*, sister to *Beuves*, bishop of *Chalons*, by whom he had *Hermenrude*, *Frederune*, *Hildegard*, and *Rotrude*. His third queen was *Egiva*, or,

as the *French* writers call her, *Ogive*, or *Ogine*, the daughter of *Edward*, surnamed the *Elder*, and the grand-daughter of *Alfred the Great*, by whom he had his only son *Lewis*; after his decease she espoused, as we shall see in the text, *Herbert*, count of *Troyes*, the second son of *Herbert*, count of *Vermandois*, who had so long kept her husband in prison.

rians, or Bulgarians, for we find them called by both names, who made a new irruption, and, in a word, acted in all respects in a manner suitable to his dignity^b. In these expeditions he was assisted and supported by *Hugo*, count of *France*; but *Herbert*, count of *Vermandois*, looked with a very evil eye on all these acquisitions of power, more especially as he plainly saw, that, since the death of *Charles the Simple*, he was no longer courted and gratified as in times past. In order to convince the king of his importance, he entered into a league with the count of *Flanders*, to whom he gave his daughter *Adila* in marriage; with *Gilbert*, duke of *Lorraine*, and *Henry*, king of *Germany*, to whom he did homage for his estates: upon which a war ensued that lasted for many years. The king did not take part therein as principal, but suffered his troops to act under the authority of *Hugo*, duke of *France*, who gradually dispossessed the count of most of the best places he held, such as *Eu*, *Amiens*, *Saint Quentin*, *Peonne*, *Ham*, *Arras*, *Chateau-Thierry*, and, at length, of *Rheims*, which he held in the name of his son *Hugo*, whom, by fraud and violence, he had procured to be elected archbishop, when but little more than five years of age; but the king was no sooner in possession of that place, than he promoted *Artaud*, who was a monk there, to be archbishop of that see, which hurt the count exceedingly^d. Such were the miseries of those times, and such the disorders in church and state!

The death and character of king Rodolph, after a short and troublesome reign.

It has been before observed, that *Herbert* had great courage and capacity, though very little candour; and, in the management of this war, tho' very unsuccessful, he shewed equal firmness and address. He had his emissaries at the courts of the duke of *Normandy*, the duke of *Aquitaine*, the duke of *Gascony*, and, in a word, of all the great lords who had done homage to *Rodolph*, who were continually whispering, that their master was the champion of the nobility of *France*, whose title to their estates lay in their possession, and the power to maintain that possession; since, if he was once subdued, they would soon feel the power of the victor, who would not fail to chastise and humble all of them in their turns^e. By this means he derived secret supplies and succours, which enabled him to continue the war as long as he did; and he not only expressed great fortitude in the continuance of it, but managed it in such a manner as kept up his

^b FLODOARDI Chronicon. J. DE SERRES. MEYERAY.
^c GLAB. Hist. sui Temp. P. DANIEL. ^d AIMON, Hist.
 lib. v. ^e FLODOARDI Chronicon. P. FAUCHET.

reputation, both as a great captain and a consummate statesman; so that, on the whole, his character was one of the most singular that stands recorded in history, as at one and the same time he was both detested and esteemed. At length *Rodolph* blocked him up in *Laon*, which he surrendered upon terms; and then, beginning to feel himself sinking; and gradually losing the supports he had hitherto received, he attempted, though without effect, to reconcile himself to the king^f. An accident extricated him from this dilemma. The *Bulgarians*, with a very formidable army, threatened both *Germany* and *France*. The two kings had a conference, at which some of the great lords assisted, and amongst the rest *Herbert*, count of *Vermandois*. *Henry* took this opportunity of representing to *Rodolph*, how injurious it was to the *French* nation to waste their forces in these intestine disputes; and having brought him to think in his way upon this head, a peace was concluded under his mediation, and *Herbert* once more did homage to *Rodolph* for all his lands. The *Hungarians* were so frightened by the league concluded at this interview, that they renounced their former designs, and made an irruption into *Italy* &c. *Hugo*, duke of *France*, who was in possession of most of the places taken from *Herbert*, was very unwilling to part with them, and upon this the war broke out again: but *Rodolph*, who was not a prince to be trifled with, declared roundly, that he meant the treaty should be fulfilled; upon which *Hugo* submitted, and the public tranquillity was restored; his brother *Boson*, who had seized the city of *Dijon* (such was the spirit of mutiny in those days), dying of vexation soon after. The king himself did not survive him long; for, having struggled with difficulty through a dangerous distemper in the autumn, he deceased on the 15th of *January*, in the following year, at *Auxere*, in the fourteenth year of his reign; and leaving no issue, the duchy of *Burgundy* fell to his brother *Hugh*, surnamed *the Black*^h. All writers agree that *Rodolph* was one of the most brave, generous, and prudent princes, who had reigned in that country, and who in better times would, without question, have carried the honour of the nation as high as any of his predecessors; but it was his misfortune to be continually involved in war, in which, though he was

A.D. 936;

^f GLAB. Hist. sui Temp. CORDEMOY. CHALONS.
^g AIMON, Hist. lib. v. DU TILLET. LE GENDRE. ^h FLO-
 DOARDI Chronicon. In MS. Pfalterio Emmæ Reginæ apud
 MABILLON in Diplom. lib. ii. cap. 26.

personally fortunate, the state felt the weight of every defeatⁱ (C).

The nobility of France invite Lewis IV. so named the Stranger, to return and wear the crown. AN interregnum followed on the death of *Rodolph*, in which the old intrigues were revived. *Hugo the White*, so called to distinguish him from *Hugo the Black*, duke of *Burgundy*, who had also the surname of *Grand*, from his power, and of *L'Abbé*, or *Abbot*, from his holding four or five great abbies, in conjunction with his duchy of *France*, had a powerful interest, and was besides the son of a king^k. But he was opposed by *Herbert*, count of *Vermandois*, who, though he was not able to raise himself, had yet influence enough to hinder *Hugo* from mounting the throne. At this juncture, *Atlelfstan*, king of the *West Saxons*, sent ambassadors to *William*, duke of *Normandy*, to intreat him to restore a nobleman whom he had banished to his favour, and to use his endeavours that the claim of his own, and the duchess of *France's* nephew, should not be over-looked by the great lords of *France*. *William* yielded to both requests, and applied himself vigorously to duke *Hugo*, beseeching him to consider how honourably he might gratify his ambition, by bestowing a crown, which he might find it very difficult to

ⁱ AIMON, Hist. lib. v. MEZERAY.

^k FLODOARDI

Chronicon.

(C) Some writers have confounded this *Rodolph*, king of *France* and duke of *Burgundy*, with *Rodolph*, king of *Burgundy*, who was contemporary with him, and present at the conference with *Henry*, king of *Germany*. This monarch *Rodolph* made a very great figure when he was only duke of *Burgundy*; and out of that country he drew the best part of what was necessary for the maintenance of his court, as well as most of the troops that formed his army. After the death of *Charles the Simple*, he remained in quiet possession of so much of the kingdom as had submitted to him; but in *Aquitaine* he was never owned, as appears by their dating their charters from the death of *Charles*, adding,

Christ reigning, and the king expected. Some writers speak of a former wife, which *Rodolph* had before he espoused *Emma*, the sister of duke *Hugo*; but by her he had no issue: whereas by *Emma*, or, as some call her, *Emina*, he had a son, whose name was *Lewis*, and who, with his mother, died before him, as did also his brother *Bison*, who was of the whole blood; so that he was succeeded in his hereditary estates by *Hugues le Noire*, i. e. *Hugh the Black*, who was but his half brother. This monarch died at *Auxerre*, in a manner which has been sometimes regarded as a judgment, *pediculi morbo*, but which was, it seems, a disease not very unfrequent in those days.

seize;

seize; and *Hugo*, without much delay, embraced the proposal¹. His concurrence removed all obstacles, so that the nobility appointed a deputation, at the head of which was *William* archbishop of *Sens*, to go over to the court of *Athelstan*, and invite the dowager of *Charles the Simple*, and his and her son *Lewis*, to return. These deputies having done homage to the young king, returned with him to the court of *France*; which put an end to the interregnum, when it had lasted five months^m.

LEWIS the fourth, surnamed *the Stranger*, in French *Lewis is D'Outremer*, that is, *from beyond the sea*, landed at *Boulogne*, crowned but without his mother; where he was met by *Hugo*, duke at *Laon*, of *France*, and many of the nobility, who conducted him to *Laon*, and there the ceremony of his coronation was performed with great solemnity, on the 20th of *June*, by *Airtaud*, archbishop of *Rheims*, in the presence of twenty other prelates, and most of the great lords. As the young king was but in the seventeenth year of his age, and had been bred up in *England*, it was presumed that he could not be sufficiently acquainted with public affairs to direct them without assistance; and therefore it was judged expedient to assign him a tutor; to which high employment *Hugo*, duke of *France*, was unanimously calledⁿ. By his advice the young king marched with an army into *Burgundy*, against *Hugo the Black*, the brother of his predecessor, who had seized the town of *Langres*, and sufficiently discovered an inclination to render himself independent. Upon the approach of the king the place was abandoned; and the duke of *Burgundy*, plainly perceiving that he was in no condition to resist, submitted to divide his dominions with the other *Hugo*. The king, young as he was, disliked this measure exceedingly, and declared that he would not act by the advice of duke *Hugo* any longer; which, if we consider his youth, his obligation to him for setting him on the throne, and the excessive power of that potent duke, was a very singular and brisk attempt^o. *Hugo* resigned with a good grace, reconciled himself immediately to *Herbert*, count of *Vermandois*, and put him upon taking up arms; which he did, and soon after surprised *Laon*, tho' in the hands of duke *Hugo*. The king, upon this, found it necessary to accommodate matters with his old tutor; by which public tranquility was restored. But *Lewis*, perceiving that he had

¹ AÏMON, l b. v. Chron. Breve. ^m FLODO. Chron. GORDEME. MEZERAY. ⁿ FLODO. Chron. AÏMON, lib. v. P. FAUCHET. ^o GLAB. Hist. sui tem.

little more than the title of king, invited over his mother *Egiva*; and, having formed a good party amongst the lords, resolved to emancipate himself, cost what it would; which, considering he was scarce twenty, and had already seen how great both the power and influence of *Hugo* was, must certainly appear a bold, if not a rash undertaking; more especially if we remember how slender a domain, and how little authority, this monarch really had; so that it might be truly said, there was in this dispute a great title on one side, and over-grown power on the other, the people being squeezed between both^p.

A dangerous civil war, which continues several years thro' mere lust of power.

HUGO, duke of *France*, was, beyond all controversy, one of the ablest men as well as one of the greatest lords, in *France*: he recalled the king out of policy, and very possibly might have no intention to depose him: but however he let no opportunity slip, either of curtailling that prince's power, or of augmenting his own. It was with this view that he entered into a league with the duke of *Normandy*, the count of *Vermandois*, the count of *Flanders*, and other great lords, while *Lewis* likewise formed a league of such as were well-affected to him, or were jealous of the power of duke *Hugo*. The chief of these was *Hugo the Black*, duke of *Burgundy*, *Artaud*, archbishop of *Rheims*, the count of *Poitiers*, and one or two more. Soon after, *Gilbert*, duke of *Lorraine*, quitted the malecontents; and detaching himself from *Otho*, king of *Germany*, whose sister he had married, called in the *French* monarch, who penetrated with his army as far as the *Rhine*; but *Hugo*, duke of *France*, foreseeing that, if the king remained in quiet possession of *Lorraine*, it would afford him a great accession of power, made such a diversion as obliged the king to leave his new conquests^q. Soon after, *Gilbert*, duke of *Lorraine*, being beaten by the *Germans*, fell into a river in his flight, and was drowned; upon which, in a convenient space, *Lewis* espoused his widow *Gerberg*, the sister of *Otho*, king of *Germany*, tho' she had already two children. The confederates, after amusing the king with a vain negotiation, attacked *Rheims*; and, having taken it, replaced *Hugo*, son to the count of *Vermandois*, and gave archbishop *Artaud* some abbies by way of equivalent. Being encouraged by this success, they next laid siege to *Laon*, a city strong and well fortified, where the king kept his court, and indeed almost the only place that belonged to him. *Lewis*, being well assured the place would make a good defence,

^p FLOD. Chron. AÏMON, l. v. P. DANIEL.
Hist. sui temporis. FLOD. Chron. CORDEMOY.

^q GLAB.

went into *Burgundy* to raise an army, with which he came time enough to save it; but had the misfortune to be afterwards beaten by them in battle, from whence he had much ado to escape; and retiring to prince *Charles Constantine* in *Dauphiny*, who was descended from the kings of *Provence*, he received him with great respect, and promised him all the assistance in his power[†]. In the mean time the king applied to *Stephen* the eighth, who sent a legate into the kingdom, with letters, requiring the great lords to submit themselves to the king, and put an end to the troubles with which the kingdom was distracted. *Otho*, king of *Germany*, consented to a truce for two months, and, under the mediation of *William* duke of *Normandy*, a peace was concluded; by which an end was put to this civil war[‡]. A.D. 942.

THE tranquillity of *France* was not of any long continuance; for the author of it, *William* duke of *Normandy*, being basely assassinated, by the procurement of *Arnold*, count of *Flanders*, and *Herbert*, count of *Vermandois*, dying about the same time, things wore quite a new face. *Lewis* had very just reason to dislike that family, and this led him to think of despoiling them; but besides, the children of the deceased count being very formidable, and living in strict union with each other, they were protected by *Hugo*, duke of *France*, with whom the king would not quarrel[§]. On the contrary, he was so bent on gaining him to his interest, that he not only confirmed to him, in the most solemn manner, the county of *Paris* and the duchy of *France*, but likewise bestowed upon him the other moiety of the duchy of *Burgundy*, and thereby rendered him, beyond comparison, more formidable than himself; a thing so contrary to the rules of policy, and to the disposition of the king, that historians are able to account for it no otherwise, than by supposing he made him privy to his designs, and obtained his consent to them. If this was the truth, and there is great appearance it was so, it does very little honour either to the king or the duke; for the design of *Lewis* was to deprive *Richard*, the son of duke *William*, then a child, of the country of *Normandy*. With this view he detached some of the *Norman* lords from their duty on one side, while the duke of *France* did the like on the other; and then, under pretence of correcting these disorders, he went in person into *Normandy*, and made his entry into *Rouen*, where he was received, with

[†] FLODOARDI CHRON. LUITFRANDI CHRON. AIMON, l. v.

[‡] FLODOAR. CHRON. DUD. Hist. Norm. l. iii. G. GEMET.

[§] AIMON, lib. v. •CORDEMOY, Dupleix.

all possible submission, by *Bernard* the Dane, to whose care duke *William* had committed his son ^u. The king, seeing himself punctually obeyed in all things, ventured to seize the person of the young prince, which excited a general insurrection; and the king was intimidated thereby to such a degree, that he brought out the child to the populace, and assured them he had no other intention than to breed him up as his own son. Having thus put an end to the tumult, he received the homage of *Richard* publicly, and made such professions of kindness to the child, that the *Normans* suffered him to carry their young prince to *Laon*. He had not been long there before the count of *Flanders* caused it to be insinuated to him, that, this young prince once removed, nothing could hinder his reuniting that duchy to the crown ^v. Black as it was, the king was too much inclined to this advice; of which *Osman*, who was governor to the duke, having notice, he bid the child feign himself lick; and this creating some confusion, and rendering those about him less watchful, *Osman*, in the disguise of a groom, bundled up the boy in a truss of hay, and, clapping him on his shoulder, carried him to the stables; and, having mounted him on a fleet horse, carried him to the castle of *Bernard*, count of *Senlis*, his uncle by the mother's side, who positively refused to deliver him up either to the king or to the *Normans* ^x.

*It ever-
reached by
the Nor-
mans, his
army
brought
himself
made pri-
soner.*

In this conjuncture, *Hugo*, duke of *France*, with several other great lords, interceded, on the behalf of the young prince, and laboured to engage the king to leave him in the quiet possession of his duchy. *Lewis*, on the other hand, suggested to *Hugo*, that, if he would consent to the execution of his scheme, he should have part of the spoil. This had its effect; the king, at the head of a body of troops, marched to *Rouen*, where he was received with the most profound submission, and where *Bernard* the Dane, and his associates, who had administered the government, did not appear averse to the king's project; but seemed to listen with satisfaction to his promises ^y. But duke *Hugo* entering with his forces into the country of *Bayeux*, which was to be his by the agreement, *Bernard* the Dane, and the count de *Senlis*, represented to the king, that the inhabitants of the whole duchy were willing to become his subjects, and there-

^u *FLODO. Chron. Dup. Hist. Norm. l. iii. GLAB. Hist. sui temp.*

^v *FLODO. Chron. GULIELM. GENETIC. DUD. Hist. Norm. l. iii.*

^x *GULIELM. GENETIC. FLODO. Chron. DUD. Hist. Norm.*

^y *FLODO. Chron. Dup. Hist. Norm. Chroniques de Normandie.*

by prevailed upon him to send an order to *Hugo* to retire; which he obeyed indeed, but with great discontent ^a. Soon after *Aigrol* king of *Denmark* made a descent on the coast of *Normandy*. This prince, being driven out of his own dominions, had taken shelter there in the time of duke *William*; who having generously protected him, he now acted on behalf of his son. *Bernard* pretended to act zealously for the king, till, the armies being near each other, he prevailed upon him to consent to a conference; in which being betrayed, the *French* army was suddenly attacked, and, the *Normans* joining with the invaders, were totally routed, with the loss of eighteen counts upon the spot, the king himself being taken in the pursuit, and carried prisoner to *Rouen* ^a. He reproached *Bernard* the *Dane* as the author of his misfortune; who very calmly answered, that deceivers had no right to complain of deceit; and that fulfilling the will of his dead, and being faithful to his living, master, he had nothing wherewith to reproach himself. But, complaints availing nothing, the king was forced to have recourse to intreaties ^b.

The queen *Gerberg*, in order to recover the king's liberty, applied herself first to her brother *Otho*, who absolutely refused to intermeddle, being highly displeased with his brother-in-law's conduct. Upon this she was constrained to address herself to duke *Hugo*; who not only behaved towards her with great respect, but entered very zealously into the design of procuring the king's liberty; which was effected by a treaty with the *Normans*, upon condition that the former grants of the duchy should be renewed and confirmed, not only by the king, but by all the bishops and great lords of the kingdom ^c. It was farther stipulated, that two prelates, and one of the king's children, should be given as hostages for the due performance of the treaty; and all this being punctually executed, the *Normans* delivered *Lewis* out of his captivity into the hands of the duke of *France*. But he quickly found that this was only a change of prisons; for *Hugo* kept him a full year, nor would he restore him to freedom at last, till the county and city of *Laon* were delivered up to him, as a reward for the trouble he had taken in this negotiation, which he granted to the count *de Chartres*; and thus, at the issue of this difficult and dangerous affair, the king found himself in

^a AIMON, lib. v. *Chroniques de Normandie*. GULIELM. GEMETICENS. ^a FLODO. Chron. DUD. Hist. Norm. l. ii. GULIELM. GEMETIC. ^b AIMON, lib. v. *Chroniques de Normandie*. P. FAUCHET. ^c GLAB. Hist. sui temp. *Chroniques de Normandie*. DUD. Hist. Norm.

worse circumstances than ever ^d. He had all the resentment possible against the duke, but little or no power to make that resentment be felt. He carried his complaints to *England* and to *Germany*; and having prevailed upon his brother-in-law *Otho* to consent to an interview, he offered, in case he would enter into his views, to make a free cession of all his rights to the kingdom of *Lorrain*. That prince had other reasons, tho' that was the avowed motive, for accepting of the proposition; for duke *Hugo*, having given his daughter *Emma* to *Richard* duke of *Normandy*, was become thereby formidable even to *Otho* himself; and, indeed, it was owing to the great strength of this potent lord, and to the methods he took to augment it daily, that king *Lewis* found himself in a condition to form a new alliance ^e.

The kings of Ger- *ARNOLD*, count of *Flanders*, and *Conrad*, king of *Bur-*
many and *gundy*, entered immediately into this league, and their forces,
Burgun- having joined those of the two kings, formed altogether a
dy assist very numerous and potent army; with which they threatened
Lewis a- absolute destruction to duke *Hugo* and the *Normans* ^f. The
gainst first part of the storm fell upon the city of *Rheims*; which
duke Hu- archbishop *Hugo*, son to the deceased count of *Vermandois*,
go. very gallantly defended, but at length was forced to submit, and to surrender at discretion; and upon this archbishop *Artaud* was restored. The two kings, *Otho* and *Lewis*, attempted next to reduce *Senlis*; but the place being strong, and gallantly defended, they were obliged to raise the siege ^g. They next entertained thoughts of attacking *Paris*, after ravaging all the dutchy of *France*; but the count of *Flanders* persuaded them that was impracticable, and, to gratify his private resentment, drew the confederate army into *Normandy*, under pretence of surprising *Rouen*. Finding this not to be done, they besieged it, and, what between the badness of the season, and the fatigue given them by a vigorous resistance, they were so reduced, that *Otho* called a council of his own generals, to propose the delivering up of the count of *Flanders* to the *Normans*, in order to obtain their permission to make a retreat ^h. The council rejected this proceeding, of which count *Arnold* had a hint. • Upon

^d AIMON, lib. v. GULIELM. GEMETICENS. Chroniques de Normandie. ^e FLODOARD. Chron. GULIELM. GEMETICENS. DUD. Hist. Norm. ^f AIMON, Hist. l. v. DUD. Hist. Norm. l. iii. P. FAUCHET. ^g FLODOARDI Chron. CORDEM. LE GEND. ^h Append. REG. Chron. DUPL. P. DANIEL.

this, about midnight, preceded by his baggage, his troops began to march, and the rest of the army, not having the least suspicion of it, took it for a corps of *Normans* advancing to the relief of the place; and, decamping hastily, made such a retreat as differed little from a downright flight, the *Normans* falling into and cutting off the *French* in their rear. The next year duke *Hugo* besieged *Rheims*, as the king did *Monstreuil*, both without effect; upon which followed a truce. King *Lewis* had also another interview with his brother-in-law *Otho*, on the banks of the river *Kar*, then esteemed the boundary between *France* and *Lorrain*, as it anciently was between the kingdoms of *Austrasia* and *Neustria* ¹.

A.D. 947.

THE next year there was a council held at *Verdun*, in which *Robert* archbishop of *Treves* presided, in order to determine the perplexed cause between *Hugo* and *Artaud*, each of them claiming to be archbishop of *Rheims*; where *Hugo* was condemned for contumacy. The pope, however, sent a legate into *France*, with instructions to call a general council of the bishops in that kingdom, and in *Germany*, to determine not only this, but the more important dispute between the king and duke *Hugo*. This council was accordingly held at *Ingelheim*, and the two kings, *Otho* and *Lewis*, assisted thereat in person; and in the end not only the archbishop *Hugo*, but also the count of *Chartres*, and duke *Hugo* himself, were excommunicated: the king of *Germany*, having furnished a considerable body of troops in support of the decrees of the council, took several places ². The next year the king surprised *Laon*, but was not able to take the citadel; which, at length, upon the clapping up of a peace at an interview between the duke and duke *Hugo* for that purpose, was surrendered into his hands. The king took the advantage of this short interval of peace to make a tour into *Aquitaine*, in order to receive the homage of the great lords in those quarters, and to dispose them, if possible, to a greater degree of obedience than they had hitherto shewn; but, while he was thus employed, he met with two misfortunes; the first was, that the *Hungarians* made an irruption into *Champagne*, where they committed intolerable devastations ¹; and the other was the elopement of his mother, the queen dowager *Egiva*, whom, not without reason, he had confined at *Laon*, and

But, notwithstanding this, duke Hugo compels the king to make peace.

A. D. 948.

949.

950.

¹ AIMON, lib. v. P. FAUCHET, BOULANVILLE. ² Concil. Ingelheim. apud concil. Gall. tom. iii. ¹ AIMON, lib. v. J. DE SERRES, CHALONS.

A.D.
951.

who, in his absence, making her escape, espoused, tho' she was forty-five years of age, *Herbert* count of *Troyes*, a younger son of *Herbert* count of *Vermandois*, who had held her husband and the king's father so many years in prison, and was the principal author of these confusions and troubles: neither was he less restless than his father^m.

The death
of *Lewis*,
and the
conduct of
Hugo at
that cri-
tical
juncture.

THE quarrels between the two archbishops, as well as those between the king and duke *Hugo*, were rather suspended than composed by the late hasty peace; so that they broke out again into fresh excursions. The duke, however, who saw that nothing followed from these intestine wars but common destruction, consented to leave all his claims in the hands of his consort, who was the queen's sister; and *Lewis* readily following his example, the two princesses made a stable and settled peaceⁿ. This left the king at liberty to resume the affairs of *Aquitaine*, and to take other steps for the maintenance of his authority, as well as for repressing the *Hungarians*, who had pushed their ravages as far as the country now called *Picardy*. But while he was thus employed, as he was upon the road between *Laon* and *Rheims*, and had by chance started a wolf, as he was riding in full pursuit of the beast, his horse stumbled and threw him; by which he was bruised all over in so lamentable a manner, that it proved the occasion of his death, which happened on the 15th of *October*, in the nineteenth year of his reign, and the thirty-third of his life^o (D). He was interred at *Rheims*,
in

^m FLODO. Chron. CORDELL. MEZER.
l. v. DUPL. LE GEND.

ⁿ AIMON, Hist.
^o Epitaph. Ludovici Trans-
maini. FLODOARDI Chron. AIMON, Hist. l. v.

(D) It is justly observed by the *French* historians, that the surnames of all the house of *Charlemagne*, from the decease of that emperor, were marks of contempt, this prince and his son only excepted. We may, indeed, collect from the reign of *Lewis* the fourth, that he did not want either parts or courage, tho', at the beginning of it, he certainly wanted prudence. There is a strange story concerning them, which some writers, otherwise of credit, have copied, tho' the bare re-

lation of it is sufficient to shew it fictitious, and at the same time absurd. The king, say they, pretended to have received dispatches of great importance from his uncle *Athelstan*, and, having summoned his great lords together, told them; that the king desired to consult him as to the judgment that ought to be passed on a vassal; who, having invited his lord to his own house, had betrayed him. The count of *Vermandois*, upon this, rose up and said, Such a man, without doubt, ought

in the church of St. Remy, and was much regretted by his subjects. Duke *Hugo*, whose power was greater than ever, might easily have made an advantage of this accident; but either his virtue or his politics dictated a nobler conduct, so that, as soon as he received this news, he offered his service to the queen dowager, and promised to see the crown set upon the head of her eldest son, who was then in the fourteenth year of his age^r. It is true that the late king had the

P. FLORO. Chron. P. FAUCHET. DU TILLET. DUPL. LE GENDRE.

ought to be hanged. *Leavis* cried out immediately, Thou hast pronounced sentence on thyself, and ordered him to be taken to a mountain near *Lain* (from thence, as they say, called *Mount Herbert*), where he was hanged upon a gibbet. *Flodoart* the historian, who was once his prisoner, and hated him ever, is so far from saying this, that he mentions his dying in his bed. Another historian, whose testimony is of the greatest weight, assures us, that the traitor *Herbert*, being seized with a violent sickness, was put in mind of the necessity of repentance, in order to salvation; and he thereupon cried out, There were twelve of us who conspired against *Charles*, there were twelve, there were twelve; repeating these words till he expired. *Leavis* had only one consort, *Gerbergh* of *Saxony*, daughter of *Henry* king of *Germany*, and the sister of the emperor *Otto* the first, by whom he had seven children; *Lothaire*, who succeeded him; *Carloman*, who died an hostage at *Rouen*; *Leavis*, who likewise died young; *Charles*, of whom we shall have occasion to say a great deal; *Henry*, his twin brother, who died in his cradle; *Maur*, who married *Conrade* the first, king

of *Burgundy*, by whom she had *Conrade* the second, *Rodolph* the third, *Burchard*, archbishop of *Lyons*, *Bertha*, who married the count of *Blois*, and *Gerberg*, who married the emperor *Conrade*: the youngest of this monarch's children was *Aldrade*, married to *Rainauld*, count of *Rouci*. At the time of this king's death, he had but two sons surviving, *Lothaire* and *Charles*. To the latter, contrary to the customs hitherto in use, he gave nothing in partition, either because he was in his infancy, or, which is infinite'y a stronger and better reason, because he perceived that this pernicious custom had been one of the many causes that had sunk the crown so low. But, whatever were his motives, his example was of such weight with his successors, tho' not of the same line, that they followed it steadily; so that, from his time, we meet no more with divided territories or dominions, cantoned out, like a private patrimony, to gratify the private affections of the parent, contrary to his duty as a prince, often at the expence of the family for whose sake it was done, but always at the expence of the people.

precaution to cause his son to be saluted by the regal title in one of the last assemblies he held; but this would have signified little, since he had no army to support him, no treasure sufficient to raise one, and no territory in possession comparable, in any degree, to the estates held by the duke; who was, at this time, not inferior in credit to the old mayors of the palace.

Lothaire In discharge of the promises he had made to the queen, *is crowned Hugo the Great*, as he was now commonly stiled, came to *Laon*, attended by several great lords and prelates; and, having conducted him from thence to *Rheims*, caused him to be there solemnly crowned by the archbishop *Artaud*. The king, in recompence of this service, created him duke of *Aquitaine*. This gives us some light into the distinction that is to be observed in respect to persons honoured with this title. Some, tho' but few, preserved it in right of the countries they held by descent, such as the duke of *Gascony*; but for the most part it was a title, and very often no more than a title, implying, that the person who bore it was invested with the king's authority, and was to be considered as his lieutenant in the county to which it was referred. An instance will make this plain; *Hugo*, of whom we are speaking, was count of *Paris*, and lord of many other places, in virtue of his descent; we cannot say by hereditary right, because this was hitherto contested by the crown; but he held the title of duke of *France*, and also that of duke of *Burgundy*, by royal grants; which titles the crown might at any time resume, if they were in a condition for exacting obedience. But the transactions of the succeeding year will set this matter in a yet clearer light. *Lothaire* resided, as his father had done, at *Laon*; which was at least the most considerable domain that was left to the crown, and so much the more valuable, as it was a strong place, in which they might safely reside without fear of being surprised. The king had besides some other small estates, and many royal houses scattered through his dominions, the revenues of which served to defray the expences of his court. When he had occasion for troops they were furnished him by his vassals, that is, by such as were in a humour to furnish them; for, tho' they were alike bound to this service, yet if they had any private or particular war of their own upon their hands, had entered into contrary engagements, or were not disposed to obedience, they made very light of the commands of a king,

¹ AIMON, Hist. lib. v. FLODO. Chron. Append. REGIN. Chron. P. FAUCHET. MEZERAY. P. DAN EL.

who was not in a condition to punish their contempt of them. This was the case more especially of the great lords; such as the counts of *Paris*, of *Vermandois*, of *Flanders*, and several others, who were each of them richer and more powerful than their master¹.

THE next spring *Hugo*, duke of *France*, came with a powerful army to *Laon*, in order to carry the young king in-^{Death of duke Hu-} to *Aquitaine*, to establish him in his new dignity; which go, and hitherto had been possessed by the count of *Poitiers*, who the conse- opposed him, in conjunction with many of the nobility. quences arising from the king-*Hugo* thereupon laid close siege to the place, and made him- self master of a fortress that was built to cover it; but find- ing the city made a stronger resistance than he expected, and being intimidated by a clap of thunder that broke over his tent, he thought fit, at the end of two months, to raise the siege². The count of *Poitiers* intended, with his new-raised forces, to attack him in his retreat; of which *Hugo* having intelligence, shewed his military skill in disposing his troops in order of battle, and advancing to meet him. The dispute was short and bloody; but in the end the count was beat, and made his escape with great difficulty³. The next year this great man died, who, without wearing the crown, had for the best part of his life held the supreme power in *France*, being the son, and, as it afterwards proved, the father, of a king, and brother-in-law to three kings⁴ (E). He left his

A.D. 955.

¹ LE GEND. DUPL. BOULANVIL. ² FLODO. Chron. DU TILLET. MEZERAY. ³ AIMON, l. v. P. FAUCHET. P. DANIEL. ⁴ GULIEL. GEMETICENS, lib. iv. FLODO. Chron. P. FAUCHET.

(E) The courage and conduct of duke *Hugo*, joined to his hereditary estates and illustrious descent, naturally gave him, more especially considering the times in which he lived, that extensive influence, of which the reader has seen so many instances in the text. He was the son of king *Robert*, who, while he held the inferior title of duke, is allowed to have fixed the *Normans* in *France*; for which reason the princes of that line had always a great affection for his family. He was

slain, as some assert, by the hand of *Charles the Simple*; but his son, notwithstanding, obtained the victory. This duke was likewise the nephew of *Eudes*, or *Otho*, king or regent of *France*, in the minority of *Charles the Simple*. Both these kings, *Eudes* and *Robert*, were the sons of *Robert le Fort*, count of *Anjou* and duke of *France*, under the reign of *Charles the Bald*; who, as some say, espoused his sister. Higher than this the genealogy cannot be traced with certainty. Contemporary

his eldest son *Hugh Capet* especially recommended to the care of *Richard* duke of *Normandy*, as he was then but sixteen

temporary writers, indeed, say, that this *Robert* was a man of great quality, and very noble by his birth, the lustre of which, it seems, made it unnecessary for them to be more particular; and this has plunged their successors into the greatest uncertainty. Some will have this *Robert* to have been of a *Saxon* family, and others of an *Italian*. An attempt has been made to trace his genealogy from *Clodian*, and consequently from *Pharamond*; but, with much greater probability, he is reckoned by many to have descended from *Childebrand*, the younger brother of *Charles Martel*. The truth of the matter is, that, after his son *Hugh Capet* was placed upon the throne, it was thought a point of consequence to do all possible honour to a line that, in reality, stood in no need of such inventions, as being in itself, and beyond all contradiction, sufficiently noble. For whether this duke *Hugo* did spring, or did not spring, from the brother of *Charles Martel*, or whether his grandmother was or was not the daughter of *Lewis the Debonnaire*, it is very certain, that he was, by his mother, descended from *Charlemagne*, since she was the daughter of *Herbert*, the first count of *Vermandois*, the son of *Pepin*, the son of *Bernard* king of *Italy*, who was the grandson of that monarch. He was also great in point of alliances; king *Rodolph* was his brother-in-law; the potent and restless count of *Vermandois*

married his daughter, and they were cousin germaines before by the mother's side; the counts of *Chartres* and *Angoulême* were likewise his cousins. The great influence arising from these connections he maintained and augmented by his marriages; his first consort was *Judith*, said to be the grand-daughter, by the mother's side, of *Charles the Bald*. His second was *Ethelinda*, the daughter of *Edward* the elder, and sister to *Athelstan*, king of the *West Saxons*. By neither of these had he any issue. He therefore espoused *Hadwiza*, or *Avvya*, of *Saxony*, daughter to *Henry the Fowler*, king of *Germany*, sister to the emperor *Otho the Great*, and to *Gerberg* queen of *France*. He had by her *Hugh Capet*, *Otho*, *Eudes*, and *Henry*, successively dukes of *Burgundy*, and two daughters, *Beatrice*, who espoused *Frederick* duke of the *Upper Lorraine*, and *Emma*, who became the wife of *Richard* the first, duke of *Normandy*. Nor was he less considerable in point of property; for, besides the duchy of *Burgundy*, part of which, as far as the *Saône*, he claimed by descent; he held also the duchy of *France*, which, besides the two great cities of *Paris* and *Orléans*, comprehended the counties of *Goslinois*, *Chartres*, *Perche*, *Blois*, *Tours*, *Arjou*, and *Maine*, together with the lands of *Sologne*, at least as much of them as lay in the *Orléanois*. By this means he had a great many noblemen who held immediately

teen years of age, and his other three sons were in their infancy, and under the tutelage of their mother, who was a sister to the queen dowager. This did not hinder great disputes between them, which might have been attended with untoward consequences, if it had not been for the influence of *Bruno*, archbishop of *Cologne*, brother to both these princesses, and uncle as well to the children of the duke of *France* as to the king ^x. A.D. 955.

THIS great prelate was intrusted by his brother, the emperor, with almost sovereign power in *Lorraine*; and that he might have a title suitable to his dignity, that of archduke was devised in his favour, which is the first time that we meet with any mention of this honour. It was by his influence over the children of duke *Hugo*, that the two eldest, as soon as they had attained to proper age, went to the court of *Lothaire*, and did homage for their lands; which was so acceptable to the monarch, that he bestowed on *Hugh*, the eldest, afterwards surnamed *Capet*, the title of duke of the *Franks*, which his father had enjoyed, as also the county of *Poitiers*; that is, he gave him leave to get into possession of it as soon as he could; and intitled the younger, *Henry*, duke of *Burgundy*, in hopes of attaching them to his interest. In this, perhaps, he acted wisely; but his conduct towards the duke of *Normandy* does not deserve the like commendation. *Arnold*, count of *Flanders*, and his son *Baldwin*, *Thibaut*, surnamed *the Trickster*, count of *Chartres*, and *Geoffrey*, count of *Anjou*, persuaded him to make a scandalous attempt upon the person of duke *Richard*, by inviting him to a conference, where he was to have been seized, that the king might have an opportunity of reannexing that noble province to the crown; into which snare the duke had certainly fallen, if it had not been for two knights belonging to the count of *Chartres*. They meeting him upon the road, informed him of what was intended against him, and gave him an opportunity of retiring in time; for which he was so grateful as to reward the one with his sword, and the other with the gold

^x *FLEDO. Chron. DUD. Hist. Norm. lib. iii. BOULANVILLE. AIMOY, l. v. P. FAUCHET. Chroniques de Normandie.*

of him, and not of the crown; and a few country places that so that we need not wonder served them for subsistence, had that he was capable of maintaining himself against monarchs, who, except the towns of *Laon*, *Soissons*, and *La Fère*, in reality nothing that they could, properly speaking, call their own.

chain which he wore. The king, finding the plot had miscarried, disavowed it in very high terms, summoned the duke to do him homage, and laid a new scheme for surprising him. But *Richard* took such precautions, that this also failed; and *Lothaire* and his confederates, perceiving that nothing could be done by fraud, had recourse to force, and invaded his dominions, but with no great success. In the course of the war, however, the duke of *Normandy* found himself so much pressed, that he was constrained to send for succours to *Denmark*; which brought a fleet and army of pagans into *France*, who committed most grievous ravages, which so irritated the clergy against the count *de Chartres*, who was considered as the author of these disturbances, that they threatened him with excommunication, and endeavoured to negotiate a peace with duke *Richard*, without asking the king's consent².

Peace concluded with the Normans, the king's marriage and political views.

THE count, however, was before-hand with them. He sent privately to duke *Richard*, offering to come to *Rouen* upon a safe conduct from him; which, having once obtained, he readily performed, and proposing to restore *Evreux*, which the king had taken and bestowed upon him, a peace was very speedily concluded, and not long after all points in dispute with the king were likewise adjusted; yet these treaties did not produce immediately that tranquility which might have been expected from them. The *Normans*, lately arrived from *Denmark*, formed a considerable body of troops, and had a great navy upon the coast, ready to attend their motions. They totally disapproved this conduct in duke *Richard*; affirming that they did not come into *France* purely for his service, but also for their own, and in order to carve out for themselves a settlement by force of arms. The duke made use of fair words to pacify them, and at length brought them to agree to leave behind such as were disposed to embrace the Christian religion, for whom he was in an ample manner to provide; and that the rest, before their return home, should each of them receive a considerable sum of money, in compensation of that plunder which they might otherwise have made. Thus both the kingdom and the duchy were stripped of a vast sum, in order to get rid of these troublesome invaders³.

THIS war was no sooner extinguished, than there broke out another against the young count of *Flanders*, grandson

² DUD. Hist. Norm. l. iii. GULIEL. GEMETICENS. Chroniques de Normandie. ³ FLODO. Chron. AIMON, l. v. DUD. Hist. Norm. l. iii.

to *Arnold*, from whom the king was desirous of taking a part of his lands. The duke of *France*, *Hugh Capet*, and his brethren, who were successively dukes of *Burgundy*, assisted the king powerfully in his expeditions, by which he held himself much obliged. At length, by the interposition of the duke of *Normandy*, when much blood had been shed on both sides, peace was made, and the young count of *Flanders* received all the places of which he had been spoiled ^b. The king, to strengthen himself, as well as to secure the succession, espoused *Emma*, the daughter of *Lothaire*, king of *Italy*, and gave his sister *Matilda* to *Conrade*, king of *Burgundy*, and took other steps for reviving and sustaining the house of *Charlemagne*; tho' these A.D. 970: endeavours, as we shall see hereafter, proved but ineffectual, notwithstanding that at this time his power was far superior to that which either his father or his grand-father had enjoyed, the dukes of *France* and *Burgundy* adhering as steadily to him as their ancestors had been obstinate in distressing his predecessors ^c.

THE kingdom remained in quiet, and *Lothaire*, by a prudent management of the prerogatives still left in the crown, found means to augment his own authority, and to diminish the power of the nobility, by involving them in wars with each other; and, when they were sufficiently weakened, acting as a mediator. In process of time an opportunity seemed to offer for extending this sort of policy beyond the bounds of *France*, and *Lothaire* was resolved not to let it slip ^d. The country of *Lorraine* had been long in dispute between the kings of *France* and *Germany*; the lords, who were in actual possession of this great country, were more inclined to pay their homage (and that was all they were meant to pay to any monarch), to the descendants of *Charlemagne* than to the kings of *Germany*; and since the death of the archduke *Bruno*, and of his brother the emperor *Otho*, they thought themselves much more at liberty to discover their affections than before. *Lothaire* was very willing to encourage this, as he inherited from his mother very considerable estates in that country; and, that these might the better answer his purpose, he resigned them to his brother *Charles*, who, by espousing the cause of every turbulent lord in *Lorraine*, and setting up for the protector of those who had been deprived of their estates by the archduke *Bruno*, threw *Lorraine* into

^b GULIELM. GEMFT. lib. iv. FLODO. Chron. DUD. Hist. Norm. lib. iii. ^c FLODO. Chron. GLAB. Hist. sui temp. AIMON, l. v. ^d GLAB. Hist. sui temporis. SIGEBERTI Chron. P. FAUCHET.

confusion, and paved the way for effecting what his brother desired. *Otho* the second, who had many troublesome affairs upon his hands, discerned very clearly the purposes of both the brothers; who notwithstanding had been far less formidable enemies, if, in all their attempts, they had not been abetted by *Hugh Capet*; and to make himself easy, and to disappoint them, *Otho* offered the duchy of the lower *Lorraine* to *Charles*, on no harder conditions than that of doing him homage; which he readily accepted, to the irretrievable injury of his brother's affairs; for by this the point in dispute, that is, the homage for *Lorraine*, was given up to *Otho*, and the *French* looked upon the honour of the crown to be so much affected thereby, that their indignation to *Charles* grew to such a height as could never be appeased. A circumstance which, however unreasonable, is notwithstanding very instructive.

The king makes war with success, but loses the advantage he had gained by a treaty.

A.D. 978.

LOTHAIRE, exceedingly provoked at this refined specimen of policy, by which the benefit conferred upon his brother reflected such discredit upon himself, resolved to vindicate his claim to *Lorraine* by arms. In pursuance of this project, which was equally acceptable to the nobility and the nation, he marched with a numerous army to *Metz*, the gates of which were opened on his first appearance; and, having received the homage of many of the nobility, he prosecuted his design, and marched with all possible expedition to *Aix la Chapelle*, where *Otho* kept his court in all manner of security, and where he was so near being surpris'd, that he left his dinner just as it was placed upon the table. *Lothaire* plundered the palace of all his rich moveables, spoiled all the adjacent country, and returned home. *Otho*, breathing nothing but revenge for such an affront, entered *France* in the autumn with an army of sixty thousand men, and advanced as far as the gates of *Paris*, wasting all the country before him with fire and sword. But when he came to retire, *Hugh Capet*, and *Geoffrey* count of *Anjou*, followed him with a considerable body of troops, harra'ssed his forces exceedingly, and cut off such numbers in their passing the river *Aisne*, that the stream, being choaked with dead bodies, overflowed the adjacent country. The next year *Otho* came to *Rheims*, and concluded a peace with king *Lothaire*, by which he was left in possession of *Lorraine*; but, as the

* *FLODO. Chron. Chron. NANGII. P. DANIEL.*
 l. v. *SIGEBERTI Chronicon. LE GENDRE.*
Hist. sui temporis. Chron. NANGII. CORDÉMOY.
 l. v. *SIGEBERTI Chron. DuTILLET.*

† *AIMON,*
 ‡ *GLAB.*
 § *AIMON,*

French authors say, *was* content to hold as *sief* of the crown of *France*. However that might be, this is very certain, that the *French* lords were highly displeased with this treaty, which altered the opinion they had hitherto entertained of their king, and brought them to look upon him in very near the same light they had done his brother; who, instead of embracing this opportunity, as he might have done, of retrieving the false step he had made, ran into a still greater, by attaching himself more closely than ever to the interests of *Otho*, and thereby heightening that distaste which the *French* nobility had conceived against him, that rose but too high already¹. So natural it is, when one has once trod awry, to proceed in the same road.

A.D. 980.

OTHO dying about four years after in *Italy*, *Lothaire* undertook the defence of his son, *Otho* the third, against *Henry* duke of *Bavaria*, who laboured to deprive him of the kingdom of *Germany*. This gave the *French* monarch an opportunity of making a fresh irruption into *Lorraine*, where he became master of *Verdun*; it appears also, that he made an attempt upon the city of *Cambray*, in which he miscarried, through the opposition given him by his brother *Charles*, who was in arms on the side of the *Germans*^k. This rivetted the aversion of the *French* against that prince, who otherwise had both merit and valour. As for the king, the prudence and spirit he shewed in the latter part of his reign had restored his credit in a great degree, and brought the great lords in his dominions to treat him with the respect due to their sovereign, and to acquiesce in his associating his son *Lewis* in the government. But at the time when his affairs were in the best posture, and when he was most capable of turning things to his own advantage, and to that of his family, he was unfortunately removed by death; which happened at *Rheims* on the second of *March*, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and in the thirty-second of his reign¹ (F).

986.

There

¹ ADEM. Chron. Chron. NANG. DUPL. ^k GLAB. Hist. sui temporis. CORDEM. P. DANIEL. ¹ ARMON hist. l. v. DUPL. MEZER. LE GEND. CHALONS.

(F) It is very difficult to collect the character of this king *Lothaire* from the writers of chronicles, and the old historians of *France*, as appears from the different judgments passed thereon by the moderns, after reading and reflecting on these

memoirs. *Mezeray* says of this prince, that he was brave, active, and very attentive to his affairs; adding, that, as he was a prince of great virtues he deserved to live in better times. The count de *Borlaimvilliers* says, that he was active and

war-

There were some suspicions of his being poisoned by the queen; which were countenanced by his brother *Charles* duke of *Lorraine*, who lost no opportunity of spreading reports to the prejudice of that prince's reputation. But there is a letter of the queen's yet preserved, addressed to the empress dowager, her mother, which seems to destroy this story entirely; for she therein expresses so high an esteem and so tender an affection for the person of the deceased king ^m, that it is very difficult to believe a princess of her birth could be capable of so vile an action, or that, with so much good sense as that letter shews she had, she should be so deep a dissembler.

Short reign and sad end of Lewis V. the last monarch of the line of Charles. LEWIS the fifth, upon whom some writers bestow the opprobrious name of *Faincant*, was, at the time of his father's decease, in the nineteenth year of his age, and, as the writers of those times say, committed by his father, in his last moments, to the care of *Hugh Capet*, who had served him faithfully during his whole reign. With his assistance he succeeded without any difficulty, and the nobility renewed their oaths of fidelity. His short reign was a continual scene of tumult and trouble. He quarrelled immediately with the queen dowager; and upon some difference with the archbishop of *Rheims*, who was a *Lorrainer* by birth, surprised that city, not without considerable effusion of blood: he also chased the bishop of *Laon* out of the kingdom, whom he reproached with being his mother's gallant ⁿ. That princess was supported by the *German* court, and *Otho* the third was on the very point of declaring war against the monarch of *France*, when *Beatrix*, the sister of *Hugh Capet*, and the consort of *Frederick* of *Alsace*, duke of *Upper Lor-*

^m In codice GERBERTI, epist. 75.
CORDEM. P. DANIEL.

ⁿ AIMON, lib. v.

warlike, but, at the same time, perfidious, as all the princes of that age were. In reality, what seemed to be the greatest errors in this monarch's administration, flowed from the vast disproportion between his parts and his power. His ambition was great, and his means were little. He acted however with more prudence than his father, since he kept the dukes of *France* always on his side, and had such a confidence in them,

that he went to *Paris*, and was highly feasted there. He formed great designs, and went as far as it was possible for him to go in the execution of them; but when he found this impracticable, as he frequently did, he was apt to make short turns, whence he came to be thought inconstant. He was generous, or rather profuse, for he gave like the old monarchs of his house, without reflecting on the scantiness of his revenues.

rain,

rain, interposed; and coming to pay that prince a visit at *Compiègne*, prevailed upon him to go to *Montfaucon*; where, in a conference, at which was present the queen mother, *Charles*, duke of *Lorraine*, the king's uncle, *Henry* duke of *Lorraine*, and the empress dowager, all things were for the present adjusted. It is highly probable this pacification would have been of no long continuance, if the king had lived; but it is allowed, that the queen his wife did for him what the duke of *Lorraine* charged the queen dowager with doing for his father; that is, she poisoned him, when he had reigned a year and two months (G). Some writers say, that he died on the 22d of *June*^p; but this is not certain, any more than that he bequeathed the crown to *Hugh Capet*, as a

° ADEM. Chron. P. FAUCHET. P CORDEM. MEZER.

(G) It is agreed on all hands, that this *Lewis V.* was but a weak young prince. In his father's life-time he married a lady, whose name, some say, was *Constance*, and that she was the daughter of *William*, count of *Arles*; but the best part of the *French* historians call her *Blanche*, and affirm that she was the daughter of some great lord in *Aquitaine*, which is most likely to be true. An old writer says, that king *Lothaire* created his son *Lewis*, in his life-time, king of *Aquitaine*, which it is not at all impossible might be true; at least it is certain, that *Lewis* and his new-married queen went thither, where, it is said, she left him, and returned to her family, and that upon this *Lothaire* went and brought them back. His mother, queen *Emma*, was for carrying him to the court of *Germany*, but *Lewis* did not at all relish that proposition: on the contrary, he drove out the bishop of *Laon*, who, according to common fame, was her gallant, in which the duke of *France* did not interpose, tho' that bishop had been formerly

his friend. *Charles*, duke of *Lorraine*, laboured to inflame the mind of his nephew against this princess, whom he openly charged with adultery and murder: on the other hand, the partizans of the queen-mother insinuated, that *Charles* held intrigues in the kingdom that were prejudicial to the interests of the king, and dishonourable to the royal family. Some ascribe the moderation of the duke of *France* to a secret design of transferring the crown from the head of the young king to his own; but there is nothing in his conduct, or in that of his sister, which can justify this charge. Some say that *Lewis* bequeathed his kingdom to that lord, upon condition that he married the queen. It is not impossible that both this, and the story of her poisoning him, might be contrived by *Charles* of *Lorraine*, or his friends, to render queen *Blanche* and the duke of *France* odious; but it is very certain that *Hugh Capet* did not marry her, or pretend to the crown in right of the king's designation.

person to whom he had been more obliged than to any of his own family. If we could believe him so weak a prince, this would be the more probable, since it is certain that *Hugh Capet* had almost the entire direction of affairs during his reign, and enabled him to act in the manner he did. Be that as it will; this prince was the last of the house of *Charlemagne*, whence some have fancied, that the name of *Lewis* was ominous to that family, the last emperor of that house being *Lewis* the second, the last king of *Germany* *Lewis* the third, and the last monarch of *France* *Lewis* the fifth; but these are fancies unworthy of credit, and which ought never to be mentioned with any other view than to be exposed. Besides the line did not really extinguish in him; for his uncle *Charles* duke of *Lorraine* was clearly the heir male, and as such claimed the crown of *France*, and died in struggling for it, as we shall see in the next section. This family possessed the throne between two hundred and thirty and two hundred and forty years (H).

S E C T.

(H) We find in *Mezeray* an enumeration of the causes which brought about the gradual declension, and at length the total exclusion, of the line of *Charlemagne*; and as these have been approved and copied by the count of *Boulainvilliers*, it cannot be amiss to present them to the reader's view. They are these: 1. The division of the empire into several kingdoms, which was necessarily followed by discord and civil war amongst their brethren. 2. The unreasonable affection of *Lewis le Debonnaire*, for his favourite son *Charles the Bald*. 3. The incapacity of the greatest part of these princes, there not being above four or five, amongst a great number, who had sense and courage joined together. 4. The ravages of the *Normans*, who, by desolating *France* for fourscore years together, afforded the great lords an opportunity of rendering themselves independent. 5. The many natural children of *Charlemagne*, whose descendants took

occasion from thence to turn the estates, given for their subsistence, into so many principalities. 6. The sacrileges committed by these princes, if the ecclesiastics are to be believed, in rewarding their courtiers and captains with the possessions of the church. 7. This tree not bearing good fruit, says that historian, God was pleased to remove it, in order to make way for another, infinitely finer and more fertile, which, in its duration, shall extend to latest ages, and shall spread its glory to the ends of the earth. This is a pretty bold stroke for an author, who disclaims flattery upon all occasions. But may we not add, that the principal and unavoidable cause of the fall of this house, was the too great extent of that empire, raised by the virtue and valour of *Charles the Great*? It is true, that he framed the best and most prudent scheme that could possibly be contrived for preserving his dominions to his family, by erecting different

ent

S^E C T. VI.

The Reigns of Hugh Capet, Robert, Henry I. Philip I, Lewis VI. surnamed the Fat, Lewis VII. the Young, Philip Augustus, Lewis VIII. Lewis IX. Philip the Hardy, Philip the Fair, Lewis Hutin, Philip the Long, or the Tall, and Charles the Fair.

THE character of *Hugh Capet*, and his manner of coming to the crown, appear in very different lights in the works of *French* historians. Some labour to extenuate his conduct with regard to the duke of *Lorraine*; and some, out of a zeal to what they esteem the right of succession, treat his accession to the crown as a flagrant usurpation. As we have no authority to decide, we think it imprudent to enter at all into this question, farther than to observe, that the third race of *French* kings supplanted the second, as the second did the first; and that there was a great resemblance in the temper and manners of *Hugh Capet* with those of *Pepin the Short*. It seems that *Hugh Capet* had taken his measures early and effectually, since in a few days he caused himself to be proclaimed king at *Nojon*, and was solemnly crowned at *Rheims*, by the archbishop of that see, on the third of *July*.

Accession of Hugh Capet, and means by which he attained the kingdom.

* Chron. Centulense. AIMON, I. V. LE GENDRE.

ent kingdoms, and leaving the people to the enjoyment of their own laws and customs; but Providence set this aside, in a great measure, in his life-time; and the weight proving too heavy for his son's shoulders, he was reputed a weak man, not so much through his own want of abilities, as because he was not equal to *Charlemagne*. The very form of government which he instituted, tho' perfectly wise and prudent in itself, and if not the only one, at least the best, that could be framed for so vast a dominion, made way, notwithstanding, for all the inconveniences that followed. The maxim of that emperor to make a deliberate choice, and then not to change the ministers he employed, gave the governors

of provinces an opportunity to establish family interests in them, to make such alliances, and to form such connections, as his successors had it not in their power to remove, and, from the circumstances of their affairs, found it frequently their interest to promote. Thus, by degrees, the constitution was changed, not in *France* only, but in *Germany* and *Italy*, and the rest of the countries possessed by the descendants of *Charlemagne*. When these princes were extinguished, or unable to maintain themselves, the supreme power became subject to election; and thus the new constitution became more thoroughly fixed, as appears from the state in which we find this kingdom at the extinction of the *Carlovingian* race.

It is observed that this was done without any opposition, and that nobody stirred on behalf of the late king's uncle *Charles*, the last surviving prince of the race of *Charlemagne*. In this there is nothing extraordinary, nor can any thing be concluded from it. Those who were in the interest of the new king assisted at his coronation; but there were many great lords who did not approve this measure, and for this reason did not assist at it^b, and many more because they had not time to learn the news of *Lewis's* death, much less to settle in their own minds what party they should take upon this occasion^c. As for the king, he brought more strength to the crown than he received from it, since the duchy of *France*, the counties of *Paris* and *Orléans*, were in his own hands, the rich duchy of *Burgundy* in those of his brother *Henry*, and his brother-in-law, the duke of *Normandy*, closely attached to his interest^d. Besides, the queen dowager *Emma*, if not out of regard to him, yet in hatred to *Charles*, threw what weight she had into the scale; and the interest of his own queen *Adelaide*, who was a princess of high birth and admirable qualities, added not a little to his security^e. Besides, as we observed, his competitor was very ill beloved.

A.D 987.

The duke of *Guienne* *refuses* *to acknow-* *ledge the* *new king,* *but is* *beaten and* *submits.* *CHARLES* of *Lorraine* might probably have succeeded better in his pretensions, if he had acted earlier, or if he had taken the precaution to have brought all his partizans to take arms at once; but the character of this prince was a certain slowness in all his motions, and a want of timing things properly, rather than any defect in parts or in courage. While he deliberated, therefore, on the measures he was to take, the new king was at liberty to proceed as he pleased against such lords as had refused to do him homage^f. Amongst these, one of the most considerable was *William* duke of *Guienne*, or, as some stile him, of *Aquitaine*, against whom he marched with an army, and laid siege to *Poitiers*; but being informed that the duke of *Lorraine* had, by the assistance of *Herbert* count of *Troyes*, whose daughter he married, assembled a considerable army in *Champagne*, he raised the siege, and resolved to lose no time in repassing the *Loire*, in order to watch the motions of his competitor. The duke of *Guienne*, who lay with an army near *Poitiers*, endeavoured to cut off his retreat; when the king, following the example of his grand-

^b Cod. GERBERTI, ep. 120. ADEMARI Chron. P. DANIEL.
^c Chron. Centulense. GLAB. Hist. sui temporis. SIGEBERTI Chron.
^d Chronicon Vetus. GLAB. Hist. sui temporis. SIGEBERTI Chron.
^e Chron. NANGII. DU TILLET. MEZERAY.
^f Chron. MALLIAC. ADEMARI Chron. P. DANIEL.

father, disposed his troops in order of battle, and attacked those who thought to have fallen upon his rear. The dispute was short but bloody, and the victory so clearly on the king's side, that the duke submitted^e. The king, who was a man of good temper and sagacity, as well as of great moderation, made the best use of this gleam of prosperity; and, in an assembly of the nobles, proposed the association of his son *Robert*; to which when they had consented, he caused him to be crowned with great ceremony, upon new-year's-day, at *Orleans*, by the hands of the archbishop of *Sens*, whom the late victory had brought over to his party^h. By this act, having secured the crown to his family, he never afterwards wore the royal ornaments himself, or affected any extraordinary state or magnificence, but administered public affairs with great application, and with such an appearance of modesty, justice, and piety, as recommended him highly to his subjects, and more especially to the clergy; to whom he restored all the abbeys he possessed, and the nobility followed his example.

A.D. 988.

CHARLES in the mean time besieged, and made himself master of, the city of *Laon*, and, which perhaps was more welcome to him, of the person of the queen dowager *Emma*, and of the bishop whom he had represented as her gallant. The king advanced with a numerous army, and in his turn besieged *Charles* in the city of *Laon*. The severity with which that prince treated the queen and the bishop, by committing them both to prison, had a bad effect on his affairs; for the court of *Germany* interposing on the behalf of the queen, and the prelates in favour of the bishop, without success, became his enemies. He gave himself the less pain about this, since, by a well-conducted sally, he cut off a great part of his competitor's army, and obliged him to raise the siege^k. The king thought to balance this loss by detaching from the party of *Charles* his nephew *Arnould*, the natural son of king *Lothaire*, to whom he offered the archbishoprick of *Rheims*, which was just become vacant. *Arnould* accepted it; repaired immediately to the king's camp, put in hostages, and not only swore, but subscribed an oath of fidelity, which was penned on purpose for him. Yet he was no sooner in possession of the see and city of *Rheims* than he betrayed it to *Charles*; and tho' at first he took the precaution of being made prisoner, as if he had been actually

^e ADEM. Chron. DU TILLET. MEZERAY. ^h GLAB. Hist. sui temporis. COD. GERB. epist. 107. AIMON, l. v. ⁱ SIGEB. Chron. COD. GERB. epist. 119, 120. LE GENDRE. ^k SIGEB. Chron. DU TILLET. P. DANIEL,

surprised; yet, not long after, he threw aside all disguise, and appeared at the head of his uncle's troops¹. The king, upon this, applied to the pope; who did not think fit to interfere till he saw the dispute as to the possession of the crown determined by the law of arms, that the decrees of the church might be on the side of the stronger^m. A proceeding that favoured rather of human policy than spiritual infallibility.

A.D. 989.

Laon betrayed to the king, who takes duke Charles, his archbishop, and Arnould, prisoners.

THE king, having a numerous army, disposed all things as if he intended to lay siege to *Rheims*; and *Charles*, on the other side, provided in the best manner he could for the defence of it. But the king, being informed that the bishop of *Laon*, the most plausible and artful man of his time, had obtained his liberty, and some degree of credit with *Charles*, entered into an intrigue with him, and, all things being properly concerted, began his march as if he intended to have invested *Rheims*, but turned hastily towards *Laon*, which, by the assistance of that perfidious prelate, he surprised, and made prisoner the duke of *Lorraine*, his consort, and the archbishop *Arnould*, whom he caused to be transferred to *Orleans*, where they were closely confinedⁿ. This put an end to the dispute; for all, who had hitherto adhered to *Charles*, readily submitted, and did homage to the kings *Hugh* and *Robert*^o. As for the unfortunate duke of *Lorraine*, he remained a prisoner at *Orleans* as long as he lived, together with his dukes. His son enjoyed the duchy of *Lorraine*, but died without issue male, and in him, as is generally believed, the male line of *Charlemagne* was extinct^p.

A.D. 991.

Disturbances in France occasioned by deposing Arnould, and advancing Gerbert to the see of Rome.

THE king, finding himself now firmly fixed in the throne, resolved to proceed against the archbishop *Arnould*; and with this view called a council, which assembled at an abbey not far from *Rheims*, in which the archbishop of *Sens* presided^q. The priest was produced who opened the gates of the city, and he deposed, that he did it by the archbishop's order. Notwithstanding this, the president and some of the prelates were not inclined to condemn him. The two kings, father and son, appeared in the council, for which the archbishop of *Sens* reproved them openly; asserting, that it was unbecoming princes to influence judges, where themselves were parties^r. At length *Arnould* subscribed his own con-

¹ GERBERT. apol. pro Remiensi synodo. ^m Epist. HUGO. ad Johannem papam. ⁿ SIGEBERTI Chron. DUPLEIX, MEZERAY. ^o AIMON, lib. v. DU TILLET, LE GENDRE. ^p DU TILLET, MEZERAY, LE GENDRE. ^q Hist. depos. Arnulphi. ^r Acta synodi Remiens.

fession and degradation; and upon this *Gerbert*, a very learned monk of *Rheims*, who had been tutor to the emperor *Otho* and the young king *Herbert*, was elected into the see. This, however, did not put an end to the affair; for pope *John* the fifteenth sent a legate into *France*, who held a council at *Monson*, where all was unravelled again, and in a second council, held at *Rheims*, *Gerbert* was deposed, and *Arnould* restored, merely to support the papal power; for the principal reason assigned was, that the deposition of *Arnould* was null, as being without the consent of the holy see; but, notwithstanding this decree, the king kept him prisoner as long as he lived¹, believing he might do him more mischief at liberty than he had to fear from the pope.

THE government of this monarch was exactly suited to the High situation of his affairs; he had no title to expect any thing *Capet, in* more than homage from the great lords of *France*, and it *order to* does not appear that he sought any thing more. He suffered *strengthen* them to make war upon each other, as some have suggested, *his go-* through policy; but, in reality, because it was out of his *vernment,* power to restrain them, as appears from what happened upon *acts with* his interfering when the count of *Anjou*, one of his own *mildness* vassals, besieged *Tours* in a private quarrel. He sent to require him to raise the siege; which he refused: the person, who carried the orders, asked him thereupon who made him a count? Tell your master, said he, the same who made him a king². Those who ascribe the institution of the twelve peers to him, or to his son, are mistaken (A). *Paris* became

¹ AIMON. SIGEB. CHRON. P. DANIEL.
sui temporis. DU TILLET. LE GENDRE.

² GLAB. Hist.

(A) We have said in the text, that such as refer to the reign of *Hugh Capet* the creation of peerage or peerdoms in *France* are mistaken, and we say so, because they allege no authority, and the fact is in itself false; but those who carry this institution as high as *Charlemagne* are absolutely ridiculous, and ground their notions only upon some old romances, in which such stories are the pure effects of ignorance. Yet there were

peers in the reign of *Hugh Capet*, and in that of *Charlemagne*; that is, the great officers of the crown, the governors of cities and provinces, the bishops and abbots, and, in short, all who were summoned to great courts, or parliaments, had a right to be tried in such an assembly for any crimes of which they were suspected; and, in this respect, those who tried them were their equals, or their peers. Of this we have various instances, particularly

came the seat of the government, and the capital of the monarchy, in-virtue of its being the place of his residence, and the

particularly that of *Tassilon*, duke of *Bavaria* (6). This maxim of being tried by their equals ran through their whole government; and from thence it was, that, in *Picardy*, they stiled their judges *Paris Bourgeois*. It is also true, that the successors of these peers, in the reign of *Charlemagne*, were those who attained to peerages, when they came to be dignified fiefs (7). It is commonly said, but it is not the truer for that, the new king confirmed all the great lords in their estates, and rendered them hereditary. But it appears very doubtful, whether those lords would have esteemed their titles much the better for his confirmation; very possibly not; for tho' it is uncertain whether he made them peers, it is very certain they made him king. In right of that dignity he demanded homage, which implied an obligation to the usual services; but this was no more than they had yielded to former kings; so that it does not appear he conferred, or they received, any thing (8). But that we may not seem to pull down without building up, let us assume the liberty of observing, that the origin of all titles, in almost all countries, is a subject extremely dark; that prerogatives and estates commonly follow titles, and therefore it is an easy mistake, at the distance of many ages, to sup-

pose them of equal date. We conclude from thence, that it is scarce possible to assign exactly the origin of peerages; but as for the establishment of the twelve peers of *France*, that goes no higher than the coronation of *Philip Augustus* (9). We have observed in the text, that the great lords, who held immediately of the crown, had an inferior class of nobility, who held of them, and these were peers to each other, and were stiled the peers, not of the kingdom, but of the fief to which they belonged; thus we find peers of *Champagne*, who held of the counts. In point of titles they were not very exact, since many of the vassals of counts were counts; and as for the title of baron, it was common to all nobility, or rather it implied nobility, for, taking them in gross, they were stiled the barons of *France* (1). But in process of time, when nobility multiplied, this remained a separate title to those who had none higher (2). But tho' the great lords had secular peers, who held of them, yet we do not find that they had any ecclesiastical peers, as the king had; and to put an end to this subject here, let it be observed, that as the pre-eminence of the king over his peers was stiled sovereignty, so that of the great lords over their vassals was stiled suzerainty, a

(6) *Pasquier, Fauchet, Cordemoy, Le Gendre.*

(7) *Laboureur, Fauchet, Le Gendre.* (8) *Glab. Hist. l. ii. Aimon Hist. l. v. Sigeberti Chron.*

(9) *Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 412. Favins Vignier.*

(1) *Laboureur, Favins, Le Gendre.* (2) *Pasquier, Laboureur, Le Gendre.*

the principal city of his hereditary estates. He fortified several places, under various pretences; and particularly, under colour of preventing the descents of the *Normans*, he established *Abbeville*, and made it a place of arms ^u. He conducted all things with order and circumspection, and had the singular honour of establishing a new family, and in some measure a new form of government, without any remarkable circumstances of violence, and without shedding blood. He expired on the 24th of *October*, in the year of our Lord 997, in the 57th year of his age, and in the 8th of his reign ^w, leaving his dominions in perfect quiet, and his son in the peaceable possession of the crown, by the precaution he had taken of associating him when he was very young, and shewing him to the people upon all occasions, with those ensigns of regal dignity, from the use of which he abstained. Some have suggested, that his motive to this was a revelation, that the crown should remain in his family but for a certain number of descents; and that, by this artifice, he sought to render his own and his son's reign but one ^x. A notion very suitable to a monkish chronicle, but very unlikely to occupy the attention of so wise and prudent a man. The plain reason was, he knew how to maintain his own dignity by his power, and was therefore desirous, that the ensigns of it might recommend his son to the public veneration, till he should be able to establish it on the better basis of his actions ^y. His corpse was interred rather with decency than splendour, in the church of the abbey of *St. Denis* ^z (B).

ROBERT

^u AIMON Hist. l. v. SIGEBERTI Chronicon. P. DANIEL.

^w Chronicon Besuense. GLAB. Hist. sui temp. DUPLEX,

^x LE GEND. Concil. Gall. DUPLEX. ^y Chron. Centul.

DUPLEX, LE GENDRE. ^z GLAB. Hist. sui temp. SIGEBERTI

Chron. LE GEND.

term, says a *French* lawyer, as barbarous as the superiority it expressed (3). But, barbarous as it is, it is a circumstance of importance to history, that it should be defined and known.

(B) This monarch appears on his great seal, with short hair, and a long forked beard. In his right hand he holds what

the *French* call *La main de justice*; i. e. *the hand of justice*; which is a kind of scepter, with a little ivory hand at the top; and in his left a globe; on his head a crown ornamented with flowers; the inscription thus, *Hugo Dei misericordiâ Francorum Rex* (4). His proper character was that of an able politician,

(3) *L'Oyseudes Seigneuries, &c. François, par Le Gendre.*

(4) *Histoire des moeurs & coutumes des*

Robert
accedes to

ROBERT, when he came to govern the kingdom alone, was in the twenty-seventh year of his age, and possessed, in a

who knew very well how to spread a specious colouring over the effects of his ambition, and to set proper bounds to his own greatness, by the exercise of a spirit of moderation. He fixed himself upon the throne, and entailed the crown upon his posterity by recommending himself to all ranks and conditions, by seeming to prefer their interests to his own (5). We have shewn by what means he gained the clergy, to which we may add, that he carried his piety, or appearance of piety, so high, that he converted the palace, in which he dwelt, into a church, which is that of *St. Bartholomew* at *Paris* (6). He indulged the great lords in a degree of freedom that bordered upon independency; but, by taking little or no share in their quarrels, he maintained the strength of his own territories entire, while they were daily weakening each other. As he affected great modesty in his behaviour, and great simplicity of manners, so an exact regularity was observed in his court, and his finances managed with such frugality, that his subjects were much more at ease than their neighbours (7). This conduct, which induced the nobility to think him a mild and pacific man, and to frame, in which they were not mistaken, the same notion of his son, brought about that great point of consenting to crown him in his life-time, which he left as a

secret of state to his posterity (8). As to his surname of *Capet*, it is but very indifferently explained; but undoubtedly it was what we now stile a nickname, signifying literally jolter-head, metaphorically a weak or an obstinate man. In the first of these senses it was applied to *Charles*, who is generally stiled *the Simple*, and perhaps in the latter to this prince in his youth (9). He had only one consort, *Adelaide*, who is generally said to be the daughter of *William Teste d'Etouppe*, that is *Mop-pate*, from his having white hair, count of *Pci-tiers*, and duke of *Gaienne*, or *Aquitaine*: but of this there is some reason to doubt, since the brother of this princess, supposing her so descended, was the very duke who took arms in favour of *Charles*, and whom *Hugh Capet*, in the first year of his reign, subdued (1). The writer of his son's life, who lived in those times, says expressly she was an *Italian* (2). By her he had *Robert* his successor, and three daughters, *Hadwige*, who espoused *Renier IV.* count of *Mainault*, and afterwards *Hugh*, count of *Das-bourg*; *Alice*, who married the count of *Nevers*, and *Gillette*, who became the consort of *Hugh*, lord of *Abbeville*. He had also a natural son *Goffelin*, who was afterwards archbishop of *Bourges*, and a man of learning, piety, and virtue (3).

(5) *Pasquier, Le Gendre. Boulenvilliers.*

Paris. Le Gendre.

Mezuray. P. Daniel.

P. Daniel.

(7) *Glab. Hist. sui temp.*

(9) *Aimon, Hist. lib. v.*

(2) *Helgaldus.*

(6) *P. Emil. Antiq. de*

Dupleix.

(1) *Du Tillot.*

(3) *Helgaldus, in vita Roberti Regis.*

very high degree of perfection, all the graces of body and *the throne* mind, which rendered him universally beloved. He persisted steadily in the pursuit of his father's maxims, and acted *and meets* in all public or private concern, with the greatest mildness *with great* and moderation. It must seem strange that, after all this, *trouble about his* the very first year of his reign exhibited a scene of the highest *marriage.* trouble and confusion. He had married, in his father's lifetime, *Bertha*, the sister of *Rodolph*, king of *Burgundy*, and the widow of *Eudes*, count of *Blois*, a distant relation of his father's, and to one of his children *Robert* himself had been sponsor. The pope attacked this marriage, and *Robert* used every expedient to appease him. The match was merely political, and the queen without either youth or beauty to recommend her; yet he shewed the utmost unwillingness to part with her, out of regard to his own interest. The pope was nephew to the emperor *Otho* III. and valued himself extremely on maintaining the dignity of his see. He had directed that *Arnould* should be set at liberty, and restored to his archbishoprick; the queen dowager, and the queen consort, believing that condescension in this point might render the pope more compliant in the business of his marriage, prevailed upon the king to do what his father would never have done, that is, to release *Arnould*, and place him upon the archiepiscopal throne of *Rheims*. *Gerbert*, who saw himself not only deprived of his see, but also of the episcopal character, retired to the court of his other pupil the emperor *Otho*, by whom he was presently made archbishop of *Ravenna*, and in that capacity assisted at a council held the next year at *Rome*, in which the marriage of king *Robert* with his queen *Bertha* was declared null, the prelate excommunicated who married them, and the king commanded to leave her, and to submit to seven years penance, under pain of excommunication. The king, however, persisted in keeping his wife; and, having thereby incurred the excommunication, was abandoned, not only by the prelates and nobility, but also by his menial servants, except two, who threw the remains of what was eaten by the king and queen to the dogs, and the vessels out of which they eat into the fire; the prevailing notion of those times being that they polluted those who used them. But, at length, the clamour of the people (an interdict being spread through the kingdom) compelled him to part with *Bertha*, who, notwithstanding, preserved

* GLAB. Hist. sui temp. Concil. Roman, tom. ix. P. DAMIAN, lib. ep. 15. . . . * AIMON, Hist. lib. v. P. DAMIAN, lib. ii.

the title and the state of a queen during her life, and was much regarded for her wisdom and magnanimity ^c.

The king marries a second time THE remark which some of the French historians have made, that if he had held out a little longer he might have saved his queen, since, upon the death of Gregory V. Gerbert ascended the papal throne, by the name of Sylvester II. seems to be erroneous; for, in the first place, it appears that Gerbert, while archbishop of Ravenna, subscribed next to the pope for annulling this marriage, and was thereby even with the two queens, who persuaded the king to give up his cause ^d. After he became pope, he confirmed Arnould in the see of Rheims, and shewed no great kindness to king Robert; who, finding himself without heirs, thought fit to espouse Constance, the wife of William count of Arles, a princess of exquisite beauty, and of a lively understanding, but so haughty, avaricious, and insolent, that the king hardly enjoyed a quiet hour after contracting this marriage. Eudes, the second count of Brie and Champagne, having accumulated, by descent and marriage, large estates, procured the town of Melun to be delivered to him by bribing the governor, and pretending to be in love with his wife ^e. The nobleman to whom it belonged applied himself immediately to the king for justice; for which reason the monarch went himself to the siege, and having obliged the place to surrender, hanged up the governor on the walls. He afterwards condescended to act as an umpire between this lord and his own ally the duke of Normandy, and settled a peace between them on very moderate terms, and with which both parties were exceedingly well satisfied ^f.

By the death of the duke of Burgundy, the king obtains that rich duchy. HENRY, duke of Burgundy, the king's uncle, dying without lawful issue, his territories fell, either by descent, or by will, to the king; but, before he could enter into possession, there started up two claimants. The first of these was Eudes, natural son to the deceased duke, who bequeathed him the county of Beauvois; the other was Otto-William, count of Burgundy, the son of the duchess-dowager of Burgundy, by her first husband, who pretended to be adopted by duke Henry; and the people, who were desirous of having an independent prince, shewed a great inclination to support his claim; and several great lords, but more especially Eudes, count of Champagne, encouraged and assisted him ^g. The war subsisted for several years, and there is some reason to doubt,

^c GLAB. Hist. sui temp. LE GENDRE. P. DANIEL.

^d Chronicon FLORIAN.

LIELM. GEMETICENS.

^e AIMON, Hist. lib. v.

^f SIGEBERT. Chron.

whether the king could have carried his point or not, without the assistance of the duke of *Normandy*, who led in person an army of twenty-two thousand men into *Burgundy*. *Eudes*, his nephew, compromised matters with the king, who confirmed to him what his father had given him by will; and this facilitated the reduction of the country, with which the king thought fit to invest his second son *Henry*, that he might gratify the people in their desire of having a prince of their own, and, at the same time, please the great lords, who were jealous of seeing so great a fief united to the crown. The ending of this war gave the king great satisfaction, for he loved peace, and studied to preserve it by all methods possible. His household and his court were kept in the most exact order: he assisted regularly and frequently in his robes at chapel, and at churches on the great feasts: he composed music for the choir, and some of his responses and hymns still find a place in the public offices of the *Gallican* church. In short, he was, in every respect, a most incomparable prince, except that he was too submissive as a husband, to a woman who did not understand either her duty as a wife, or her interest as a queen.¹

SHE solicited her husband to associate his son in the government, tho' he was then but in the seventeenth year of his age; and *Robert*, who had a great tenderness for his children, came into it without much difficulty, being, in a great measure, swayed by the example of his father.² Some of his ministers laboured all they could to prevent it, by representing to him, that he had not the same motives which his father had; and that the true reason which induced the queen to press it so earnestly was, that, in case of his demise, she might govern in the name of the young prince.³ The king hesitated a little upon this; but the queen bore with impatience this delay, and the king was at last forced to comply, as not knowing how to deal with a woman, who taking offence at one of his ministers who opposed her designs, caused him to be assassinated in his master's presence. The point once settled, the king proposed it in an assembly of the nobility and prelates, who, out of respect to him, consented, and prince *Hugh* was solemnly crowned, though the ministers, as far as they durst, expressed a great apprehension of the event.⁴

A.D.
1017.

¹ GLAB. Hist. sui temp.
DANIEL.
MEZERAY.

² DUPLEIX. LE GENÈRE
³ SIGEBERTI Chronicon.

⁴ AIMON, Hist. lib. v. P.
⁵ AIMON.

An insur-
rection
brought by
the young
king Hugh
which is
speedily re-
duced.

THERE happened, in different parts of the kingdom, particular wars between the great vassals of the crown, of which accounts are preserved in the histories of those provinces which were interested in them: but, as the king took little or no share in them, except against *Eudes*, count of *Champagne*, whom he would have hindered from reaping the succession of *Stephen*, count of *Troyes* and *Meaux*, but failed in it, we shall take no notice of them. Upon the report of some heresies, resembling that of the *Manichees*, the king, who was very zealous, called a council to examine into the matter, which was held at *Orleans*, where some priests were burnt alive; the king and queen, such was the religion of those times, being present. The same year the young king *Hugh* withdrew from court, with some noblemen of his own age, and was guilty of some disorders. He complained that his mother behaved towards him with insupportable arrogance, and kept him to so short an allowance, that he was unable to support his dignity. The queen was for reducing her son by force, which might have been easily done, as none of the neighbouring potentates gave him any countenance; but the king was not at all of that mind: he knew there was some foundation for his son's complaints; and having assured him of his pardon, and a proper allowance, the young man very readily returned to his duty, and never departed from it afterwards. Some say he granted him a larger measure of authority than before.

The king
refuses the
crown of
the empire
and the
kingdom of
Italy.

HENRY, king of *Germany*, had been involved in a long dispute with the count of *Flanders* and some lords of *Lorraine*, which, at length, it was agreed should be left to the arbitration of the king of *France*. In order to this, these two great princes had an interview on the banks of the *Meuse*. As all meetings of this kind are commonly perplexed with disputes about ceremonies, the interview was very near being postponed on that account, but *Henry*, who was so good a prince that he had obtained the surname of *Saint*, preferred business to forms, and passing the river early one morning, surprized king *Robert* in his apartment. After this those princes saw each other as friends, and, without any state or ceremony at all, settled the affair on which they met, to the satisfaction of all parties concerned, and parted with great regret. They had agreed to go into *Italy* together, in order to oblige pope *Boniface VIII.* to consent to certain terms, which they held it necessary to prescribe. The

* GLAB. Hist. sui temp.
† FLODOARD Chronicon.

• LE GENDRE. CHALONS;
• MEZERAY. P. DANIEL.
death

death of the pope prevented that journey, and the very next year *Henry* himself died. He was succeeded in his hereditary dominions, and the kingdom of *Germany*, by *Conrade*, duke of *Worms*, who expected likewise to be received as king of *Italy*, and to be honoured with the imperial diadem^r. To this, however, many of the princes and prelates of *Italy* were by no means inclined: they were become weary of *German* masters, and had a mind to try what market they could make in some other court; and, with this view, they sent deputies to offer the imperial crown, and the kingdom of *Italy*, to the king of *France*, for himself or for his son. But *Robert*, very wisely considering that this must of necessity involve him in a war with *Conrade*; that the *Italians* were naturally very inconstant; and that settled peace, and the most perfect esteem of all his neighbours, would be very ill exchanged for an uncertain dominion and a pompous title, he dismissed the deputies, and declined their offer. His subjects in particular, and *Europe* in general, were quickly convinced that he had formed a true notion of things; and judged right; for *William*, duke of *Guienne*, who was both a wise and a powerful prince, having accepted this proposal, the greater part of those who made it deserted him on the first appearance of *Conrade*, who, partly by address, and partly by force of arms, obtained all that he sought, and secured to himself the kingdom of *Italy*; in consequence of which pope *John XIX.* placed the imperial crown upon his head. *Robert* was indeed inclined to have taken the advantage of those disputes to recover the kingdom of *Lorraine*, or at least the homage of the princes who held it; but finding this could not be done without a war, and perceiving that by his late success *Conrade* was become very powerful, he very prudently declined it^s.

A. D.
1023.

THE year following proved unfortunate to the king, in the loss of his eldest son *Hugh*, associated with him in the sovereignty, who died in the flower of his age, and when he was become both obedient and assisting to his father^t. The king appeared very much chagrined, but the queen shewed but very little concern. *Robert*, as soon as he had recovered the free use of his thoughts, inclined to associate *Henry*, who was now become his eldest son, which his mother opposed with equal heat and obstinacy; so that it excited two factions at court; many, to gain the queen's favour, and from a persuasion that the king would yield at

The disorders in his family, and the death of king Robert.

^r MARIANUS SCOTUS.
^t GLAB. Hist. sui temp. lib. v.

^s AIMON, Hist. lib. v.

A. D.
1026.

last, declaring in behalf of the younger son *Robert* ^u. But the major part of the nobility adhering to *Henry*, and the king, contrary to expectation, remaining firm, the queen changed her battery, and persuaded him to adopt neither, in hopes, if she survived him, to place her own favourite upon the throne. The king penetrated her scheme, and therefore, without paying any deference to her counsels, associated, with the advice of his parliament, his eldest surviving son *Henry* ^w. Queen *Constance*, provoked in the highest degree, endeavoured to inflame her son *Robert*, and to embarrass him with his brother. In which, not finding him so ready as she expected, the affection she had hitherto shewn him turned into hatred, and she persecuted them both to such a degree, that they retired from court, and took up arms, not so much with an ambitious view to disturb the state, as that they might obtain some places in which they might live quiet. At length ^x, however, the flame rose so high, that the king was obliged to raise an army and march against his sons into *Burgundy*. An abbot interposed, with which the king was not at all displeased; and, having represented to him that the young princes did not mean to resist his authority, but merely to obtain a subsistence, he admitted them to his presence, and compromised things to their satisfaction, employing his forces to reduce some lords of *Burgundy*, who had taken the opportunity of these troubles to raise fortresses on their estates, which the king would not endure ^y. He left the elections of bishops, in general, free: but finding it absolutely necessary, for the safety of his government, to have a prelate he could depend on at *Langres*, he named a bishop, whom the monks thought fit to poison; upon which he appointed another, and sent his son *Henry* to see him installed: and it was while the young prince was thus employed, that the king breathed his last at *Melun*, on the 20th of *July*, when he had reigned thirty-three, and lived about threescore years ^z. There is not any monarch in the *French* history more generally or more highly commended, or on whose death the lamentations of all ranks of people were louder or more sincere. The monks spoke the sense of the whole nation, when they deplored him in these words; "We have lost a father who governed us in peace; we lived under him in security, for he did not oppress or suffer oppression; we loved him, and there was nobody whom we

^u HELGALDUS in vita Roberti Regis. ^w GLAB. Hist. sui temp. AIMON. ^x GLAB. Hist. sui temp. ^y Chron. BESUENSE. ^z GLAB. Hist. sui temp.

"feared."

"feared." He maintained his own authority amongst the nobility, by suffering them to exercise theirs ^a.

HENRY, at the time of his accession to the throne, was Henry about twenty-seven years of age, and, with all the vigour of ^{finds him-} a young man, had the sagacity and prudence of one more ^{self in} advanced in years, which secured him from having the crown shaken from his head, almost as soon as it was placed there. His mother, who mortally hated him, and who resolved ^{danger of} always to govern, had drawn a great many lords and bishops ^{losing his} to her party, whom she would have persuaded to set her ^{thru' the} son Robert upon the throne ^{malice of} ^{his mother.} ^b. At the head of this faction was the count of *Flanders*, and *Eudes*, count of *Champagne*, the author of all the troubles that *France* felt during his life. Their views, whatever they might pretend to the queen, was to get something for themselves; and *Eudes* would not so much as take up arms till he had stipulated for half the town of *Sens*. This being promised him, he marched with a numerous army; and having reduced *Sens*, *Meun*, and *Soissons*, all the rest of the places in the neighbourhood, either through fear, or the intrigues of the queen dowager, opened their gates and declared for him ^c. The king was so distressed, that, with his friends and servants, he made but the twelfth person when he retired to *Frescamp* to demand succour from *Robert*, duke of *Normandy*. He was received by that prince with all the respect possible, who assured him that the treasures and forces of his duchy were entirely at his disposal; and he kept his word; so that an army of *Normans* entered *France* on one side, while the king, when he had assembled a sufficient force, entered it on the other. *Robert*, though a mild and generous prince, burnt all the country before him, and gave no quarter to to such as fell into his hands, from whence he obtained the surname of *Robert le Diable*; but, by this extreme severity, the duke soon made them sick of the war. The king, on his side, beat the count of *Champagne* thrice, and was very near taking him prisoner ^d. At length *Foulques*, count of *Anjou*, interposed; and, by his mediation, things were compromised with the queen dowager and prince *Robert*, to whom the king gave the duchy of *Burgundy*: as to the queen, she died the next year of mere vexation ^e. The king recovered all that he had lost; compelled the counts of *Flanders* and

^a HELGALDUS. MEZERAY. ^b DANIEL. ^b Frag-
ment. Hist. Francorum. ^c Annal. Francorum. ^d GULI-
ELM. GEMETICENS, lib. vi. ^e Fragment. Hist. Franco-
rum.

Champagne to submit; and as to the lesser nobility, he punished some, and humbled all. As gloriously as the war ended for the king, it cost the crown dear; for as the success was due to *Robert of Normandy*, *Henry* added to his richy *Gisors*, *Chaumont*, *Pontoise*, and that part of the *Vexin* which yet remained to the crown ^f.

The war
of Bur-
gundy,
its causes
and consequences
in
France,
and the ad-
jacent
countries.

1033.

THE king, having now acquired the peaceable possession of his dominions, and a high reputation, thought it time to provide for the succession; and therefore contracted himself to *Matilda*, the daughter of the emperor *Conrade*, one of the worthiest princes who had worn the imperial crown since the days of *Charlemagne*; but it is doubtful whether this marriage ever took effect &. The death of *Rodolph*, king of *Burgundy*, occasioned a great war, of which it is necessary to say something, though the king took no share therein. *Eudes*, count of *Champagne*, looked upon himself as the undoubted heir of this kingdom, as being the nephew of the king by his sister *Bertha*, who, after the decease of this count's father, espoused *Robert*, duke of *France*: and it is not impossible he had succeeded, but for his own petulant temper; for insisting that the king should acknowledge him for his presumptive heir, that prince, who was despised by his subjects, and apprehended he might dethrone him, had recourse to the emperor for protection; in gratitude for which, and in consideration of his being his great nephew by another sister, he sent him, on his death-bed, the regalia of the two kingdoms of *Burgundy* and *Arles* ^h. *Eudes*, little regarding this, immediately made an irruption into the county of *Burgundy*, and, having long held a secret correspondence with some of the nobility, got possession of a great part of it, the emperor being embarrassed with a rebellion in the most remote parts of his dominions: but he quickly returned on the news of this event, and as quickly dispossessed *Eudes* of his new government. It was upon this occasion, that *Humbert*, count of *Maurienne* and *Savoy*, the counts in the country of *Switzerland*, of *La Bresse* ⁱ, *Dauphine*, and the *Lyonnois*, on the other side the *Rhone*, did homage to the emperor for their estates. *Eudes*, as soon as he had recruited his forces, attacked the country of *Lorrain*, made himself master of *Bar*, and might very probably have given the emperor much more trouble, if he had not been killed at a siege, which released that monarch from any farther

^f GULIELM. GEMETICENS, l. b. vi. DU TILLET. P. DANIEL. ^g VIFFO in vita Conradi Chron. ^h GLAB. Hist. sui temp. ⁱ Ibid.

disturbance on account of these pretensions, which might have prevailed in better hands ^k. A. D. 1036.

Eudes, at the time of his demise, left his estates to his two sons, *Thibaud*, count of *Beauvais*, *Touraine*, and *Bouvoise*, and *Stephen*, count of *Champagne*, who were exactly of their father's temper, and set out with refusing homage to king *Henry*, asserting, that the obligations between the lords and the vassal were reciprocal; and that the king having given their father no assistance in his war with the emperor, they were not obliged to own him for their lord, or to do him homage^l. But, in all probability, they had not ventured upon this, if they had not had something else in view. The king, besides *Robert*, duke of *Burgundy*, had another brother, whose name was *Eudes*, but whether elder or younger admits of some doubt; some say that he was elder than the king, and set aside for his incapacity; others, with much more probability, that he was the youngest, that his discontent arose from his not having had some establishment assigned him^m. However it was, he took arms, in conjunction with the two counts, and the war proved fatal to them all; for the king having routed their forces, took *Eudes* prisoner, and sent him to *Orleans*, where he was confined for about three years. The count of *Champagne* lost a great part of his lands, and *Thibaud* was dispossessed of *Touraine*. *Galeran*, count of *Meulan*, who was likewise embarked in this design, was attainted of felony, and his country united to the crown, which was the first instance of its kind, and shews that the constitution began now to be settled on a firmer basis ⁿ (C). *New disturbances quelled by the king, and the county of Meulan forfeited.* 1037.

THE

^k SIGEBERT. LE GENDRE.
corum. ^m DU CHESNE. LE GENDRE.
Vetus et Virundenſe.

^l Fragment. Hist. Francorum.

ⁿ Chronicon

(C) The nobility in general stood on the same foot, and held the same authority, in this as in the former reigns, paid as little submission, and put the court as often under the necessity of flattering them as ever. The wars of *Normandy* served only to shew the weakness of the reigning monarch: neither was this the only power in the realm which was singly in a condition to resist; the duke of

Burgundy and the duke of *Guienne* had the same ability, whenever prompted to it by interest or inclination. It was this engaged *Henry* to proceed, through his whole reign, with so much circumspection, and, upon certain occasions, forced him to discover how much he was awed by them. Indeed, this third race of the *French* kings were so visibly the creatures of the nobility, and came so

Henry
maintains
William
the Bas-
tard in the
possession of
Norman-
dy.

THE troubles that arose in *Normandy* next occupied the king's thought. Duke *Robert*, according to the humour that prevailed in those times, thought fit to make a pilgrimage into the *Holy Land*, having first procured his son *William*, tho' born out of wedlock, for which he was afterwards surnamed *the Bastard*, to be acknowledged his heir, recommending him to the care of *Henry* king of *France*, and *Alain* duke of *Bretagne* ^o. This did not hinder the whole country from falling into great confusion; not only the principal lords, but even those of the least consideration in the duchy, threw off almost all dependance, and committed great disorders. The duke *de Bretagne* came to appease their quarrels; and, after being very indifferently treated, returned home with a slow poison in his body, of which he died. King *Henry*, forgetting the obligations he was under to the father of the young duke, inclining to avail himself of these troubles, invaded the frontiers, burnt the town of *Argentan*, and took the castle of *Thilleres*, which he pretended had been built without his consent, and which he had therefore a right to demolish ². Soon after this disputes arose in that country about the succession; and the ministers about the person of the young duke, passing over what had happened, applied themselves to the king, representing the honour he would obtain in succouring an infant prince, in securing the affections of the *Normans*, and maintaining the same friendly intercourse with duke *William* as with his father. *Henry*, prevailed upon by these arguments, marched in person with a good army, and having joined the duke's forces, gave the malecontent lords battle at *Val de Dunes*; where, exposing himself more than was necessary, he was beaten from his horse, and very near being killed. At length, after an obstinate dispute, the malecontents were totally routed, and duke *William* to this victory stood indebted for the possession of his dominions ³.

A. D.
1046.

Grows
jealous of
him, assists
his ene-
mies, and

THE king afterwards had some disputes with *Geoffrey Martel*, count of *Anjou*, in which the duke of *Normandy* took part on his behalf: but *Henry* quickly compromised his share of the quarrel, and left the count and duke, who had

* GULIELM. GEMETICENS. GLAB. Hist. sibi temp. * DU-
PLEIX. P Fragment. Hist. Francorum. 3 GULIELM.
GEMETICENS. P. DANIEL.

so lately out of their maker's hands, that any airs of superiority and distinction would not only have been very im-
proper, but even absurd (8).

(8) *Act. sup. citat.*

great

great animosity against each other, to fight it out. This ^{creates an} was chiefly owing to a spirit of envy in that monarch, to the ^{implacable} insinuations of some of his ministers, or to the spirit of ^{pp-} quarrel licy which prevailed in those times, and which induced ^{with that} Henry to grow jealous of the increasing power of the young duke. ^{prince,}

When, therefore, new troubles broke out, and *William de Arques*, count *de Thoulouse*, who was the son of *Richard II.* by a second wife, set up his title to the dukedom, in which he was powerfully supported by his brother *Mauger*, archbishop of *Rouen*, the king favoured the malecontents at first privately, and at length invaded *Normandy* in their favour, and in order to raise the siege of the castle of *d'Arques*; in which enterprize his forces received a very severe check, and the duke triumphed over these, as he had done over his former enemies¹. A peace followed, but no sincere reconciliation, for the king retained a deep sense of the discredit he met with; and, on the other hand, the duke never forgave the assistance which *Henry* had given to those who would have dispossessed him of his dominions. In pursuance therefore of his old scheme, the king united himself with *Geoffrey Martel*; and having formed two armies, one commanded by himself in person, and the other by his brother *Eudes*, whom he had released out of prison, he once more invaded *Normandy*, but with the same ill fortune that had attended his former enterprize; since his own army was harrassed and beaten by repeated disadvantages, and that of his brother totally defeated at *Mortemer* in the *Paix de Caux*, which constrained him to make peace upon such terms as were agreeable to the duke: but the rancour between them never ceased, and was in reality the latent cause of that implacable aversion, which, for a long series of years, produced perpetual quarrels between the kings of *France* and the *Norman* princes, when possessed of the realm of *England*. A rancour equally fatal to both realms².

A. D.
1054.

THE king finding his health decay, tho' he was far from being old, judged it expedient to provide as well for the security of the kingdom, as for that of his family. He had married a second time a princess of *Russia*, by whom he had three sons; and the eldest of these, *Philip*, then about seven years of age, was, with the consent of the whole assembly, crowned by the archbishop of *Rheims*, on the feast of *Whitsunday*, with much solemnity, for many great lords assisted there in person, and others by their deputies; but there is

The king
causes his
son to be
crowned,
and soon
after dies
of poison:
1059.

¹ Fragment. de *GULIELMO Conquest.*
Malmshuriensis.

² *GULIELM.*

nothing clearer than that as yet the twelve peers of *France* did not exist ^t. There is still remaining a copy of the oath, taken by the young monarch, which is but short, and of which three-fourths regards the clergy, their privileges and immunities; at the close he promises the people, that he will employ the authority conferred upon him to the maintenance of the laws. At the same time the king declared *Baldwin*, earl of *Flanders*, tutor and guardian to the young king, in case he should die before he came of age: and this was a wise and well-timed precaution; for on the fourth of *April* following he departed this life; some writers say by taking a dose of physic, and drinking after it, contrary to the express direction of his physician; but others seem to think that the physician was not altogether innocent, but that, under the name of a medicine, he administered poison^u. He deceased in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and in the thirtieth of his reign. In his time pope *Leo IX.* came into *France*, and held a council at *Rheims*, in which several canons were made against incestuous marriages, simony, and other crimes, which, in spite of the seeming piety, or rather superstition of that age, were but too frequent; and some bishops were also deposed, not much to the king's good-liking, who had been better pleased if the pope had remained at home; and, therefore, when pope *Nicholas II.* entertained thoughts of making a like visit, the king opposed it with such firmness, that he was obliged to desist from the design^w. This monarch was of an active disposition, intrepid in time of danger, and very generous. He was desirous of maintaining and extending his authority, in which he was not unsuccessful; but his attempts to the prejudice of the duke of *Normandy* were alike fatal to his quiet, his honour, and his interest (D).

^t Concil. Franc. tom. ix. — ^u Chronicon Senonense.
^w Concil. Remense, Epist. GERVAS. Arch. Remens.

(D) *Henry* distinguished himself chiefly by his moderation, which was so much the more commendable, as it was purely the effects of his good sense, and not at all the effect of a heavy and phlegmatic constitution. This appeared particularly, when *Thibaut*, count of *Champagne*, did homage to the emperor *Henry III.* for when,

upon his complaint, this monarch received a cold; and, as he thought, a disrespectful answer, he made no scruple of replying by a challenge: and, as the emperor was a gallant prince, it produced in him a high opinion of the king's merit, and, in consequence of it, a right understanding.

KING *Philip*, at the time of his accession, was about eight Philip *cedes to the* years of age; and it might have been supposed that either his mother, or his uncle, would have been called to the regency, *throne,* and intrusted with the care of his education; but, as *under the* before observed, the king his father thought it prudent to make another choice. He knew the queen was very unfit *tution of* for such an office. She had weak parts, and strong passions; and, being a foreigner, was without respect, and had but few friends amongst the nobility. Her conduct after his demise sufficiently justified her exclusion, though she made some struggle to prevent it, but without effect; the very opposite reasons induced the king to decline placing any confidence in the duke of *Burgundy*: he was rich and powerful, too nearly allied to the young king, had great interest among the *French* lords, and besides had once set up a claim to the crown: but *Baldwin V.* surnamed *the Pious*, earl of *Flanders*, to whom he committed the care of his son, and who was his brother-in-law, had all the qualities that could recommend him to such a trust; he was brave in his person, but mild in his behaviour, and very cautious in his conduct; vigilant, but not suspicious; tender of the prerogatives of the crown, but more so of the welfare of the people; sincerely religious, and a man of strict honour *. He gave his pupil an education suitable to his rank and birth. He kept the nobility in awe, without giving any of them just cause of offence. He maintained peace by remaining always armed; and having intelligence that the people of *Aquitaine*, were disposed to revolt, he under pretence of repressing the *Saracens*, entered their country so suddenly with an army, that he prevented their design, by putting it out of their power to pursue it †. In a word, he governed with dignity and reputation, insomuch that history scarce furnishes us with an instance of a minority more quiet, and none more happy than this. An example the more memorable, as the conjuncture was extremely delicate. . .

THE only colour that count *Baldwin* gave for censure *Conquest* was in his conduct towards duke *William of Normandy*, who, of Eng- under the specious pretence of being called to the succession land, and by *Edward the Confessor*, in prejudice to *Edgar Atheling*, who its conse- quences in had a better title to the crown than his own, was preparing regard to to invade *England*. The count gave him leave, upon this the crown occasion, to raise forces throughout *France* and *Flanders*, of *France*. which, from the event, was judged impolitic. Yet the duke,

* Fragment Hist. Francorum. SIGEBERT. † Fragment.
Hist. Francorum. MEZREAY.

being his son-in-law, he could not, with a good grace, deny him; but the *French* own that there was another more powerful motive. The *Norman* was so enterprising and so fortunate, that *Baldwin* was afraid of his resentment, being justly apprehensive, that, if he had crossed him in his design, he might have entered *France* with that army which he had raised against *England*, where he succeeded more speedily, and with greater facility, than could possibly have been expected. But to balance as far as possible this increase of his power, an offensive and defensive alliance was concluded between the crowns of *France* and *Scotland*; which, though it did not prove effectual, was, notwithstanding, the only remedy that was left. Soon after this great event took place, count *Baldwin* died, and left the young king, his nephew and pupil, in the peaceable possession of his dominions, when he had attained the fifteenth year of his age, and had some able ministers about him *.

A. D.
1066.

Philip governs with no other view than to turn every occurrence to his own advantage.

THE king, as we observed, had been perfectly well educated, and was not at all deficient in point of capacity; but his mind had a wrong turn, which appeared in all his actions from first to last, though at the beginning of his reign he was as eager and active, as he was indolent and passive during the greatest part of it. *Geoffrey Martel*, count of *Anjou*, having no children of his own, left his estates to the sons of his sister; the elder, *Geoffrey*, surnamed *le Barbu*, was an honest worthy man; but the younger, *Foulques*, was of quite a different character, and from thence received the surname of *le Rechin*, which implies morose and cruel. Under pretence that he had not his full share of the succession, he made war upon his brother; and, having corrupted some of his principal officers, who betrayed him into his hands, put him into prison, where he was so ill treated, that it made a great noise, and many of the nobility, and even the king, threatened *Foulques*, in case he did not set him at liberty. He thought it more expedient to sacrifice the *Gastinois* to the king; and *Philip*, having a share in the spoils, troubled himself no farther about the unfortunate *Geoffrey* *. This in itself would be too minute a circumstance for our notice, if it did not afford us a perfect notion of this prince's character, and of that subtilty and want of sincerity which ran through his whole conduct. He had a strong propensity to interfere in all quarrels and disputes amongst his neighbours, under colour of mediating between them, or of supporting the distressed;

* GULIELM. Malmshurienfis. Fragment. Hist. Francorum.
* MEZERAY. LE GENDRE.

but,

but, in reality, he meditated only the aggrandizing his own power, and procuring either a recompence for his assistance, or a consideration for being quiet. He gave the strongest proof of this in a case where, of all others, it ought least to have appeared. His tutor *Baldwin*, earl of *Flanders*, left behind him two sons, *Baldwin*, who succeeded him in his dominions, and *Robert*, count of *Frize*. The elder made war upon the younger; but being killed in battle, *Robert* possessed himself of *Flanders*, and constrained the widow of the deceased to retire with her two sons, *Arnold* and *Baldwin*, to *Paris*, where they were received with all possible testimonies of respect, and had the strongest assurances given them of being restored to their dominions ^b. King *Philip* entered *Flanders* accordingly, with a numerous army; but, having the misfortune to be totally beaten near *St. Omers*, and the young count *Arnold* being unfortunately killed by his uncle, *Philip* soon after abandoned the widow and the orphan, who had recourse to the emperor *Henry III.* for his protection; and, in all probability, had recovered their dominions; if the monarch of *France* had not entered into the interests of count *Robert*, who, to bind him faster, engaged him to espouse *Bertha*, the daughter of the countess of *Frize*, by her first husband, which obliged count *Baldwin* to content himself with the county of *Hainault*, and to make a cession to his uncle *Robert* of his hereditary dominions ^c. This did not give the *French* any high idea of their monarch, who, though he was so unfortunate in his foreign expedition, was haughty and oppressive at home, and governed his subjects as if he had thought the regal title gave him a power to oppress; and, at the same time, took from those who felt the weight of his oppression the right of complaining, as well as of redress; and the circumstances of the times were such as permitted him to do this, without meeting with any remarkable check ^d.

A. D.
1073.

It is no great wonder that a prince of such a disposition *Engages in* should not be very careful of commerce, or pay a deep respect to the law of nations: and it appears that this was the case, since some *Italian* merchants were plundered in his dominions, and, upon their report, the then pope *Gregory VII.* took the affair very high. He made it a pretence to inquire into the general character and conduct of the king; and finding these such as they really were, he took from thence occasion to write to the duke of *Aquitaine*, exhorting him, and

^b Histoire de Fland. DUPLEIX. P. DANIEL.
ZERAY.

^c LE GENDRE.

^d ME-

the other great lords of *France* to remonstrate to the king, whom he stiles monster, wild beast, and tyrant, against his proceedings, promising to second their reproofs with the thunder of the church ^e. This did not immediately produce the effect that was intended; the great lords in *France* saw that the king was diminishing his own power, by harassing and impoverishing his subjects; and as to those vices and crimes imputed to him by the pope, they were not so innocent themselves as to desire to see such precedents introduced: and the pope having the deposition of an emperor upon his hands, had not leisure to blow the coals long enough to raise a rebellion in *France*, which was very happy for the king ^f. He was no less fortunate in his first war against *William*, surnamed *the Conqueror*, who came over from *England* with an army, in order to reduce *Hoel*, duke of *Bretagne*, who refused to acknowledge him for his lord. The first fury of his arms was spent against *Del*, to which he laid siege, and from before which he was obliged to rise, with the loss of his baggage, by a numerous army commanded by king *Philip* in person; and soon after, this quarrel being composed, a peace was concluded, which heightened the presumption of *Philip*, who thence concluded in favour of his forces and fortune ^g.

Enters into intrigues with Robert, eldest son to William, who revolts against him. THIS tranquillity did not, indeed could not, last long, considering the situation of things, and the opposite disposition of the two monarchs; for *William* was open and violent, *Philip* malicious, which however he knew well how to conceal. He held a close correspondence with *Robert*, the eldest son of *the Conqueror*, a prince as ambitious of authority as he was incapable of executing it ^h. He had been the author of all the disturbances in *Normandy*; and at length, pretending to resent a childish action in his two younger brothers, retired from court, and broke into open rebellion: *Philip* not only encouraged as he had excited this behaviour, but also gave to *Robert* the town of *Gerberoi*, in *Beauvoisins*, a place of some strength, and very well situated for the purpose of disturbing *Normandy*. King *William* followed his son thither with an army, and besieged him ⁱ, but the fortiefs, being well provided, made a good defence, and prince *Robert*, who, with all his faults, was one of the bravest men of his time, in a sally wounded and unhorsed his father, but

^e Histoire des Papes. MEZERAY. P. DANIEL. ^f Epist. GREGOR. vii. lib. ii. Ep. 5, 32, 35. ^g DU TILLET.

^h Fragment. de GULIELM. Conquestor. ⁱ ODERIC VITALIS. GULIELM. GEMETICENS.

Without knowing him, till his voice discovered who he was in his fall. *Robert* then raised him up, threw himself at his feet, and set him upon his own horse; which contributed somewhat to another peace, but never to a thorough reconciliation, the father being as little disposed to forgive as the son was to be quiet: and *Philip*, who affected upon all occasions being the mediator, was equally an enemy to both ^k.

A.D.
1081.

SOME years elapsed before things broke out again into a flame; and even then *William*, who never sought quarrels, would not have entered *France*, if the slippancy of the king's tongue had not provoked him to a reply, which made it necessary. The *English* monarch, who was a very unwieldy man, being indisposed, kept his bed for some time; upon which *Philip* said often to his courtiers, "Tho' *William* is so long lying in, I doubt, when he comes abroad, he will be as big as ever." Which being reported to that prince, he said to those about him, "It will not be long before I go abroad, and let him know that so many lights shall be carried at my churching (for the custom then was, upon such occasions, for women to carry a torch), as shall enlighten all *France*, and make him repent his jest." In execution of this threat he besieged the city of *Mantes*, ravaged the country round about, and, having taken the place, burnt it; but was so excessively heated by approaching too near the fire, that, turning his horse to retire, and finding a ditch in his way, he, in leaping it, received a confusion from the pomel of his saddle in his stomach, of which he died not long after at *Rouen*, leaving behind him three sons, who were upon the worst terms possible with each other, and consequently stood alike exposed to the efforts of their enemies ^m.

1087.

PHILIP was by this means delivered from a potent adversary, and believed, as he had reason to believe, that he had nothing to fear from *Robert*, to whom his father left the duchy of *Normandy*. His ambition, as upon other occasions, outran his prudence; he published his claim to the realm of *England*, while his brother *William* was taking possession of it; which not only frustrated his own designs, but brought *William* over with an army into *Normandy*. *Robert*, suspecting his brother *Henry* to be secretly embarked in his design, despoiled him of the *Catentin*, and then had recourse to

The king's
false con-
duct, di-
vores his
queen,
mal treats
a princess
he pre-
tended to
espouse.

^k Frag. hist. Franc. GULIELM. Malmes. ROG. HOBED.
^l GULIELM. Malmesburien. MAT. Paris. lib. ii. GULIELM.
GEMET. ^m Chroniques de Normandie, GULIELM. Malmesb.
GULIELM. GEMET. ⁿ GULIELM. Malmes. DUPL. LE
GENRE.

Philip for his assistance. The king made great professions, and entered *Normandy* with an army which might have made these good; but *William* slackened his pace by the help of money, and, by the repetition of this argument, detached him from the cause that wanted it. *Robert* was forced to consent to a peace; by which *William* kept what he had conquered, *Henry* was restored to what he had lost, and the unfortunate prince first mentioned was at the expence of all. The politics of *Philip* were right for the present, which is the rock that cunning splits on; true wisdom would have taught him to support *Robert*, and to have placed his security not in the division of the duchy of *Normandy*, but in preserving it for the lawful duke, and thereby making him his friend. This was one false step; he quickly committed another. He was grown weary of his wife, tho' he had by her two sons and a daughter. He recollected that she was related to him, tho' at a great distance; or, perhaps, his flatterers forged a pedigree to make this probable. However it was, he found churchmen to divorce him, and sent her to *Montreuil*; where, in process of time, she died of ill treatment and a broken heart. He then demanded in marriage *Emma*, the daughter of count *Roger*, brother to the duke of *Calabria*; who, consenting to it, sent over the lady richly adorned with jewels, and with a large portion in ready money. The *Italian* writers say this was done purely to deprive her of them; the *French* historians deny the intention; but, if the fact be certain, it signifies little what was the design. As to the apparent reason, why the king did not espouse her, that arose from another slip in the king's conduct; which, as it was one of the foulest, so it was also the most fatal he ever made, and the effects of which pursued him to his grave.

A.D.
1092.

Carries
away the
countess of
Anjou
from her
husband,
and pre-
tends to
marry her.

FOULQUES LE RECHIN, count of *Anjou*, whose character we mentioned before, tho' far in years, and tho' he had two wives already, having heard of *Bertrade de Montfort*, a young lady esteemed the handsomest in *France*, was bent on marrying her, and, not without some difficulty, brought it about, her family sacrificing her to their own interest. This woman, tired of an old, gouty, and surly husband, and hearing that the king had parted with his wife, privately invited him to come and see her. Upon this he framed some pre-

° GULIELM. GEN. MEZER. P. DANIEL.
de Normand. GULIELM. Malmf. P. DANIEL,
St. Denis. MALAT. hist. R. Guischart.

¶ Chroniques
1 Chron. de

tence for going to *Tours*, where the count of *Anjou* received him with all possible duty and respect; in return for which he seduced his wife to elope, and follow him to *Orleans*. He was not satisfied with the possession of this woman, but he resolved at all events to marry her, and to this end a divorce was procured between her and her husband; but when this bar was removed, none of the bishops of *France* could be prevailed on to celebrate this marriage, or even to be present at it. He contrived, however, to get it done, with some kind of solemnity, by *Eudes*, bishop of *Bayeux*, brother by the mother's side to *William the Conqueror*, in the presence of the bishop of *Senlis*, and the archbishop of *Rouen*, all *Normans*. This did not hinder pope *Urban* the second from causing the whole matter to be closely examined in a council held at *Autun*, where the king was excommunicated in case he did not part with this woman, whom he stiled his wife. Some have pretended, that his subjects were released from their obedience, and the kingdom put under an interdict; but in this there is no truth, all the effects of the excommunication were, that he did not hear divine services in public, and that he did not wear his crown or robes of state. It is true, the pope threatened to proceed further; but the king, promising to submit, obtained a stay of the censure. However, as he broke his word, the pope summoned another council at *Glernigut*, in which he was excommunicated afresh, the clergy of *France* making no manner of opposition.

A.D.
1094.

1095.

It was in this council that the first croisade was published for the recovery of the *Holy Land*; it was about this time also, or rather a little before, that *Henry* of *Burgundy* went, with other *French* lords, to the assistance of the *Spaniards* against the infidels, which procured that young prince a marriage suitable to his rank, and the county of *Portugal* in dowry with his wife; but these examples wrought nothing on the king. His brother *Hugo*, indeed, took the cross, and his friend *Robert* duke of *Normandy*; but as for *Philip*, tho' he humbled himself so far to the pope as to procure an absolution, yet wanting alike the fortitude of a prince and the true principle of a penitent; he relapsed into his former scandalous manner of living with the countess of *Anjou*, and was excommunicated a third time. His conduct, so unworthy of a

His poor
behaviour
under re-
peated ex-
communications, by
which at
last he ob-
tains ab-
solution.

* ODERIC VITAL. DUPL. MEZERAY. * GULIELM.
Malmf. P. DANIEL, LE GENDRE. * Concil. Gall. tom. x.
J. DE SERRES, MEZERAY.

A.D. 1096. prince, exposed him justly to the contempt of the people *. Too many of the nobility followed his example, and at the same time despised his authority; not only making war upon each other, but spoiling and robbing his subjects with equal impudence and impunity. All this time *Philip* was soliciting and cajoling the court of *Rome*, till at length he prevailed with pope *Paschal* to cause the whole of his affair to be reviewed in a council held at *Poitiers*, which, notwithstanding all the efforts that could be made by the populace, excited by his partizans, terminated in a new excommunication *. But notwithstanding this, the queen being dead, and the old count of *Anjou* offering, for a large sum of money, to give whatever assistance might be requisite to procure a papal dispensation for the king's marriage, he renewed his instances at *Rome*, offering at the same time to submit to whatever penance should be enjoined; and in the end, by the influence of presents and prayers, obtained absolution *.

1100.

Lewis his son, and heir apparent, associated with him in the government.

BUT tho' this quieted, in some measure, his domestic affairs, yet, in respect to his authority, it was so far from being re-established, that the nobility affected more and more a degree of independency, utterly incompatible with the respect due to him by the constitution, as it then stood. Some of them, indeed, such as *William* duke of *Aquitaine*, and even the count of *Anjou*, behaved in a very different manner; but this arose from their own notions of things, and particular connections, and not from a principle of obedience, or any awe they stood in of his power: for the lesser nobility, and even his immediate vassals, insulted him every hour, plundered his subjects, and cut off the communication between *Paris* and *Orleans*. All this did not rouse *Philip* from that idle and indolent course of life which he had led for many years, and, rather than it should, he associated his eldest son *Lewis*, or at least declared him, with the consent of his nobility, his successor *. This young prince was the very reverse of his father, active, vigilant, affable, free from the vices incident to youth, and in all respects one of the bravest and worthiest men this country ever produced. It may be the vices of the father, and the consequences of these vices, might be the best lessons to his son. He saw that, in a corrupted state, there was nothing to be done but

* ODERIC VITAL. DUPL. P. DANIEL. * Cón. Gall. tom. X. MEZERAY, BOULAN. * HUGO FLAVIN. ODER. VITAL. P. DANIEL. * SUGER. vit. Ludovici Gross, DUPL. MEZERAY.

by force; he kept therefore continually in the field, with a small body of troops about him, and these he employed against such as would not listen to the dictates of justice and equity, and even treated the laws of their country with derision. He demolished their castles, he compelled them to restitution, he forced them to abandon the estates of which they had deprived the bishops and the clergy; and he did this in so disinterested a manner, and with so indisputable a zeal for the public welfare, that, after a few victories gained, and some unavoidable instances of severity, he brought things into tolerable order, and at the same time gained the affection of the better part of the nobility, and the reverence of the people in general so absolutely, that all historians agree he saved the state from destruction, and the monarchy from being absolutely subverted^a. A service so great, that it merited a return very different from that which it met with.

BERTRADE, who now stiled herself queen of France, *His mother* saw, with infinite chagrin, the good fortune of Lewis, *her in-law first* and the universal respect that was paid him, notwithstanding that she could not but be sensible that Philip could scarce *compells him to fly to England, and then poisons him.* have preserved himself upon the throne, if Providence had not raised him up such a support. She had two sons by the king, and had the succession in view; to which she thought Lewis the only obstacle, his brother Henry being dead^a. This induced her to practise all her arts, and none of her sex had more, to strengthen her own party, and to distress and disturb the young king. He was not at all of a temper capable of returning such usage; and therefore, when he found the realm in some degree of quiet, he thought it better to retire out of the reach of the storm than to run the risk of supporting it. It was chiefly with this view that he made a voyage to England; tho' probably with some plausible pretence, since it was with the consent of king Philip, and was received by Henry with the greatest testimonies of kindness and esteem^b. He had not been long at court, before the English monarch received, by an express, a letter from king Philip, signifying, that, for certain important reasons, he should be exceedingly obliged to him if he closely confined his son, or removed him altogether out of the way. Henry, instead of executing so infamous a request, shewed the letter to Lewis, gave him his best advice, and, having loaded him

^a ODER. VITAL. SUGAR. vit. Ludovici Grossi. ^a ODER. VITAL. DUPLÉIX, MEZERAY. ^b MEZERAY, LE GEND. P. DANIEL.

with presents, sent him home with all the marks of honour and regard possible. At his return, *Lewis* demanded justice for this attempt; at which the king appeared much amazed, as having in reality no concern in it^c. But *Bertrade*, whose fear was now as strong as her ambition, thinking there was no time to be lost, no means to be left untried, procured poison to be given him; which wrought so violently, that the ablest physicians thought it impossible to save him. A stranger, however, undertook the cure, and succeeded in it, only a paleness remained in his countenance during life, notwithstanding that he grew afterwards so corpulent as to be surnamed *the Gros*^d.

Is constrained to submit, and throws herself up on his mercy, which succeeds

UPON this new and flagrant act of violence, *Lewis* was on the point of coming to extremities, and of having recourse to the same methods for obtaining justice in his own cause; which he had so often employed to procure it for others. But the king, unable to part with *Bertrade*, and as unable to protect her, had recourse to the pity of his son, to whom he obliged her to make the most humble submissions; and it was upon this occasion that she shewed the utmost extent of her address, insomuch that it still remains undecided, whether she feigned or felt that penitence by which she totally disarmed *Lewis* of his resentment^e. We may the less wonder at this, since we are informed, that she had such an absolute command over the morose *Foulques* of *Rechin*, that he passed whole days at her feet like her slave; and it is certain, that he entertained the king and her at *Angiers* with all the pomp and magnificence possible, and waited on them in person at table. After this reconciliation, she shewed, upon all occasions, the most profound respect for *Lewis*, acknowledged that he merited the crown he had saved, and placed all hopes in providing for the safety and subsistence of her children in recommending them to his favour^f.

The death of king Philip, and the circumstances of his family.

WE meet with nothing after this, that can be stiled memorable, in the reign of king *Philip*, neither does it clearly appear whether, with all his submissions to the see of *Rome*, by which he disgraced himself so much in the eyes of strangers and of his own subjects, he obtained a full confirmation of his marriage; that is, such a confirmation as the pontiffs assumed to themselves a power of giving. It is, however, generally speaking, held probable that he did;

^c ODER VITAI. DULÉIX, LE GEND. ^d DU TILLET, DUPLEIX. MEZERRAY. ^e CHICH. Andegay. DUPLEIX, LE GEND. ^f Chron. Malleac. DU TILLET, DUPLEIX.

Since, towards the close of his reign, the historians give her the title of queen, and speak of her children as rendered capable of the succession ⁸. Yet *Mezeray* suspects this, and says with great freedom, that the bishops of *France* flattered the king's infamous adultery, by bestowing on it the honourable title of marriage ^h. But, however this might be, he remained as much attached to her as ever to the last hour of his life. He died at *Melun*, on the 29th of *July*, in the 50th year of his reign, reckoning from his coronation in his father's life-time, and in the 47th from the decease of that prince ⁱ. There were many great actions performed by the *French* nation while he sat upon the throne, tho' there was little done by him; but as these actions must be treated of in other places, it would have been to no purpose to distract the thread of our narration by short and imperfect accounts of them, merely because they fell within this period of time (E).

LEWIS

A D.
1108.

⁸ GULIEL. Malmf. DUPLEIX, P. DANIEL. ^h DU TIL-
LET, MEZERAY, P. DANIEL. ⁱ Epitaph. Philippi,
GULIELM. Malmf. LE GENDRE.

(E) *Philip*, tho' he had few virtues, had many good qualities; he was courteous, generous, and compassionate, to persons in distress; which rendered him easy in private life, and in a great measure abated that hatred, which otherwise would have been excited by his vices (6). In his time it became a custom for the great officers of state to witness charters and other instruments of a public nature. Under his reign began the religious orders of the *chartreux*, *cisterciens*, and canons regular, of *St. Augustine*. He took advantage of the first crusade to unite to the dominions of the crown the county of *Bourges*, sold to him by its lord to raise money for his equipage. The great indolence

of his temper promoted that expedition, which a prince of a higher spirit would, perhaps, have prevented, and under an active king the great lords of *France* would have been less forward (7). His ancestors had done much towards reforming the morals of the people; in his time they became very corrupt, which was owing to several causes, but chiefly to his own bad example, and the luxury of his court, the restraining priests from marriage by a decree of the council of *Troyes*, and by the effects of the crusade. By his queen *Bertha*, who died of a broken heart at *Montreuil*, he had his successor *Lewis*, *Henry*, who died young, and *Constantia*, who married first *Hugues*, count of

(6) Epitaph. Philippi, P. Æmilii, *Annal. Francorum*, Du Chesne, tom. iv.
(7) Albert. Aquens, tom. i, p. 224. *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 35. Gulielm. Malmf.

Lewis
VI. suc-
ceeds to
his fa-
ther's
throne,
and meets
with dif-
ficulties at
the en-
trance of
his reign.

LEWIS the sixth, called by the old historians *Lewis Thibaut*, and, from his size in the latter part of his reign, surnamed *Lewis the Gross*, assumed the sole administration of affairs on the demise of his father, when he was entering the 30th year of his age. The first thing he thought necessary was his coronation, notwithstanding, as most writers say, he had been actually crowned in the life-time of his father, and in this he met with some difficulty^k. There was at this time a schism in the church of *Rheims*; and therefore, by the advice of the bishop of *Chartres*, who was one of the most respectable prelates in *France*, the king caused himself to be crowned at *Orleans* by the bishop of that city. This, being done with great solemnity, might probably add some weight to his authority; but it was very far from procuring him that tranquility which he expected. This disturbance did not arise from the great lords, who had an affection for his person, and had not the least cause to be jealous of his power, but from the insolence of his immediate vassals, who, justly apprehending that he would put an end to those exorbitancies which they had hitherto committed with impunity, confederated together to give him all the trouble in their power. In order to conceive this, and without a clear conception of it what we have to say will be unintelligible, it is requisite to observe, that the domain, that is, the territory actually in possession of the king, consisted only of *Paris*, *Orleans*, *Etampes*, *Compiègne*, *Melun*, *Beaugency*, and a few other places of less consideration!. Amongst the lords then in arms the principal were the lords of *Corbeil* and *Mante du*

^k SUGER. vit. Ludovici Grossi, MEZERAY, LE GENDRE.
^l Chron. Scaqnse, DU TILLET, P. DANIEL.

Troyes, and, being divorced from him, on pretence of consanguinity, *Baumont* prince of *Antioch*. His children by the famous *Bertrade*, who is said to have died a penitent, were *Philip* count of *Manté*, whose estates were confiscated for rebellion, and who died without issue, *Florence*, who left only a daughter, and *Cecilia*, who was twice married, first to *Tancred*

prince of *Antioch*, and next to *Pons de Toulouse*, count of *Tri-poli* (8). *Philip*, by his own desire, was buried at *Fleury*, which is the same monastery now known by the name of *St. Benet* on the *Loire*. He reigned longer than any of his predecessors except *Clotaire*, and than any of his successors except *Lewis* the fourteenth (9).

(8) Du Tillet, St. Marthe, J. de Serres, Dupin, Chabons, R. Damiel, Le Gendrez, Hancault, Boulanwilliers.

(9) Mezeray,

Puifet in *Beauce*, *de Couci*, *de Montfort*, *de Montlherre*, *de Rochefort*, &c. Their fiefs lay so intermixed with the king's domain as put it out of his power to assemble, on any occasion, the whole of the little force he had, gave them the most favourable opportunities of making diversions, when any of them were attacked, and in short embroiled him in such a manner, that, tho' he had the lofty title of king of *France*, he had scarce the strength of a duke of *Burgundy*. Of this a more flagrant instance cannot be given, than his being obliged thrice to besiege the little castle of *Puifet*. The first time he was disappointed for want of provisions; at the second he was beaten by the confederates, and forced to raise the siege; but at last he became master of, and demolished, it. He treated in the same manner other fortresses, as soon as he reduced them; but what he chiefly relied on was the laws, with the execution of which he charged himself by force of arms; and, acting in this matter with an impartial spirit of justice, he gained the respect of the clergy, and the love of the common people, whom he protected upon all occasions, not only against the oppressions of their lords, but also the officers of his crown and army, according to his own excellent maxim, that a king ought to have no favourites but his people.

It was not till he had reduced most of these malecontents, *Find a* of whom he left very few in a capacity to give him farther *very for-* trouble, that he began to take notice of his capital enemy, *midable* without whose encouragement those lords durst not have *enemy in* stirred, and but for whose assistance they must have been *Henry I.* quickly subdued: this was *Henry* king of *England*, one of *king of* the ablest, and at the same time one of the most ambitious, *England:* princes of that age; who, while he held a fair correspondence, and professed the utmost kindness and friendship for the two kings *Philip* and *Lewis*, held nevertheless a close correspondence with the malecontents, and encouraged them so remain in arms to the very last, that he might have nothing to fear for his duchy of *Normandy*; and that, by warring and harassing each other, their strength might be so far reduced, as to afford him an opportunity of making certain acquisitions, upon which he had set his eyes, to these his favourite dominions. The point upon which *Lewis* demanded satisfaction, was the demolition of *Gisors* on the *Epte*, which had been stipulated by treaty; but which, by various pretences, *Henry* had hitherto eluded. When their armies were on the

^m Fragment. Hist. Francorum, DUPLEIX, J. DE SERRES.

ⁿ ODER. VITAL, SUGER. vit. Ludovici Grossi, LE GEND.

point of coming to a battle, *Lewis* proposed an accommodation; and, when this failed, offered to decide the dispute by a single combat; at which *Henry* smiled, and said, that he could but keep the place if he was victorious, which was already in his hands without fighting; so that the king of *France* staked his life against a place of importance, whereas he was to stake his life and that too against nothing°. A battle ensued, in which the *Normans* were beat, and not long after a peace was concluded, and *William* the only son of *Henry* did homage to king *Lewis* for the duchy of *Normandy*; which the king his father constantly refused to do, as thinking it inconsistent with the dignity of a crowned head, or rather of so potent a prince.

His vassals give him fresh trouble, and oblige him to remain almost always in the field.

THIS war was scarce ended, before the king found himself again involved in fresh broils with his vassals, against whom he was continually fighting battles, with various success, and very frequently at the great hazard of his life°. It may seem strange that a king of *France*, able to lead numerous armies into the field, and maintain them against the *English* monarch in *Normandy*, should not be able to crush the little lords in his own dominions, whose own insolence was the sole ground of their quarrel, and the single object they had in view plundering the poor people°. But this difficulty will be solved, by observing, that, in his wars with *Henry*, *Lewis* was assisted by the great vassals of the crown, particularly by *Robert* count of *Flanders*; who with their forces served at their own expence, not only because it was their duty, but because they were as jealous of the power of *Henry* as *Lewis* himself: but, in the wars against his own vassals, they took no share at all, or, if they did, it was by way of confederacy with the king, and then the opposing party had their confederates likewise. This also accounts for the encouragement given by kings to those repeated expeditions into the *Holy Land*, which depopulated their dominions, and deprived them of their subjects, but delivered them at the same time from those mutinous noblemen, who, if they had not been thus fighting abroad, would have been continually embarked in rebellions at home°.

A. D.
1110.

The methods used by the kings

THE count *de Blois*, likewise styled count of *Champagne*, who was nephew to the king of *England*, quickly revived the war between the two kings, tho' it was carried on in his name; and *Lewis*, to shew that he could negotiate

* SUGER. vit. Ludovici Grossi, & al.
Malmshuriensis. † Chron. Senons.
Ludovici Grossi, ‡ GULIELM. Malmshuriensis, DUPLEX.

¶ GULIELM.
† SUGER. vita

as well as fight, drew in *Foulques* count of *Anjou*, the son *Lewis* and of *Foulques le Resbitt* and *Bertrade*, to refuse homage to *Henry* to *Henry* for the county of *Maine*, which he had acquired by *strengthen* marriage; but this war did not turn at all to his advantage, *their re-* since his army was not only totally defeated by that of the *spective* count of *Blois*, but also the gallant earl of *Flanders* trampled to death. Soon after the king of *England* arrived in *Normandy*, and having got *Robert de Belesme*, one of the lords who revolted from him, into his hands, sent him to prison, from whence he was discharged only by death, and so frightened the rest of the malecontents, that they speedily submitted; and, the two kings meeting at *Gisors*, a peace was concluded, entirely to the king of *England's* honour and interest, to whom not only the count of *Anjou* did homage for the county of *Maine*, but also *Alain* the third for his duchy of *Bretagne*; and, what strengthened him still more, he married one of his daughters to *Conan*, the son of that duke, the other being already married to the emperor *Henry* the fifth, and at the same time his son *William* espoused the daughter and heiress of the count of *Anjou*. The king, after this peace, thinking it high time to settle himself, and to secure the succession, espoused *Alix* or *Adelaide*, the daughter of *Humbert*, count of *Maurienne*, or of *Savoy*, for whom he had a strong and lasting affection during his whole life. This marriage did not, indeed, add any immediate strength to the king; but the new queen rendered herself so acceptable to the nobility, and acted on all occasions with so much wisdom and discretion, as proved of great use to *Lewis* during the remaining part of his reign.

A. D.
1113.

THE misfortunes of the last war chagrined this monarch *A new war, in which Henry is again victorious, and forces Lewis to make peace on his own terms.* exceedingly, and therefore he readily listened to the intercession of a young prince; who, after traversing several other courts, tho' a perfect youth, came at last to take shelter in his. This was *William*, the son of *Robert* duke of *Normandy*, and grandson of the conqueror, who earnestly pressed him to intercede for his father's liberty, and for the restitution of the duchy of *Normandy*, which he claimed as his right. The king advised him to form as strong a party as he could in *Normandy*; to engage the counts of *Flanders* and *Anjou* in his interest; and that, whenever they were ready to act, he should not find him backward. In this *William* succeeded to his wish; and, when all things were perfectly ripe, he signified to *Henry* his desire that an end

* SUGER. vita Ludovici Grossi, MEZERAY. * GULIELM. Malmisburiensis. * SUGER. vita Ludovici Grossi.

might be put to duke Robert's imprisonment *. This being peremptorily refused, the king and the earl of Flanders entered *Normandy*; upon which the nobility began everywhere to rise, and proclaimed *William* their duke. In his whole reign *Henry* was never so much embarrassed; a conspiracy broke out in his court, which alarmed him more than all the rest. The earl of *Flanders* advanced to the very gates of *Rouen*, and burnt the suburbs; some places of strength were taken, others revolted, and his affairs fell very low; yet he made no overtures of peace. On the contrary, he disputed every inch of ground, brought over forces from *England*, and kept his fortified places well garrisoned and well supplied, till the duke of *Bretagne* and the earl of *Champaigne* marched to his assistance †. *Lewis*, with his victorious army, acted with great vigour, and marching to reduce *Nejon*, were surprised to find *Henry* in their way ready to give them battle; the action was very brisk, tho' not very bloody; the kings were respectively very near being killed or taken; but at length, through the military skill of *Henry*, *Lewis* was totally defeated, and forced to fly on foot, and with much difficulty arrived at *Andely* ‡. Soon after pope *Calixtus* the second held a great council at *Rheims*, at which king *Lewis* assisted in person, where he made great complaints of *Henry*; upon which the pontif undertook to mediate a peace between them: for which purpose he went to *Gijers*, where he conferred with the king of *England* about his own affairs, as well as those of *Lewis*; but found him equally firm as to both. This pontif had, in the council, excommunicated the emperor *Henry* the fifth, on the subject of investitures, and threatened the *English* king with the same treatment; but to no purpose. Besides, *Henry* had bought the count of *Anjou*, *Baldwin* earl of *Flanders* was dead of the wound he received in the last battle, and most of the *Norman* lords were either ruined or reduced; so that *Lewis* was once more obliged to make peace with him upon his own terms. The joy of *Henry*, however, was quickly qualified by the loss of his two sons, and a great number of his nobility, who were ship-wrecked in their passage to *England*, thro' their own ill-conduct, and the drunkenness of the seamen §.

A.D.
1120.

A war
with the

THE king of *France*, considering that *Henry* had now no issue male remaining, supplied duke *William*, the son of

* DU CRENEC, DUPLEIX, LE GENDRE. † HEN. HUNTINGDON. ‡ DU CRENEC. § ROGER HOWDEN.

Robert.

Robert, with large sums of money, and enabled him there-^{emperor,} by to renew his intrigues with the nobility of *Normandy*; in which who, looking upon him as the last heir of their ancient ^{Lewis} dukes, notwithstanding all they had suffered, had a very brings a strong affection for him. The count of *Anjou*, seeing his prodigious daughter a widow, and without children, by the death of army into prince *William* of *England*, gave his second daughter *Sybilla* the field. to that young prince, with the county of *Maine*^b. *Charles* of *Denmark*, who had succeeded his cousin *Baldwin* in the earldom of *Flanders*, embarked likewise in this design, and the confederacy grew so strong, that at length they made but little doubt of carrying their point; but the prudent and fortunate *Henry* disappointed them once more. He had espoused the cousin of the pope, and by that means gained him so much to his interest, that, upon exhibiting the pedigrees of duke *William* and the daughter of the count of *Anjou*, their marriage was declared null, and that unfortunate prince left once more without any other support than his merit and birth; and coming in person into *Normandy*, before things were settled, he seized some of the malecontents, cajoled others, and defeated the rest^c. It remained to complete his revenge to humble the king of *France*, and with this view he excited the emperor *Henry* the fifth, who quickly assembled all the power of *Germany*; giving out, that he would burn the city of *Rheims* to the ground, in resentment of the excommunication pronounced against him in the council held there. *Lewis* took advantage of this declaration, and summoned all the vassals of the crown to send their forces to *Amiens* at a short day, when it clearly appeared how different a thing it was to attack the kingdom and the king of *France*; for when *Lewis* put himself at the head of the army, it consisted of two hundred thousand men, and, on their beginning to march, the emperor abandoned his design; and, dismissing the army he had raised in *Lorraine*, retired into the heart of his own dominions^d. The king, A.D. 1124 willing to make use of so irresistible a force, would have led them immediately into *Normandy*; in order to establish duke *William*, to whom he had given another wife, with a considerable territory, on the frontiers of that duchy. His great vassals, however, told him plainly, that they would do no such thing; for that they assembled to defend the territories of *France* from the invasion of a foreign prince, and not to extend his power by destroying that balance which

^b ODER. VITAL. DUPLIX, P. DANIEL.
HUNTINGDON.

^d SUGER. VITA LUDOVICI-GROSSI.

^c HEN.

arose from the king of *England's* possessing *Normandy*, which they looked upon as necessary to their safety^e. On this occasion we first hear of the oriflame, which was, properly speaking, the banner of the abbey of *St. Denis*, being a crimson flag fixed to a gilt lance, from whence it derived its name; and from its being borne, on this occasion, before the king, came in after-times to be considered as the royal standard of *France*. At this time, however, every abby had its standard, and some lord who was its advoyer, or protector, who commanded their tenants and men of war, whenever, according to the strange custom of that age, they happened to have any quarrel with their neighbours, which they were inclined to decide, as all points of controversy were then decided, by the law of arms^f.

William,
the son of
Robert
duke of
Norman-
dy, de-
clared
count of
Flanders,
and killed
there.

THE drawing together this amazing force inclined, and the death of the emperor, which happened soon after, made it necessary for, the king of *England* to conclude a peace, to which king *Lewis* was not at all averse; so that it was quickly settled upon easy and equal terms, and, which is somewhat extraordinary, was much better observed than any treaty between these two princes had hitherto been; and yet, under pretence of assisting their allies, these monarchs, from time to time, gave the world sufficiently to understand they were far from being reconciled. *Charles* earl of *Flanders*, being assassinated by some discontented subjects, *Lewis* entered that country with a small army; and, having surprised the offenders, punished them as they deserved. After this the question was, how to dispose of the dignity, to which there were many pretenders, and amongst them *Baldwin* earl of *Mons*, whose grandfather had been deprived of the earldom by *Robert* count of *Frize*, and *Thierry* count of *Alsace*, who was sister's son to that count of *Frize*^g. The king set them all aside to make way for *William*, the son of *Robert* duke of *Normandy*, which answered two purposes; it gave the king a right to resume what he had bestowed upon this prince, till he could obtain for him some establishment, and it put it much more in his power to support his claim to his father's duchy than hitherto it had ever been. *Henry*, on the other hand, resolving at any rate to gain the count of *Anjou*, married his only daughter, the empress dowager, to *Geoffrey Plantagenet*, the son of that count, tho' a boy; and not long after the count himself, partly as the king's persuasion, and partly from ambition, went into the

^e SUGER, MEZERAY, P. DANIEL.

^f RISORD, Du

CANGE, GALAND.

^g SUG. vita. Ludovici Grossi.

Holy Land, to receive the crown of *Jerusalem*^b. Having thus secured himself from all apprehensions on that side, he directed his old ally, the earl of *Champagne*, to support *Thierry* of *Alsace* against his nephew count *William*, in which contest, however, that young prince had the better; but, receiving a wound in the hand, a gangrene seized the arm, of which he died. This gave his competitor an opportunity to make himself master of *Flanders*; upon which the king received his homage; which prevented *Henry*, who waited all this time in *Normandy* to see what turn the war would take, from breaking openly with *France*. A thing which he studiously avoided, unless secure of some advantage¹.

A.D.
1128.

As peace was now restored, the king thought it expedient to place the crown upon the head of his eldest son *Philip*; which was accordingly done, with all the usual solemnities, at *Rheims*. This being over, he thought himself more at leisure to correct many inconveniencies which had gradually crept into different parts of the kingdom, and which, in those times, could be done no other way than by force; and if, in these his good endeavours, he met with opposition from some of the great lords, he was assisted and supported by others: so that, by executing the decrees of his supreme courts of justice, he rendered appeals frequent, and, with an apparent zeal for the public good, extended his own authority^k. Pope *Innocent* the second, finding himself constrained to leave *Rome* by his competitor, retired into *France*, where he was received with great respect, and kept his *Easter* with great splendour at *Paris*. But the joy of the court was quickly turned into mourning by the fall of the young king *Philip* from his horse, of which he died on the 3d of *October*. Before the close of the month a general council was held at *Rheims*, in which the king as well as the pope was present, and there the crown was set upon the head of *Lewis*, his eldest surviving son, at that time about twelve years of age. The suddenness of this coronation, after so unlucky an accident, is accounted for by an old historian, who reports, that a party was forming amongst the great lords and prelates for transferring the crown to another family, if the king, with the assistance of pope *Innocent*, had not prevented it, in the manner that has been related¹. With all his excellent qualities, and the more candid of the *French* historians acknowledge him the best of their kings, he had a failing, if it may be called so, which raised a secret dislike to him, and

The king
causes his
eldest son
Philip,
and on his
death his
youngest
son Lewis,
to be
crowned.

1131.

^b GULIELM. Malmesburiensis.
vita Ludovici Grossi, L. 1. c. 20.

¹ ROG. Hoved. ^k SUG.
Chron. MAURIANAC.

increased with his years. This failing consisted in a certain freedom of speech; honest, sincere, and well-meaning himself, he despised flattery, and he hated falsehood; pious, without hypocrisy or superstition, he treated very roughly such of the prelates as acted inconsistent with their character; obedient to the laws himself, his zeal for justice had led him to correct such of the nobility as acted tyrannically, with a degree of rigour that made them secret enemies to him and his family. But, while they meditated the humiliation of both, Providence placed the crown upon the head of the young *Lewis*, in the sight of four hundred prelates, assembled from different parts, the major part of the nobility, and the ambassadors and deputies of several foreign nations, with general applause.

*Admiral's
advice
given to
his son by
king Lewis
is in his
declining
state.*

By long experience the greater vassals of the crown began to perceive, that the king's views were very honourable, and that, tho' he was very quick, he was no less steady in his resolutions; and therefore *Thibaut*, count of *Champagne*, and other great lords, reconciled themselves to him; so that all the arts of his rival could never detach them again from his interest. But, in the midst of his prosperity, he fell into a languishing state of health, being in a manner overwhelmed with fat. As his strength wore away he prepared for death; by setting his affairs in order; and, when he thought it so near as to receive the sacraments of the church, he drew his signet ring from his finger and put it upon that of his son, with these words: "By this sign I invest you with sovereign authority; but remember, that it is no other than a public employment, to which you are called by Providence, and for the exercise of which you are to give a strict account in the world to come." He grew better after this, but he would never use any of the ensigns of royal authority; but whenever he appeared abroad on horseback, he was surrounded by vast crowds of people, who, by loud acclamations, testified their zeal for his government, and their affection for his person.

*Marriage
of the
young king
Lewis,
and de-
mise of
Lewis the
Gros.*

An accident contributed not a little to the revival of the king's strength. *William* the tenth, duke of *Guénone* and *Aquitaine*, resolving to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of *St. James of Compostella*, bequeathed his extensive territories to his daughter *Eleanor*, upon condition that she married the young king *Lewis*; and he dying in that pilgrimage, the king sent his son, most nobly attended, to *Bordeaux*, where the marriage was celebrated with great pomp, and the

^m GULIELM. Malmesb.
• Chron. MAURIANAC.

* SEC. VIJA Ludovici Grossi.

young princess solemnly crowned queen of France, and the young king was inaugurated as duke of *Aquitaine* and *Poitier*.^p In the mean time *Lewis le Gros*, unable to support the heat of the dog-days, died at *Paris*, on the 1st of *August*, in the 30th year of his reign, and 60th of his age.

A. D.
1137.

With the addition of certain qualities, the *French* historians say he might have made a better king; but, they allow, a better man never graced their throne: posterity perhaps may think this no diminution of his character.

Lewis, at the time of his father's demise, was eighteen *Lewis* years of age, and, as all writers agree, was surnamed *le VII. per le Jeune*. If this was only to distinguish him from his father, *pleased by* then we ought to stile him *Lewis* the younger; but a certain writer tells us, that this surname was given him on his separating from his wife *Eleanor*, and giving her back the duchy of *Guienne*, and then it has quite another signification, *the remains of the faction formed against his father*, and implies that *Lewis* was always a young man. The same troubles that perplexed the beginning of his father's, disturbed also the entrance of his reign; that is, several of the nobility indulged themselves in great excesses, which, as we have already shewn, were no otherwise to be repressed than by force. The king therefore, having put good garisons into the fortresses of his new dominions, returned to *Orleans*; where, upon his attempting to assemble troops, the commons, who owed all their privileges to his father's favour, revolted: but *Lewis* quickly reduced and chastised them, as he likewise did the lords. It is remarked, and it deserves to be remarked, that he did not follow his father's example, in being crowned a second time. *Eustace*, the son of *Stephen* earl of *Bologne*, who had seated himself in the *English* throne, had done homage to *Lewis the Gros* for the duchy of *Normandy*; the king, to fix him more effectually to his interests, gave him his sister in marriage; which, however, made no impression upon *Thibaut* earl of *Champagne*, elder brother to the *English* monarch, and uncle to *Eustace*, who began to renew his old practices, and to form intrigues against a prince whom he thought too tenderly educated to lead the life his father had done, who was almost always in arms, and whose experience he thought insufficient to deal with one who had made the framing such kind of confederacies almost the sole business of his life. But in this he

^p SUG. vita Ludovici Grossi.
PLEIX. ^q Gesta Ludovici VII.

^r MEZERAY.

^r DU-

found himself exceedingly mistaken, and this notwithstanding he was more in the right than perhaps he had ever been in his life ¹.

Source of
his dif-
ference
with the
see of
Rome,
and of the
count of
Champ-
agne's
dissension.

ALBRIC, archbishop of *Bourges*, dying, the chapter of that see elected *Pierre de la Châtre*, without having the king's permission; upon which *Lewis* swore he should not be archbishop, commanding the chapter to go to a new election, leaving them at full liberty to elect whom they pleased, *Pierre de la Châtre* only excepted, which they refused to do; and the pope declaring in favour of the new archbishop, he retired into the estates of the count of *Champagne*, and excommunicated the king's domain within the bounds of his archbishoprick. *Lewis*, upon this, pushed *Thibaut* so hard, that he was on the point of coming to terms, when a new accident excited still greater disturbances ². *Rodolph*, count of *Vermandois*, who was the king's chief minister, and his near relation, obtained a divorce from his wife, under pretence of their being related, and married *Petronilla*, the queen's sister; but his first wife being nearly related to the count of *Champagne*, he solicited the pope to send a legate into *France* to review this divorce, who presently declared it null, and excommunicated *Rodolph*, in case he did not leave his second wife, and take back his first ³. This so provoked the king, that he made another expedition into *Champagne*; where having taken *Vitri*, he caused the church to be set on fire, in which thirteen hundred people were either choaked or burned. But when he came to reflect on this cruel action, he not only admitted the archbishop, and made peace with the count, but resolved to expiate his offence by going to the *Holy Land*.

The cha-
racters of
St. Ber-
nard, ab-
bot of
Clair-
vaux, and
Suger,
abbot of
St. Denis.

It is necessary here to enter into the characters of two ecclesiastics, upon whom at this juncture the fate of the king and kingdom absolutely turned. These, tho' different in other respects, agreed in the singular qualities of unfeigned piety and absolute disinterestedness. *Bernard*, abbot of *Clairvaux*, was, for those times, learned, naturally eloquent, austere in his life, irreproachable in his morals, zealous in the highest degree, and withal inflexible. He had long before gained the reputation of a saint, he was heard as an oracle, and revered as a prophet ⁴. *Suger*, abbot of *St. Denis*, was a man of another kind, mean in his birth, and meaner in his aspect; he was so distinguished by his merit,

¹ ODERIC VITAL. ² Gesta Ludovici VII. ROG. HOVE-
DEN. ³ NANG. Chron. Gesta Ludovici. ⁴ GAUFRI-
DUS, lib. iv. vitæ S. Bernard. GUZIELM. TYR.

that he had a great share in the administration during the former reign, and, which was not a little strange, was equally respected and beloved in his convent for his humility and strict manner of life, and admired in the council for his prudence and penetration. *Lewis the Gross* loved him for his sincerity; *Lewis le Jeune* respected him as his father. *Thibaut* count of *Champagne*, the most artificial man of his time, set so high a value on the friendship of the abbot of *St. Denis*, that he seldom refused him any thing, and never attempted to deceive him ¹. *Bernard* earnestly pressed the king to make the expedition against the infidels in person; *Suger* persuaded him to contribute men and money, but to remain at home, and govern his people wisely. *Bernard* carried his point by his vehemence, and *Suger*, tho' he submitted, retained his own opinion, and made no scruple of foretelling the inconveniencies that would attend this measure; while *Bernard*, as if inspired, magnified the honour that would result from it, and made himself in a great measure answerable for its success ².

A GREAT council of the nobility and prelates was called *Lewis*, at *Vizila* in *Burgundy*, that a matter of this importance might not seem to be undertaken without the consent of the nation. Hitherto such assemblies had been stiled, by historians who wrote in *Latin*, *Conventus*, or *Placita*; but we find this denominated *Magnum Parliamentum*, which is the first time that we meet with this word; and from hence the reader will form a just notion of the parliaments of *France*, which, however altered or fallen from what they were, are all that is left of these ancient parliaments ³. As there was not in *Vizila* a church capable of holding even a small part of so great a number of people, the assembly was held in the open air. The abbot *Bernard* read the letter of pope *Eugene* the third, which he seconded by a vehement declamation. The king then rose up, and received from his hand the cross which had been sent him from *Rome*, and then made a discourse of the like kind. His queen followed his example; and then *Alonso de S. Gilles* count of *Toulouse*, *Thierry d'Alsace* count of *Flanders*, *Henry*, son of the count of *Champagne*; *Guy* count of *Nevers*, *Renaud* his brother, count of *Tonnere*, *Robert* count of *Dreux*, brother to the king, *Yves* count of *Soissons*, *William* count of *Ponthieu*, *William* count of *Varenne*, cousin to the king, *Archambaud de Bourbon*, *Enguerrand de*

Lewis, at
the in-
stance of
St. Ber-
nard, as-
sumes the
cross, and
in imita-
tion of
him, great
part of the
nobility.

¹ *Gesta Ludovici VII.* • *P. ÆMIL. Annales Franc. NANG.*
Chron. ² *GULIELM. TYR. Gesta Ludov. GAUFRIDUS,*
ubi supra. ³ *CHRON. MAURINIAC.* •

Gouci, Geoffrey Rancon, Hugues de Lusignan, William de Courtenai, and many other lords, spoke to the same purpose; the multitude of persons of inferior rank, who entered into the same engagements, almost exceeded computation ^b. The abbot *Bernard*, after appointing another assembly to be held before *Easter*, went to preach the *croisade* in *Germany*; where, by the force of his irresistible elocution, he prevailed on the emperor *Conrad* the third, *Frederic* duke of *Suabia*, who was afterwards emperor, and an infinite number of all ranks, to embrace the same design ^c.

The emperor and the king of France march by land to Constantinople.

A.D.

1147.

AN expedition of this nature could not be undertaken with too much deliberation, and therefore there were two more assemblies held before the king left *France*, in which *Rodolph* count of *Vermandois*, and *Suger*, abbot of *St. Denis*, were chosen and confirmed regents of *France* during the king's absence ^d. The forces assembled upon this occasion were suitable to the extent and grandeur of the *French* monarchy, tho' the writers of that age do not very exactly agree; the most authentic affirm, that it was composed of fourscore thousand horse, the infantry was very numerous besides, and their very sutlers and attendants might have made a considerable army. There were many reasons which might have deterred the emperor, as well as the king of *France*, from taking the route of the first *croisade* by land, and by the way of *Constantinople*; but there were other motives so strong as to prevail over these, or rather the impossibility of transporting such armies by sea was so apparent, that they were in a manner compelled to overlook objections that could not otherwise have failed to deter them ^e. The emperor, with his troops, marched first through *Hungary* into the territories of the *Greek* emperor, and, passing over the streights of *Constantinople*, entered into *Asia*. *Lewis* followed him, and was received with great complaisance, and the highest testimonies of respect, by the *Greek* emperor *Manuel Comnenes*. On his arrival in the neighbourhood of *Nice*, he found the emperor *Conrad* with the miserable remains of his army, the far greatest part of which had perished by the swords of the *Turks* and the treachery of the *Greeks*; and it was not long before the king had his full share of the like misfortunes; at least so we find things represented by the historians of their times ^f.

^b Epist. LUDOVIC. ad Suger. Odo de Dioglo. NANG. Chron.

^c OTHO FRISING. Vit. Suger. Chron. MAURINIAC. ^d Vit. Suger. Gesta Ludovici VII. PAUL & EMIL. Annal. Franc.

^e Odo de Dioglo. GULIEL. TYR. NICETAS, lib. i. ^f OTHO de Frising. GULIELM. TYR. Chron. MAURINIAC.

THE history of the croisades belongs to another part of *The pro-*
 this work, and therefore it is our intention to say nothing *gress of*
 more here than is absolutely requisite to render the history *king's ex-*
 of this reign coherent. Without entering, therefore, into *pedition,*
 any discussion of what some writers have charged upon the *to his ar-*
Greeks, or of what they have advanced in defence of them- *ival at*
 selves, we will proceed in our narrative, and inform the *Jerusa-*
 reader, that, after defeating the infidels on the banks of the *lem.*
 river *Meander*, and being not long after beaten by them, and *A.D.*
 in great danger of losing his life, *Lewis* at length arrived at *1148.*
Antioch, where *Raymond de Poitiers*, his wife's uncle, was
 then prince ^s. He was received with all possible demonstra-
 tions of kindness and politeness, his troops furnished with
 every thing necessary, and, by the arrival of succours from
Italy, by sea, his army was once more become very respect-
 able. This gleam of prosperity lasted not long. The king
 quickly found that the prince of *Antioch* had merely his
 own interest in view, and was desirous of employing the
French troops in extending the bounds of his principality, by
 reducing several considerable places seated on his frontiers.
Lewis grew likewise uneasy as to the behaviour of his wife,
 whose gallantries began to make a great noise; and on the other
 hand the prince of *Antioch* induced the queen to pretend some
 scruple of conscience, as to their nearness in blood, tho' in
 truth the king and she were hardly cousins. These, and
 other subjects of chagrin, at length determined the king to
 quit *Antioch*, and to repair to *Jerusalem*; where the em-
 peror *Conrad* was already arrived. But the queen, who was
 very well pleased with the fine country in which they were,
 and still better with the prince to whom it belonged, was
 not in such haste ^h. However *Lewis* took a proper opportu-
 nity, and, seizing one of the gates in the night, marched
 out with his forces; and having assembled those that lay in
 the neighbourhood, sent her before him to *Jerusalem*, where
Baldwin the third, who then governed that kingdom, re-
 ceived her very respectfully. On the king's arrival several
 councils were held, in order to fix upon some expedition
 worthy of so puissant a force, and of monarchs of so dis-
 tinguished rank, and in such high esteem for their personal
 qualifications ⁱ.

^s Odo de Diogl. Epist. LUDOVIC. ad Suger. Gesta Ludovici VII. ^h GULIELM. TYR. ⁱ Gesta Ludovici VII. GULIELM. TYR. Epist. SUGER.

He is determined, by the disgrace of raising the siege of Damascus, to return home.

THE siege of *Damascus* was at length resolved upon, as the reduction of that important place would be attended with great advantages to all the Christian princes in the east, it having proved long an equal curb on the king of *Jerusalem*, as well as the princes of *Antioch* and *Tripoly*. This city was held to be very strong, tho' without any fortifications, even according to the mode of these times; but being surrounded on all sides with gardens, and those well walled, and having a numerous garrison, it was expected, and the event justified their expectation, that it would make a very obstinate defence; but the gardens being gradually forced it must have fallen, if the oriental Christians had not most scandalously entered into intrigues with the infidels, from an apprehension that, when taken, it would have been given to the count of *Flanders* ^k. To prevent this they altered the manner of the attack, suffered convoys of provisions to be surpris'd, and in the end brought the army into such distress, that the emperor and the king of *France*, detecting their perfidy, and despairing of success, rais'd the siege, and made the best dispositions they could for returning into their own dominions. The king, embarking at one of the ports of *Syria*, returned safely to *Calabria*, and taking *Rome* in his way, that he might confer with the pope, came at length, after this disastrous expedition, into his own dominions ^l. His brother, the count *de Dreux*, arriv'd there a little before him, and had thrown out strong insinuations, that the losses sustained abroad, and the discredit reflect'd from thence on the armies of *France*, was chiefly owing to the king's incapacity; by which he meant to raise his own reputation, and not without some view, as many have suspected, upon the crown. But the abbot *Suger*, who had governed as wisely and happily at home as the king had done indiscreetly and unfortunately abroad, render'd these intrigues abortive; upon which the count *de Dreux*, on his brother's arrival, labour'd all he could to render that great man suspected; but the king found his territories in so good condition, and the general voice of the nation was so loud in behalf of the minister, that the king treated him with all the respect and kindness imaginable, and afforded him all the marks of esteem and confidence that his great merit deserved ^m, who had preserv'd peace and plenty in his absence; and presented him with a full treasury at his return.

A. D.
1149.

^k GULIELM. TYR. *Gesta Ludovici VII.* PAULUS ÆMILIUS. *Gesta Ludovici VII.* Vita *Suger.* Epist. HADRIAN IV. ad Ludovic. ^m Vita *Suger.* &c.

It had been happy for *France* if that excellent person had *Takes a* survived longer; for so long as he lived the king was pre-^{weak and} vailed upon to dissemble his discontents with regard to the ^{fatal re-} queen, and had even consented to a reconciliation. But after ^{solution to} his decease, growing more and more dissatisfied with her ^{repudiate} conduct, he pretended to scruples of conscience in regard to ^{queen} the lawfulness of their marriage; submitted the case to an ^{Eleanor} assembly of his prelates; and, in consequence of their sen- ^{and restore} timents, repudiated that princess, who gave all the assistance ^{Guienne.} she could to the divorce, and restored to her the dominions which he had acquired by their marriage^a. It has been surmised, and not without great probability, that, before things came to this extremity, she had entered into a correspondence with *Henry* duke of *Normandy*, count of *Anjou* and *Maine*, son to *Geoffrey Plantagenet* and the empress *Maud*, so that he was presumptive heir to the crown of *England*; and her espousing him in six weeks after the divorce rendered this suspicion so much the more probable^c. This marriage, which the wise abbot of *St. Denis* foresaw, mortified the king extremely, and procured him the surname of *Le Jeune*, as we before observed. By this great alliance, *Henry*, to the duchy of *Normandy* and the estates of the house of *Anjou*, added the county of *Poitou* and the duchy of *Guienne*; so that he was at least as powerful in *France* as the king himself. *Lewis*, to correct this false step, entered into a league with *Stephen* king of *England*, received the homage of his son *Eustace* count of *Bologne*, in quality of duke of *Normandy*, and drew over to his party *Geoffrey* the brother of *Henry*, who had once a project of running away with queen *Eleanor* himself^d. In consequence of this league, count *Eustace* attacked *Normandy*, and made a considerable progress there; which might have been fatal to duke *Henry*, if his abilities had not been superior to his fortune. At the age of twenty he was a great captain and a greater politician, and took so much pains to sooth and to flatter *Lewis*, that, contrary to all the rules of policy, he concluded a truce with him; which afforded *Henry* leisure to transport himself, and his mother the empress, into *England*, where they created *Stephen* a great deal of trouble; and count *Eustace* dying, a treaty was concluded between them, by which the crown was left to *Stephen* during his

A. D.
1153.

^a *Gesta Ludovici VII. Gul. de Nangis. Chron. Norman.*
^c *Chron. Norman. Gesta Ludovici VII. P Hen. Hunt.*
Nangis Chron.

life; and, having no children, he consented that *Henry* should be declared his successor; the more willingly no doubt, if, what some writers say be true, that the empress assured him he was the fruit of their amours in the life-time of her husband⁹.

The king
espouses
Donna
Constantia, and
makes a
pilgrimage
to the tomb
of St.
James.

As soon as the truce expired, *Lewis* invaded *Normandy*, where he made some progress; but the death of king *Stephen*, and the accession of *Henry* to the throne of *England*, quickly induced the king to make peace. He certainly wanted not abilities to discern the danger he was in, not only from the great power, but from the great talents of *Henry*, who inherited all his grandfather's spirit, and was invested with much more authority; but, tho' he knew his danger, he had not sagacity enough to devise, and, it may be, wanted the firmness to apply, the proper remedies¹. But how much sooner he fell short of being great, was supplied in being a good prince. His subjects adored, and his nobility loved him, insomuch that, at their persuasion, he married *Donna Constantia*, daughter to Don *Alonso*, king of *Castile*; and soon after, from motives which have been explained in another place, made a pilgrimage to the tomb of *St. James* at *Compostella*, which gave him an opportunity of conferring with his father-in-law, and with *Sancho*, king of *Navarre*. At his return he held a council at *Soissons*, where he engaged his nobility to swear a peace for ten years; that is, they precluded themselves, during this space, from deciding their quarrels by the sword, which was their common method².

A. D.
1155.

A war
breaks out
with
Henry, in
which
Lewis ba-
rards his
person-
without
gaining
much.

AMONGST these great lords the count of *Flanders* was the most considerable; who going, not long after, into the *Holy Land*, committed his son and his dominions to the care of *Henry*, king of *England*, which was a new mortification to *Lewis*, who found himself in a manner blocked up on every side by this too powerful neighbour; yet *Henry* omitted no arts to mitigate his jealousy and apprehensions³. His queen had sufficiently instructed him in the temper of *Lewis*, and he managed him with such address, that he had scarce any pretence given him on which to found a quarrel; for *Henry* was continually writing to him; and sending him presents; treated him with the highest marks of deference and esteem, and proposed a marriage between his son *Henry* and the princess *Margaret*, the king's daughter by his se-

⁹ ROGER HOVEDEN. Chron. Norman. Gesta Ludovici VII.
¹ NANGIA Chron. ² RODERIC TOLETAN. ³ MA-
ZERAY. ⁴ LE GENDRE.

cond marriage, tho' they were but infants ^w. But at length a rupture happened; for *Henry*, unsatisfied with the great dominions he already had, surmized that the county of *Toulouse* belonged of right to his wife, as being not given, but mortgaged only by a duke of *Aquitaine* to the ancestor of the then count: he offered therefore the sum that he supposed to be due, and that being refused, marched with a great army, composed of all nations, and blocked up *Toulouse* ^x. The place was not strong by situation, nor was it fortified: but the count, brave in his person, and having a numerous army, made a gallant defence. He had married *Constance*, the widow of *Eustace*, count of *Bologne*, and sister to king *Lewis*, who immediately armed, in support of his brother-in-law; and having left a competent force, under the command of his brother the count *de Dreux*, on the frontiers of *Normandy*, marched with the rest directly to *Toulouse*, where, having forced one of the posts of the besiegers, he threw himself into the place with the flower of his troops. *Henry*, perceiving it would be very difficult, if not impracticable, to carry the town, sent a compliment to the king, importing, that he would not commit hostilities against any whom he had undertaken to protect, and thereupon raised the siege. This, however, did not put an end to the war, which continued two years longer, and then ended in a peace, on terms that were tolerably equal. *Henry* did homage to the king for his duchy of *Normandy*; his son *Henry* did the like for the counties of *Anjou* and *Maine*; and it was agreed, that his second son *Richard*, already contracted to the daughter of the count of *Barcelona*, should quit her, espouse one of the king's daughters, and have the duchy of *Guienne* ^y. In this peace the count of *Toulouse* was included, but without any discussion of the point upon which the war began; for peace was necessary to *Lewis*, and *Henry* was resolved to keep his old claim in reserve ^z.

A. D.
1160.

THE same year died the queen *Dona Constantia*; and the ^{A new} nobility being very urgent with the king to marry again, as war, accompanied he had only two daughters by her, he accordingly espoused *Adelaide*, the daughter of *Thibaut*, earl of *Champagne*, by ^{with much} which alliance he gained all the princes of her family ^x. At ^{slaughter and devastation,} this juncture, a schism in the church was very near plunging the most considerable powers in *Europe* into a war. The ^{which at} kings of *France* and *England* supported *Alexander III.* the ^{last ends} ^{in a new} ^{peace.}

^w ROBERT. DE MONT. MEZERAY.^x DU TILLET.^y DUPLEIX.^z GULIELM. Neubrigiensis.^a BOU-

LANVILLIERS.

emperor *Frederick* maintained the cause of *Victor IV.* went so far as to arm on his behalf, and threatened *France* with an invasion. *Lewis*, provoked by his behaviour, revied troops likewise, and the king of *England* marched a powerful corps to the frontiers of *Normandy*, that they might be in readiness to join the *French*, if it was necessary; and, upon this occasion, *Alexander III.* had the satisfaction of seeing *Lewis* on one side, and *Henry* on the other, at his stirrups, on foot, while he rode slowly to a magnificent tent prepared for him in the *French* camp, and held afterwards a council at *Tours* with great splendour ^b. It was not long before new differences arose between the two monarchs, chiefly on account of *Thomas à Becket*, chancellor to king *Henry*, who having raised him to the archiepiscopal see of *Canterbury*, found him less pliant than he expected, and therefore disgraced him. On this he retired into *France*, where he was received and treated with great respect, notwithstanding all the representations made by his master. From this discordance in sentiments, both kings foresaw that it would not be long before they came to an open rupture; and this at length happened, notwithstanding the empress *Maud*, so long as she lived, exerted her utmost endeavours to prevent it ^c. In the prosecution of this dispute, several places were taken on both sides; some vassals of the crown of *France* took up arms for king *Henry*, and, on the other hand, most of the lords of *Poitou* armed on behalf of *Lewis* ^d. At length, both parties, weary of seeing their countries destroyed to little purpose, and having other motives to wish for the return of quiet, amongst which was the birth of a son to *Lewis*, a treaty was set on foot, which, after a long negotiation, produced the peace of *Montmirail*, where *Henry* did homage in person for *Normandy*, his son *Henry* for the counties of *Anjou* and *Maine*, *Richard* for the duchy of *Guienne*, and prince *Henry* a second time for the county of *Bratagne*, which his brother *Geoffrey* was to inherit, in consequence of his marriage with the heiress of that country, and for which he was to do homage to him as presumptive heir of the duchy of *Normandy*, and he to *Lewis*, as *Bretagne* was a remote fief of the crown of *France* ^e. In this we have been so much the more particular, as it serves to explain the titles to these countries, and the tenures then in use; points of such utility in this period of history, that it cannot be understood without being versed in them.

A. D.
1168.

^b DU TILLET. MEZERAY.
^d JOHAN. SARISBUR. Epist.

^c ROBERTUS DE MONTB.
^e P. DANIEL.

THE situation of affairs between these two princes was such, that, though they often made peace, they were never reconciled; and the intermarriages between their families, instead of contributing to their own and their subjects repose, served only to furnish fresh pretences for disturbing both. King Henry having caused his eldest son to be crowned in England, while his consort was in France, Lewis, to revenge the affront done to his daughter, invaded Normandy; but Henry, too wise to quarrel about a mere matter of form, promised the coronation should be performed over again, as it accordingly was^f. On the return of the young king to his father in Normandy, Lewis desired that his son and daughter might come and spend some time at his court, which was granted, and there such notions were put into the young prince's head, as, after his return, produced great heart-burnings between him and his father. At length the young king, pretending that he thought his person in danger, fled privately out of England into France, and was received with open arms by Lewis, who was now grown as thorough a politician as Henry, and believed the time was now come, in which he might revenge himself for all past affronts^g. He knew the pope was angry with the king of England; and that he was also odious to a great part of his subjects, on account of the assassination of archbishop Becket: he farther knew that the king was much feared by his neighbours, and that the disputes ran high in his family; so that he flattered himself that he should gain equal advantages by fraud, and by force^h. The young king Henry, who served him zealously, drew his two brothers, Richard and Geoffrey, into the confederacy against their father; and, which is almost incredible, embarked his mother queen Eleanor in the same scheme. At the same time the king of Scots was in motion, and rebels and malecontents started up in almost all parts of the king of England's dominionsⁱ. Henry, being surprized at this, offered fair terms; but finding this rejected, raised an army, and quickly restored his affairs at home and abroad. All this time he amused the king of France, with negotiations, and at length consented to a peace, but it was upon his own terms; and tho' these were, in appearance, honourable enough for king Lewis, and very advantageous for the princes who had put themselves under his protection, yet the king of Scots, the earl of Leicester, and the earl of Chester, who had been made prison-

^f ROGER HOVEDEN. J. DE SERRES. DUPLEIX. ^g GUL. Neubrig. ^h LE GENDRE. ⁱ ROBERTUS DE MONTE.

ers, being left to his mercy, shewed plainly that he was victor over this formidable league ^k.

Lewis and Henry are on better terms than in any part of their respective reigns. BOTH kings were now thoroughly weary of war; *Lewis* was afraid of suffering by that good fortune which constantly attended his rival, and *Henry* had so much reason to fear his own family at home, that he had no stomach to quarrels abroad. *Lewis*, however, conceived in his own mind, that he had good grounds to be offended with the conduct of the monarch of *England*, on account of his daughter *Al c*, whom the king retained at his court without marrying her to his son *Richard*. In order to obtain satisfaction, he applied himself to the pope; and his legate having expostulated with *Henry*, that prince very roundly declared he would have caused the marriage to be celebrated, but that *Lewis* had promised to give the city of *Bourges* in dowry with his daughter, as he had likewise promised the *French Vexin*, when the princess *Margaret* espoused the young king *Henry*. As the facts were controverted by *Lewis*, the decision of their difference was left to the pope ^l. In the mean time all the antient treaties were renewed; and the two kings, to shew their cordial affection for each other, undertook to make a croisade together, the preparations for which were likewise settled, notwithstanding which neither of them went; *Lewis* being strongly dissuaded by his consort, and by the principal nobility; and *Henry* finding his affairs still so embarrassed, that his presence was more necessary than ever in his own dominions ^m. Some have attributed the making and the breaking this treaty to policy; but it is more probable that *Lewis* was very sincere, and made the first proposition of it to *Henry*, who could not but give his consent, having entered into an engagement with the pope to take the cross, whenever he thought it expedient, in order to expiate the murder of *Thomas à Becket* ⁿ; and we shall hereafter see, that, tho' this treaty was not executed by these princes, yet it was not altogether without its effect.

A.D.
1177.

Pilgrimage of Lewis to St. Thomas's shrine, coronation of his son, his mar-

As the peace of the kingdom, as well as the continuance of the royal line, depended on the life of the young prince *Philip*, it is not at all strange, that the king should be extremely alarmed at an accident which brought him to the very brink of the grave. He was but just able to ride, when his horse ran away with him in the wood of *Compeigne*, in which he continued all night, and returned in the morning, so extremely frightened, that he fell into a grievous fit of

^k PETRI BLESSENSIS epist. MEZ. P. DAN. ^l Annal. Francorum. ^m PAUL. ÆMIL. ⁿ POLYDOR. VIRGIL.

sickness °. This induced the king his father, according to *riage, and* the mode of those times, to resolve on a pilgrimage to the *the demise* shrine of *St. Thomas*, that is, the tomb of *Thomas à Becket of the old* at *Canterbury*. He was received there with great pomp by *king of a* king *Henry*, made his offering, and returned back in the *passy* space of a week; but whether the fatigue of the journey, or the agitation of his mind was the cause, so it fell out, that he was struck with an apoplexy at his return, and tho' he recovered from this, by the help of his physicians, yet he continued paralytic on the right side P. ° This induced him to hasten the coronation of his son, which was performed with great solemnity by the cardinal archbishop of *Rheims*, the queen's brother, on the first of *November*. On this occasion, the young king *Henry* of *England* assisted, as duke of *Normandy*, and *Philip*, count of *Flanders*, carried the sword of state. At this time also the right of the archbishop of *Rheims* to perform the ceremony of the coronation was confirmed °. Soon after the marriage of the young king *Philip*, with the niece of the count of *Flanders*, who now governed all, was settled †; and the king, having languished about a year under this grievous malady, breathed his last on the 18th of *September*, in the sixtieth year of his age, and in the forty-fourth of his reign ‡, being esteemed a pious and chaste prince; but as the *English*, as well as the *French*, historians observe, less a politician than was requisite for the conjuncture in which he lived † (F).

A.D.
1179.

1180.

PHILIP,

° P. ÆMIL. Annales Francorum. P Histor. Eccl. Cantuar.
 § Gesta PHILIPPI AUGUSTI descripta a Magistro
 Rigorgo ipsius Regis Chronographo. † DU CHESNE, tom.
 iv. ‡ GULIELM. Neubrig. † LABBEUS in Chron.

(F) The wisdom of his ministers preserved him, in his youth, from the inconveniences that might have otherwise resulted from a temper so pliant and so mutable as that of *Lewis VII.* In his advanced years experience taught him to govern with more steadiness; so that from being the dupe, he became the formidable rival of *Henry II. of England*, which is in itself a great character, since *Henry* was one of the ablest princes of this age (6). He shewed himself, in the beginning of his reign, very jealous of his authority; it may be, tho' no historian has suggested it, he resented the insult offered him by the cabal against his coronation in his father's lifetime; and, contrary to the custom of his predecessors, he did not take the precaution of being crowned again (7). His

(6) Gesta Ludovici vñ. Odoric Vital. (7) Du Chesne.

divorce

Philip Augustus *ascends the throne,* **PHILIP**, surnamed *the Gift of God*, from the time of his birth, *the Magnanimous*, and *the Conqueror*, during his lifetime, and, as if these had fallen short of his merit, styled

divorce from his first wife *Eleanor*, the heiress of *Guienne*, might be impolitic, but his behaviour towards her was honourable and equitable, beyond that of most of the princes of his time. That prince died on the last day of *March*, 1204, more than sixty-seven years after her marriage with *Lewis* (8). He had by her two daughters, *Mary* and *Alice*, the former married to *Henry* count of *Champagne*, and the latter to *Thibaut* count of *Blois*, his brother. The second consort of *Lewis* was *Constantia*, daughter of *Alonso* king of *Castile*, by whom he had also two daughters; *Margaret*, who espoused *Henry* the younger king of *England* and duke of *Normandy*, by whom she had no children, and, after his demise, *Bela* the third, king of *Hungary*. Becoming a widow the second time, she resolved, according to the devotion of those times, to spend the remainder of her days in the *Holy Land*, and died at *Acon* in 1197 (9). Her sister *Alice* died unmarried, in a short time after their mother (1). *Lewis* married, a third time, *Adela* the fifth daughter of *Thibaut*, count of *Champagne*, a princess of great beauty, prudence, and spirit, by whom he had his successor *Philip II.* and two daughters: *Alice* who created so much dissention between the realms of *France* and *England*, and who, after having

been for many years contracted to king *Richard*, married *William*, count of *Ponthieu*; she deceased in 1195: the second daughter, *Agnès*, at the close of her father's reign, was contracted to *Alexis Comnènes*, son to the *Greek* emperor *Manuel*, and was sent to *Constantinople*, when she was scarce ten years of age. The marriage was solemnized the year following with great magnificence. Three years after, her husband being murdered by *Andronicus I.* who succeeded him, he also married her, but she had no issue by him; and he being deposed and murdered in 1185, she, instead of returning to *France*, espoused *Theodore Bramas*, lord of *Adrianople* (2). *Lewis* was interred at *Barbeau* on the *Seine*, in a monastery of his own foundation, where his widow, queen *Adela*, caused a magnificent tomb to be erected to his memory. *Charles IX.* caused this tomb to be opened, and found his body intire; he had a gold cross hanging at his neck, and three or four rings upon his fingers. *Charles* made a present of the cross, and wore the rings himself, in honour of his predecessor (3). As for his relict queen *Adela*, after governing the kingdom as regent, during her son's expedition into the *Levant*, she died at *Paris*, *June* 4th, 1206, being upwards of threescore, and was buried at the abbey of *Pontigny* (4).

(8) Rigord. vita Philip Augusti. Nicol. Trivet Annal.
(1) Recueil des Roys de France leur Couronne et Maison.
(3) La Gendres. (4) Dupless. Mémoires. Henault.

(9) Du Tillet.
(2) Du Chesne.

Augustus after his decease, was, in truth, one of the most ^{and go-} extraordinary princes that ever sat upon this or any other ^{verus from} throne, as giving very early marks of a great genius, and ^{the begin-} yet exceeding in the flower what he had promised in the first ^{ning with} buddings of genius ^{great pru-}. He assumed the government from the time the crown was placed upon his head, though but in his fifteenth year: and though the count of *Flanders* is, by some writers, stiled regent of the kingdom, yet that was but courtesy; for notwithstanding the king took his advice, and probably did nothing without it, yet all was executed, not only by his authority, but by himself ^v. He was jealous that his youth, and want of experience, might expose him to contempt; and, therefore, the first instance he gave of his authority was, in ordering jesters, jugglers, and buffoons, to quit his court, and he took care to be obeyed ^x. He found the people complain loudly of the *Jews*, who had got into possession of one-third part of the lands in his dominions; and as, on the one hand, he found they had exercised the most oppressive usury, and, on the other, by choosing proper patrons, were powerfully supported by the nobility, he obliged them to quit his territories, allowing them to carry away their personal estates. This chagrined the great lords, but it pleased the people, and the king was obeyed ^y. From this, which was a very difficult and disagreeable undertaking, he proceeded to another that was still more so. The mercenary soldiers who had served his father, and the king of *England*, being disbanded, and without means of maintaining themselves, assembled together in great bodies, and committed most enormous outrages. They were distinguished by the several names of *Cottreaux*, *Brabançons*, *Routiers*, and *Taverdins*, nesting themselves in different parts of the kingdom, and laying the country under contribution where-ever they were. The king directed the great towns to make head against them, assisted them with his own troops, and in one action cut off nine thousand; so that by degrees he either extirpated or expelled them all ^z. He then directed the inhabitants of every great town, that held immediately of him, to surround it with walls, and to pave the streets; which, as it was expensive and troublesome, was not all relished; but, however, the king making a circuit in person for that purpose, it was performed. Some of the nobility, taking the advantage of his father's infirmities, had

^v Appendix ad Chronicon Sigeberti. POL. VIRG. ^w RIGORD. ^x P. ÆMIL. Annales Francorum. ^y LE GEND. ^z WILHELMI Britonis Philippidos libri duodecim.

committed excesses, more especially against the clergy, which the king redressed in person, and by force of arms; holding his grandfather's maxim, that the royal authority was to be extended by a zeal for justice, and by supporting the weak against the strong. As these great things required time to accomplish, so, as he began them early, he, until they were complete, made them the constant objects of his attention.

Factions, cabals, and insurrections, in the beginning of his reign, suppressed and subdued.

THE queen-mother, the cardinal of *Champagne*, and the rest of the princes of her house and faction, laboured all they could, before and after the death of king *Lewis*, to ruin the credit of *Philip*, count of *Flanders*, with the young king, and more especially to prevent his completing his marriage with his niece *Isabel*, but without effect. That count was the king's godfather, from whom he received his name, and in those times this was considered as a kind of kindred; besides, he had adopted the young lady as his daughter, and bestowed upon her in dowry the county of *Artois*, and all the country along the river *Lys* ^a. When the queen, and those of her party, found this, they quitted the court, and having the young king of *England* with them, prevailed upon him to go over to his father to demand his protection. In the mean time, the king caused himself and his queen to be crowned at the abbey of *St. Denis*, by the archbishop of *Sens*, which piqued the cardinal archbishop of *Rheims* extremely ^b. *Henry* of *England* came over with his son into *Normandy*, extremely well pleased with this opportunity of interfering in the affairs of the king's family; but *Philip*, and the count of *Flanders*, marching directly towards him with a numerous army, *Henry*, who was unwilling to come to extremities, demanded a conference, which did great honour to the abilities of the young king; for as, on the one hand, he remained firm in the measures he had taken, notwithstanding all the address of this wise and great prince, so, on the other, he would not listen to the arguments used by the earl of *Flanders*, to reject absolutely ^c all propositions of peace. He professed great duty and respect for his mother, offered to pass by all that had happened, with respect to the lords of her faction, and to receive them again into his favour; which they thought fit to accept ^c. It was not long before the count of *Flanders* began to take this in a wrong light, and to form intrigues in his turn, into which, amongst the first that entered, were the cardinal of *Champagne* and one of the queen dowager's brothers; the duke of *Burgundy*.

^a RIGORD. Anonymus Aquicinctimus.

^b DU TILLET.

^c RIGORD. NICOL. TRUVETI Annales.

also, tho' a prince of the blood, embraced the same party, and the avowed motive to their confederacy was the young monarch's popularity ^d. *Philip*, not caring to trust the nobility that still remained about him, raised an army with his own money, took one of the principal fortresses of the duke of *Burgundy*, and in it his son, on which the duke demanded pardon, and the rest, following his example, submitted ^e.

THE death of the countess of *Flanders* caused new disturbances. She was a princess of the royal blood, and the heir-^{Annexes the county of Ver-} of the count of *Vermandois*. The king, as she died without issue, was for annexing her estates to the crown, but the count pretended that the late king had made him a grant of this succession, which *Philip* had confirmed: the king owned this, but affirmed the grant to be only for the countess's life. ^{to the crown do- main in spite of the count of Flanders.} However, both parties took the field; the emperor threatened to take part with the earl of *Flanders*, who appeared to be highly irritated, and laboured to engage the nobility to make it a common cause, pretending the king had nothing else in view but to unite one fief with another ^f. *Philip* pressed him so vigorously, and his friends assisted him so faintly, that the count first demanded a truce, and at length was glad to make peace, the king leaving him the towns of *Perron* and *St. Quintin* for his life, and annexing the rest of the county of *Vermandois* to the crown. The young king *Henry* of *England* dying in *France*, expressed, in his last moments, great regret for the continual disturbance he had given his father, which affected *Henry* so much, that he appeared inconsolable for his death ^g. The same year he had a conference with king *Philip*, who insisted upon the restitution of the town of *Gisors* and the *Vexin*, which had been given in dowry to his sister *Margaret*, on her marriage with the young king. In order to gain the affection of *Philip*, and prevent this restitution, the king of *England* did homage to him for all the lands he held in *France*, and, at the same time, promised, that in case the like dowry was given to the princess *Alice*, his son *Richard*, who was now become his heir apparent, should espouse her without any farther delay; to which *Philip* assented, and the two kings parted, in all appearance well satisfied ^h. But this calm was of no long continuance.

A. D.
1182.

1183.

THIS harmony did not last long. *Henry* had it not at all in his intention that his son *Richard* should marry *Alice*, for of *France*

^d WILHEL. Britonis Philippidos. MEZERAY.

^e Annales Francorum.

^f R. Hoveden.

^g P. VIRG.

^h P. DAN.

and Eng-
land, be-
ing recon-
ciled by
the pope,
and the
cross.

whom he was thought to have a strong passion himself, to which the *French* writers ascribe the jealousy of queen *Eleanor*, and the king's keeping her as he did a prisoner for twelve years before his death. *Geoffrey*, duke of *Bretagne*, *Henry*'s second son, and by much the best of them all, quarrelled with his father, because he would not add the country of *Maine* to his dominions, and went thereupon, in great discontent, to *Paris*, where, being thrown from his horse at a tournament, he died of the bruises he received; king *Philip* retaining under his protection his widow, his daughter *Eleanor*, and his posthumous son *Arthur*, with which *Henry* was much offended¹. The count of *Flanders* and the emperor gave the king some disturbance, but his firmness and his good fortune soon extricated him out of these, as it had done out of former difficulties; but on the side of the king of *England* he was able to procure no satisfaction. At length, therefore, he declared war; and having taken some places of less consequence, besieged *Chateauroux*, in which were the two princes of *England*, *Richard* and *John*; but they made so good a defence, that *Henry* had time to come to their relief; upon which *Philip* raised the siege, and marched to give him battle². At this juncture arrived a legate from the pope, to intercede with the two kings, and to engage them to lay aside their private quarrels, and take the cross in favour of the Christians, from whom the famous *Saladine* had taken *Jerusalem*. *Henry* having solemnly promised, that, at their return from this expedition, all things should be adjusted to the satisfaction of *Philip*, the two kings, and, moved by their example, the most of the great lords in both armies took the cross, which, of his own free will, prince *Richard* had taken before¹.

A.D.
1187.

A new
quarrel be-
tween the
kings, in
which
Richard,
count of
Poitou,
sides with
Philip a-
gainst his
father.

KING *Philip*, in order to defray the expences of such a war, laid heavy taxes upon the clergy, at which they murmured exceedingly, but which the king, nevertheless, caused to be raised, and to which in those days they gave the name of the tax of *Saladine*. But while the king was thus employed, prince *Richard*, when it was least expected, made a furious irruption into the territories of *Raymond*, count of *Thoulouse*, in pursuance of the old quarrel, which, as we observed, *Henry* kept open, on purpose to afford colour for such incursions. The monarch of *France* was no sooner informed of this than he made a diversion in favour of count *Raymond*, by invading the territories which *Henry* possessed.

¹ RIGORD. R. Hoveden, Duplex.
² Appendix ad Chronicon Sigeberti.

³ P. DANIEL.

in *France*^m. That monarch, with an alacrity little suitable to his years, advanced with an army to their relief; but his success was not equal to his spirit, and therefore demanded a conference, at which he desired, that, instead of *Richard*, the princess *Alice* might espouse his son *John*, which was rejected, there being a secret understanding between *Philip* and the prince of *England*ⁿ. The pope's legate interposed upon this, and went so far as to threaten *Philip* with an excommunication; but the king told him, that he held his crown from God, and not from the pope, who had no right to prescribe how he should behave to his vassal; insinuating at the same time, that the legate's zeal was prompted by king *Henry's* gold. As for *Richard*, he was so much incensed, that he was very near killing the legate upon the spot, and, being hindered, shewed his resentment by doing homage to king *Philip*, and retiring to the *French* camp; so that these broils, which had been so lately appeased, were now more inflamed than ever^o.

1188.

THE king, with prince *Richard*, as soon as they were able to assemble troops sufficient, attacked the city of *Mons*, which, tho' it was the strongest place in all *Henry's French* territories, was taken in the space of three days, by an accident; for the governor having given directions for burning the suburbs, this was performed in such a hurry, that the flame caught the town. King *Henry*, who was there in person, escaped with difficulty, being warmly pursued by *Philip* and *Richard*. He retired to *Chinon*, where he determined to defend himself to the last extremity; but, before things were brought to this pass, the count of *Flanders*, and other great lords, represented to king *Philip*, that they could not, with a safe conscience, serve him against a monarch who had taken the cross, and thereby impede the recovery of *Jerusalem*, which constrained him once more to admit of a conference^p. The two kings discoursing together on horseback, were parted by a dreadful clap of thunder, which fell between them. However, they came together again, and, after three hours conversation, the terms of the peace were settled; the places taken from the king of *England* were to be restored, king *Philip* was to have a large sum in ready money, *Richard* was to be crowned as his brother *Henry* had been, and then to espouse the princess *Alice*; but his solemnity was to be deferred till their return from the *Holy Land*, and, in the mean time, the princess was to be put into such hands as

^m RIGORD. DU TILLET.^o Appendix ad Chronicon Sigeberg.ⁿ WILHEL. BRIT. PHILIP.^p LE GENDRE.

A.D.
1189.

Philip should approve. When all was adjusted, *Henry* observed to *Philip*, that princes had a common interest against traitors, and insisted so passionately to see the association, by which he had been invited to invade his dominions, that at length he did ⁹. But as soon as *Henry* saw his favourite son *John*'s name at the head of it, he flew into a transport of passion, which affected him in such a manner, that he was carried back to *Chinon* and died there speedily, rather of discontent than disease ¹. By this means *Philip* lost a dangerous and implacable enemy, and his friend *Richard*, whom he had always supported against his father, acquired that crown he had so eagerly pursued, tho', in some measure, at the expence of his reputation, the world in general condemning his conduct.

Philip and the young king of England, prepare to go to the Holy Land against the infidels.

THE two kings seemed to be equally satisfied and at ease. *Philip* had considerable claims on *Richard*, on account of the succours furnished to him in his father's time; but, upon his declaring frankly that it would be very inconvenient for him to comply with them at that juncture, *Philip* very generously passed it by. They then concluded an alliance as kings, and swore perpetual fidelity as friends, without considering that their manners were too much alike for any oaths to restrain, or leagues to bind, them. They were in their persons tall, well-made, and robust men; active, brave, magnificent, free in their discourse, and full of a sprightly kind of wit, that however bordered upon levity: their vices also were much the same, for they were ambitious in a supreme degree, hasty in their tempers, addicted to women, avaricious, or rather greedy of money, that they might squander; and, in fine, immoderately fond of praise, and ready to run any hazard to acquire it. The expedition to the *Holy Land* appeared to these princes an enterprize that was to cover them with immortal glory; and having once entertained this notion, they could neither of them be brought to consider it in another light ². Some of the wisest men in his council laboured to undeceive *Philip*, and to dissuade him from going in person; but his mother, and the cardinal of *Rheims*, out of an ambitious desire of governing in his absence, frustrated their intention. He took, however, the precaution of limiting their authority by an instrument, to which he gave the name and form of a *Testament*, and appointed overseers to look to its execution, which they did not expect. Before his departure he received the homage

¹ NICOL. TRIVET. MEZ. ² MATH. PARIS. P. VIRG.
• WIL. BRIT. Philip. • POLYDOR. VIRG.

of the queen dowager of *England* for the duchy of *Guienne*, which she held in her own right; and to defray the expences of this prodigious armament, exposed to sale the great charge of his household, the domain of the crown, and whatever else would fetch money. All things being adjusted, the two kings marched with their armies as far as *Lyon*; and there *Philip* took the route of the *Alps*, in order to embark at *Genoa*, and *Richard* proceeded to the coast in order to meet his fleet, which was appointed to rendezvous at *Marseilles*, under a solemn engagement to meet again in *Sicily*, and to proceed from thence, in conjunction, to the coast of *Syria* ¹.

TANCRED was at this time in possession of that island, *Transac-* with the regal title; but he was held to be an intruder in *tions in Si-* prejudice to *Constance*, the wife of the emperor *Henry*, with *cily dur-* whom *Philip* was in close alliance: on the other hand, he *ing the re-* held the queen dowager *Joan* close prisoner, who was king *sidence of* *Richard's* sister, and consequently had no great reason to be *the two* *kings, Phi-* fond of such guests. *Philip* arrived first, and was tolerably *lip and* well treated, and behaved civilly on his side. When *Richard* *Richard,* arrived, he demanded that his sister should be presently sent *in that* him, and full satisfaction for the large legacies left to his *island.* father by the deceased king of *Sicily*, which *Tancred* laboured to decline. Upon this *Richard* attacked the city of *Messina*, and was very near coming to a rupture with king *Philip*, who, with part of his forces, was in the city when it was attacked. He consented, however, to admit of his mediation, and by the decree of the *French* king, *Tancred* was to be left in peaceable possession, and to pay king *Richard* forty thousand ounces of gold in full satisfaction for his claims ². *Tancred*, who had flattered himself with the *French* king's protection, was so much vexed with the disappointment, that he made his court to king *Richard*, and produced to him a letter, whether forged or genuine is not very clear, in which *Philip* encouraged him to attack the *English*, and particularly their king, with a promise to assist him with all his forces. This produced, as he expected, a very high quarrel between these princes; *Richard* charged *Philip* with having attempted against his life, and *Philip* accused *Richard* of insisting upon a forged letter, and publishing many falsehoods ³. But, after all, their interests obliged them to be friends; and they therefore thought it best to discuss the real dispute between them, which was the marriage of the princess *Alice*, a point which *Richard* without cere-

¹ *Annales Francorum.* BOULANVILLE.
² LE GENDRE. P. DAN.

³ GULIELM.

A. D.
1190.

mony rejected, for reasons before-mentioned, and because his mother was treating of another marriage for him in *Navarre*; but very honourably offered to restore the places that had been so long detained for her dowry. The treaty being, without much difficulty, adjusted, a new misunderstanding happened; for *Philip* insisted that *Richard*, with his forces, should depart with him, which the king of *England* declared to be impossible, because he had a mind to wait for his young wife, whom his mother had promised to bring thither. *Philip*, afraid that he should return into *France*, and attack his dominions in his absence, laboured all he could to induce the *French* lords that followed *Richard* to proceed with him; and, having engaged the greatest part of them, sailed for the coast of *Syria*, and left the king of *England* in *Sicily* *. These transactions are related with many more circumstances, and not a few variations, according to the disposition of the authors who committed them to writing. The nature of our plan requires we should be succinct; and therefore we have represented these facts with as much clearness and impartiality as was in our power, and with the least interruption that might to be the thread of our narration.

The conti-
nual quar-
rels be-
tween Phi-
lip and
Richard,
end at last
in the for-
mer's com-
ing home.

AT the time of his arrival, *Philip* found the affairs of the Christians in a very untoward situation. They were engaged in the siege of *Acon*, or *Ptolemais*, having lain before it more than a year, which in reality was no great wonder, considering that, for the best part of the time, the army without was scarce equal to the garrison within. As if these difficulties had not been enough, the Christians were upon bad terms with each other, and this on account of a divided title to the kingdom of *Jerusalem*, which city was in the hands of the infidels. *Guy de Lusignan* had been acknowledged king in right of his wife, who was the eldest sister of the last monarch: but this princess being dead, without leaving any issue, the marquis of *Montferrat* claimed the crown in right of the youngest sister, who was his consort; whereas *Guy* insisted that, having once been invested with the regal dignity, he was king for life †. When king *Richard* landed, after conquering the island of *Cyprus* by the way, he augmented the confusion, for he took part with *Guy de Lusignan*; who was his subject; and, perhaps, it was chiefly for this reason that *Philip* took part with the marquis of *Montferrat*. With much difficulty things were so far compromised, as to suspend all proceedings till the place was taken, which being vigor-

* WIL. Brit. Philip. lib. iv. Annal. Francorum. HENSAULT.
† RIGORD. R. HOUËDEN.

ously attacked, was quickly yielded by capitulation. As soon as Acon was in the hands of the Christians, Philip took a resolution of returning into his own dominions, because the climate was prejudicial to his health; and which, perhaps, weighed with him more, that he might not remain in the same country with Richard, who, if the French historians are to be believed, was continually raising new quarrels, and always in the wrong; and, if we listen to other authors, these practices ought not to be ascribed to Richard but to Philip ^a. It is very probable they might be both in the wrong, but it is very certain they could never agree, and therefore Philip's resolution of leaving the army might not be so injurious to the common cause as it is generally represented. At parting he left a considerable body of French troops under Eudes of Burgundy, with orders to obey Richard, to whom also he promised, with a solemn oath, not to attack his dominions, or to dispossess any of his vassals. But how sincerely he acted in this matter may appear from hence; that, landing in the kingdom of Naples, he took Rome in his way home, and earnestly solicited pope Celestin III. to absolve him from the oath which he had taken to Richard, but without effect ^a. He landed in France about Christmas, and was received with great joy by his subjects, tho' the manner in which he had left the Holy Land did not raise his reputation with other princes, who apprehended his taking advantage of Richard's absence.

A. D.
1191.

It appeared soon after his return, that he had an implacable aversion, and, at the same time, a deep dread of the English monarch. The marquis of Montferrat had been slain in the midst of the city of Tyre, by some of the Assassins; a Danish bold and barbarous nation, from whose practices this word ^{princes,} has been adopted into most languages. Philip no sooner ^{in hopes of} heard of this, than remembering that Richard was the enemy of the marquis, he conjectured that he had applied to the ^{allying} Old Man of the Mountain, so the prince of those wicked ^{them a-} men was stiled, and had procured from him these instruments of his vengeance; from whence he deduced this consequence, that, being no less hated by Richard, he might be in as much danger. Upon this, by the advice of his council, he formed a particular corps of guards, armed with iron maces, whom he had about his person night and day, and who suffered no stranger to approach him ^{gainst} ^{England.} ^b. He likewise

^a WIL. Brit. Philip. lib. iv. N. TRIVET Annal. CHALONS.
^a Monach. Accoheaf. Mhz. ^b Appendix ad Chronicon Sigeberti.

dispatched ambassadors, with rich presents, to pacify the prince of the *Assassins*; but, when they came to his court, the *Old Man of the Mountain* told them plainly; that he had no resentment against their master; that he had never been solicited by the king of *England* to his prejudice, and that he had caused the marquis of *Montferrat* to be killed, because he looked upon him as his enemy, and without having any correspondence with *Richard* ^c. *Philip* in the mean time had his head full of intrigues, entered into a close alliance with *John*, the brother, but the mortal enemy of king *Richard*; and his own queen *Isabella* being dead in his absence, he resolved to marry *Ingerburge*, the daughter of *Waldemar*, and the sister of *Canute* king of *Denmark*, without any other portion than the transferring to him the whole claim of the *Danes* upon *England*, and affording him the assistance of a fleet; but the court of *Denmark* declining this proposition, he was content to take this princess with the small fortune that they offered; yet, before her arrival, the marriage was not very acceptable to the *French* ^d, tho' her merit procured her afterwards the esteem of the whole nation.

A. D.
1192.

Philip enters into an alliance with John against his brother king Richard.

It seems that *Richard* had intelligence of these proceedings in *Syria*; and on account of them, as well as because of a grievous fit of sickness, he determined to return: but in his passage home he was shipwrecked on the coast of *Dalmatia*, and endeavouring to pass in disguise, through the country of *Leopold*, duke of *Austria*, whom he had highly offended at the siege of *Acon*, he was discovered and taken prisoner. After much ill usage, the duke sold him to the emperor *Henry VI.* who was of a harsh disposition, necessitous, and avaricious. He gave notice of this as an acceptable piece of news to king *Philip*, who offered him a large sum of money for his prisoner, which he refused ^e. The king and prince *John* now entered into a new bargain, by which the latter was to deliver up several places, and to leave the king at liberty to despoil *Richard* of what he thought proper in *Normandy*, while himself used his utmost endeavours to get possession of the crown of *England*. And in order to give these dishonourable measures some kind of colour, *Philip* sent to denounce war against *Richard* in his prison, and then assembled an army to invade his territories. The nobility of *France* obeyed him very unwillingly; they put him in mind of his oath, of the scandal of attacking a prince who was still under the cross, and the inhumanity of making war upon one

^c R. DE HOVEDEN. ^d RIGORD. DU TILLÉT. MEZ.
^e Annales Francorum. ^e LE GENDRE.

who was in no condition to resist him. *Philip* pretended that he had no intention to spoil *Richard* of his dominions, or to take any thing but what of right belonged to himself, insisting chiefly on the treaty that had been made between them in *Sicily*, in which *Richard* had stipulated to deliver up the town of *Gisors* and the *Vexin*: he added, that he was bound to deliver up his sister, who was kept prisoner in the citadel of *Rouen* ^f. He quickly regained the places which he claimed, and afterwards made himself master of *Evreux*, which he gave to prince *John*, the castle excepted, into which he put a strong garrison. He also besieged *Rouen* without effect. There is no doubt that this usage must have irritated *Richard*, who, notwithstanding, found himself obliged to dissemble; for having discovered that the emperor was inclined to sell him to *Philip*, or at least to take money to keep him in prison, he directed *William*, bishop of *Ely*, his chancellor, to pass over into *France*, and apply himself to king *Philip* to desist from these intrigues, and to allow him to make the best terms for himself he could; to which, out of mere shame, and to avoid the reproaches of his nobility, the king consented, and the old queen dowager, with infinite difficulty, procured him the best part of his ransom: but we may judge of the true disposition of *Philip* by the message he sent to prince *John*, when he heard that king *Richard* was at length released, "Take care of yourself, " for the devil is unchained;" language unworthy of so great a man, much more of so great a king ^g!

A. D.
1193.

TREATIES made by force, or with no just intention, seldom subsist long. *Richard* had prevailed upon the emperor, and the most considerable princes in *Germany*, to threaten *Philip* with an invasion, if he did not surrender all the places he had taken. Upon which the king, considering this as a declaration of war, invaded *Normandy*, and besieged *Verneuil*; and, as soon as he had the news, *Richard* passed with an army, and a fleet of upwards of a hundred sail, from *England*, and debarked at *Barfleur*, from whence he marched with great rapidity to give *Philip* battle ^h. His brother *John*, who saw himself now at his mercy, resolved, if he could, to recover his favour, and if possible his confidence. The method he took was singular, as well as perfidious. He invited the *French* officers at *Evreux* to an entertainment, and, when they had drank plentifully, caused them to be cut to pieces, to the number of three hundred,

Richard passes with an army into France, and gains some advantages over Philip.

^f POLYDOR. VIRGIL. ^g Appendix ad Chronicon Sigeberti. P. DAN. ^h P. EMIL. Annales Francorum.

and placed their heads upon stakes along the wall; which so far had its effect, as it convinced the king his brother that a reconciliation would never be in his power. *Philip* no sooner received this news, than, leaving his camp in the night with a choice body of troops, he marched with such expedition, that he easily surprized *Eureux*, put all the *English* he found to the sword, with most of the inhabitants, and burnt the place to the ground^l. His revenge cost him very dear: his army, not being in the secret^o of the expedition, finding the king gone, and having intelligence that *Richard* was very near, abandoned their camp and their baggage, and dispersed to their respective homes. There followed upon this a negotiation, which came to nothing, because *Philip* insisted upon an indemnity for those who had taken arms against *Richard*, to which he would not consent^k. *Philip* being again in the field, the *English* monarch laboured all that was in his power to bring him to a battle; and, at length, finding him in the neighbourhood of *Vendosme*, encamped so near that it could not well be avoided, *Philip* made use of an artifice, which failed him: he sent a message to *Richard*, that, if he remained on the same ground, he would give him battle; to which the king of *England* returned for answer, that he would find him ready, and that if he failed he would come the next day and attack him. The design of the king of *France* was to retire, which *Richard* penetrated, and began to advance as soon as the messenger returned, attacked and routed the army on their march, and took the *French* chancery which then attended the king; so that, by this unlucky accident, all the titles of the crown fell into the possession of *Richard*, to the irreparable loss of the *French* nation^l. *Philip*, notwithstanding, made an irruption, not long after, into *Normandy*, with success; and though the pope's legate made great efforts to bring about a treaty, yet they produced only a truce, which lasted but a little time, which was owing to a chimerical project of the emperor, who, with the assistance of king *Richard*, proposed to render the realm of *France* a fief of the empire^m. Upon this *Richard* recommenced hostilities, which were now carried on with unusual fury on both sides. In a little time, however, both kings perceived that wasting their country, and destroying their people, must necessarily turn to their mutual loss, without rendering either of them great; and,

A.D.
1195.

^l G. NEUBRIG. P. VIRG.
P. ÆMIL. ^k RIGORD. R. HOVEDEN.
MONTE. MEZ.

^k Annales Francorum.
^m R. DE

therefore, in the month of *November*, they concluded a truce, and the next year a decisive peace, upon equal terms; by which the princefs *Alice* recovered her liberty, and soon after espoused the count of *Ponthieu*, after being the source of so much discord and bloodshed between the two nations*.

THE peace of *Louviers*, as it was called, from the place where it was made, seemed to promise a lasting tranquility to the dominions of the two kings; notwithstanding which it was broke in six months. *Philip* pretended to take offence at king *Richard's* having dispossessed one of his vassals, and razed his fortress; and, without making any application for redress, renewed the war by besieging *Aumale*. *Richard* was very soon in the field, and hostilities were carried on for some time with a variety of success. The *English* monarch, whom experience had taught caution, and his frequent mistakes address, managed his affairs at this time in a way very different from what he had hitherto done. He detached the count of *Thoulouse* from the party of king *Philip*, by giving him his sister *Joan* in marriage, the widow of *William* king of *Sicily*; he brought over the *Bretons* to his interest, by insinuating to the young duke *Arthur*, or rather to his ministers, that he might render him his successor; and he engaged *Baldwin* earl of *Flanders* in his alliance, by suggesting that it was the only way to recover the rich country of *Artois*, which, in virtue of his first marriage, *Philip* had re-annexed to the crown. By these treaties, and by receiving all who were aggrieved, or thought themselves aggrieved, by *Philip*, he caused him to be attacked on every side, and brought him into very great difficulties. *Philip*, however, brought himself into greater; for giving a loose to his resentment, and relying upon that good fortune which hitherto had attended him in his exploits, he exposed himself like a young man, without any consideration of the numbers he attacked, or was attacked by; which, tho' not fatal to himself, proved exceedingly so to the best of his troops, and to the nobility most attached to his person. Hearing that *Arras* was besieged by the count of *Flanders*, he turned his whole forces on that side, and marched against him with a very numerous army. The count, knowing his inferiority, raised the siege, and retired: the king, hurried by his passions, followed him till he found himself so entangled in a country full of marshes, dykes, and inclosures, that he was unable to advance, or to procure provisions for his army. In these cir-

* WIL. BRIT. ROG. HOBED. . . RIGORD, NICOL.
TRIVETI ANNAL. ROG. HOBED.

circumstances he was constrained to treat with the count, and, by fair promises, procured his leave to retire ^p. Upon this *Baldwin* became a mediator between the two kings, and laboured assiduously to make peace. His good intention was not followed by the success that he expected, and all that it produced was a truce for a year, when the war broke out again with greater fury than ever, till at length, pope *Innocent* the third interposing, the two kings consented to a truce for five years. It was on the point of being broken almost as soon as it was made, if it had not been prevented by the activity and address of the cardinal legate, who managed several conferences between the two kings, and at last brought them to relish a plan for a solid peace; but, before it could be concluded, *Richard* was unfortunately slain before an inconsiderable castle, which he besieged, in hopes of taking from one of his vassals a great mass of gold, which he had found hid in the earth ^q.

A.D.
1199.

King Philip compelled to return to queen Ingerberge, and the death of his mistress.

THE death of *Richard* was one of the most fortunate events that could have fallen out for king *Philip*; but, before we enter into any detail of the events that followed it, it may be requisite to give a succinct account of the troubles that happened in *France* from the king's second marriage. We have shewn the motives upon which it was concluded; and tho' *Ingerberge* was a princess of great beauty and merit, yet the king was so disgusted the first night of their marriage, that he separated from her immediately, and would have sent her home again; but, as she appeared very averse, he contented himself with placing her in a monastery, where she had a handsome allowance, and where her modesty, piety, and patience, gained her universal esteem ^r. This, however, did not hinder some of the bishops of *France* from gratifying the king, on the old pretence of alliance in blood, made out from a pedigree not over well founded, with a divorce; in virtue of which he thought himself at liberty to espouse, three years after the marriage of this princess, *Agnes de Merania*, daughter to the duke of *Dalmatia*; but, upon the complaint of the king of *Denmark* to pope *Celstin*, he caused an inquiry to be made into this matter, and declared the second marriage null. *Philip* solicited pope *Innocent* for a reversion of his sentence, which was granted; yet it served only to create delay; and at length the cardinal legate intimated the pope's sentence, "that he was to put away *Agnes*, and

^p ROB. DE MONT. Appendix ad Chron. Sigeberti. ^q WIL. Brit. GULIELM. NEUBRIG. ^r RIGORD, Monach. Aquicinctinus

"take back his queen". The king not complying, the pope proceeded to an interdict, which subsisted about seven months; at which *Philip* was so provoked, that he seized the temporalities of the bishops, imprisoned the canons of cathedral churches, laid impositions on the inferior clergy, and at length taxed his lay subjects in a most oppressive manner; all which it was in his power to do, because, contrary to the custom of his predecessors, he kept up a standing army of mercenary troops. All this having no effect, he grew tired of living in such a state of violence, and, applying to the pope, promised entire submission, in case he would suffer the divorce and the second marriage to be once more reviewed^t. This was accepted, the interdict removed, and a council appointed at *Soissons* to examine every thing afresh. Thither *Philip* repaired, and finding, in spite of all his authority and address, that a decree would be pronounced against him, he sent the legate word, that he had settled the affair himself; and then leaving *Soissons*, having first taken *Ingerherge* out of her convent there, carried her behind him on horseback to *Paris*, where he owned her publicly for his queen; for grief of which *Agnes* soon after died^u. But the son and daughter he had by her were legitimated by the pope; which an historian of that time says was but ill received in *France*, where they were by no means edified with the pontif's intermeddling in their affairs in such a manner, and more especially^v by pretending to regulate the succession^w.

On the death of his brother, *John* mounted the throne of *England*, and took possession likewise of his *French* dominions, in prejudice to his nephew *Arthur*, who at the beginning, however, claimed only *Anjou*, *Maine*, and *Touraine*. The old queen dowager *Eleanor* was still living, and, by doing homage for *Guienne*, prevented that country from becoming the seat of war. She sided with her son against her grandson, out of pique to his mother *Constance*, who was, like herself, a princess of very high spirit^x. *Philip*, under colour of protecting *Arthur*, invaded *Normandy*, which *John* came in person to defend; however, from the sickness of his nature, he grew desirous of making peace at any rate; and *Philip* no sooner perceived this, than he set accommoda-

* ROB. DE MONT. Appendix ad Chron. Sigebert. Gesta Innocent. III.

^t ROG. HOVE. DU TILLET.

^u RIC.

Invent. des Chartres, tom. vi. Monach Aquicinc.

^w CAR-

TULAIRE M. S. de Phil. August.

^x PAUL. ÆMIL. Annal.

Francorum.

tion at too high a price even for *John* to purchase, notwithstanding the count of *Flanders*, who charged him with breaking his word, had deserted him, and taken part with the king of *England*. At length the old queen dowager devised an expedient, which proved satisfactory to *Philip*¹. She proposed, that his son and heir apparent *Lewis* should espouse *Blanch*, the daughter of *Alonso* king of *Castile*, and the niece of king *John*; who, in case he died without heirs, was to entail the succession to his estates in *France* on the issue of that marriage, and in the mean time was to make a cession of the county of *Eureux* in *Normandy*, with the *Vexin* and other territories, the rights of which had been long contested, to the king. These terms once accepted, the old queen went into *Spain* to fetch the princess, who was to be the seal of this treaty; and the marriage being celebrated in *Normandy*, *Arthur*, whose cause was in some measure abandoned, did homage to his uncle for the duchy of *Bretagne*: and thus for the present, not without a great mixture of injustice, tranquillity was restored².

A.D.
1200.

That
prince, by
the murder of his
nephew,
affords
Philip an
opportunity of
seizing
Normandy.

KING John, who was a very voluptuous prince, had repudiated *Havise*, the daughter of the earl of *Gloucester*; and having seen *Isabel d' Angoulême*, who was contracted, if not married, to *Hugues le Brun*, count of *March*, caused her to be carried away from his house, and, by the consent of her father, married her. As this lady was nearly related to king *Philip*, he carried her to *Paris*, where they were treated with the utmost magnificence, and dismissed with all possible demonstrations of the most cordial affection³. This situation of things very suddenly changed; the count of *March*, resenting the injury done him, and drawing many of the nobility to whom he was allied in blood to his party, began some troubles; which *John*, with great severity, suppressed. Complaints were made upon this to king *Philip*, who wrote in strong terms to the king of *England*; who promised to render justice more readily than he performed it⁴. From these small sparks a great flame ensued. *Philip*, who had mighty things in view, encouraged the young prince *Arthur* to set himself at the head of the malecontents, conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, and furnished him with a large sum of money to raise forces. The first exploit this young prince attempted with his half-formed army, was the siege of *Mirebeau*, where his grandmother the old

¹ WIL. BRIT. NICOL. TRIVET, & al.
DE MONT. Appendix ad Chron. Sigeberti.
NICOL. TRIVET.

² ROBERTI
³ RIGORD,
⁴ WIL. BRIT. MAT. PARIS.

queen dowager resided. King *John*, already landed in *Normandy*, marched with great forces to her relief, routed those of his nephew, and took him prisoner^c. This success, which might have been highly advantageous to his affairs, proved his ruin; for having first transferred the poor young prince to *Falaise*, and from thence to the castle of *Rouen*, when he found it utterly impossible to detach him from the *French* interest, either murdered him, as some historians say, with his own hand, or caused him to be murdered, as almost all writers agree. This cruel act rendered him justly odious to all his subjects in *France*; and his mother applying herself for justice to *Philip*, who summoned him to appear and answer to this charge before the court of peers at *Paris*; and, upon his refusal or delay, declared him, according to the ordinary course of justice, convicted of felony, and all the lands he held as fiefs from the crown of *France* confiscated^d. King *John* was at this time in a most deplorable situation; the old queen his mother lately dead, most of his nobility in arms against him, some of his ancient allies employed in the fourth croisade in *Syria*, some dead, and the rest detached from him; so that *Philip* had the fairest opportunity, as well as the most plausible pretence, for depriving him of *Normandy*, and the rest of his dominions in *France*, under colour of executing the sentence of the court of peers; and he was not a prince capable of letting slip even a less promising occasion^e. But he did nothing precipitately; he took care to have all the forms of law on his side, and, while he was taking these precautions, he assembled a numerous army, with which he undertook the conquest of *Normandy*.

A.D.
1202.

• IT is not our business to enter into a detail of the campaign, *Methods* it is sufficient for our purpose to say, that, in less than six *used by* months, he either obtained, by intelligence of the principal *Philip to* inhabitants, or reduced by force, all the great towns in the *extend the* *Higher Normandy*, while *John* remained at *Caen* in such a *power of* state of inaction, as not only amazed that but all succeeding *at the ex-* ages. The strong fortrefs of *Chateau Gaillard* made a gallant *pence of* defence; and *John*, as if he had waked out of a sleep, as- *the great* sembled a strong fleet and army for its relief; but a concu- *vassals.* rence of unfortunate accidents rendering his efforts ineffec- tual, he, in a fit of distraction, returned to *England*, and seemed to abandon all^f. *Philip*, taking advantage of this, reduced all *Lower Normandy* with the same facility; inso-

^c ROB. DE MONT. Appendix ad Chron. Sigeberti. NICOL. TRIVET. ^d MAT. PARIS. • MEZERAY, LE GENDRE. ^e J. DE SERRES, P. DANIEL.

A. D.
1203.

1204.

much that *John* had nothing left but the city of *Rouen*, the inhabitants of which, from a true spirit of loyalty and independency, defended themselves bravely; neither did they surrender, till, acquainting *John* with their distress, he returned them for answer, that, being able to afford them no relief, they must make the best terms for themselves they could: and thus, after a separation of three hundred years, *Normandy* was again united to the crown of *France* ^g. This success, far from satisfying, served only to raise and inflame the ambition of *Philip*, who carried the war into the countries of *Maine*, *Anjou*, and *Touraine*, the best part of which he subdued with the same ease that he had done *Normandy*. He saw clearly the superiority he had, and resolved to press it to the utmost. The count of *Flanders* was in *Syria*, the count of *Champagne* a child under his tutelage, the count of *Thoulouse* embarrassed with the court of *Rome*, who treated him as a heretic; in short he was free from all the restraints by which his predecessors were in a manner tied down, and he thought the best use he could make of it, was to transmit that liberty which himself enjoyed to his posterity and successors ^h. The only error he committed was shewing his sentiments too plainly, and behaving towards some of the nobility as if that was already done, which was only in a fair way of being done; a thing inexcusable in a politician; but after all, even wise men are but men. *Guy de Tours*, who was become duke of *Bretagne* by the marriage of *Constance* the mother of prince *Arthur*, and the heirs of that duchy, had, during her life, acted as warmly as any against the *English*; but that princess being dead, and perceiving plainly what was the intention of *Philip*, he laboured as much as in him lay to make king *John* sensible of the weak part he had acted, and to persuade him not to desert such of his subjects as yet remained faithful, and were willing to risk all to preserve what was still remaining of his dominions in *France* ⁱ. Moved by these remonstrances, and encouraged by his promises, that monarch came with a fleet and army to *Rochelle*; but the fortune of *Philip* prevailed. *John* received at the beginning various checks, which made him glad to accept a truce for two years, and the duke of *Bretagne*, being left to the king's mercy, was forced to make peace upon the best terms he could obtain; which was an event highly acceptable

^g ROB. DE MONT. ad Chron. Sigeberti.
P. ÆMILIUS, Annal. Francorum.
TRIVET. POLYD. VIRG.

^h MAT. PARIS,
ⁱ RIGORD, NICOL.

to *Philip*, who desired nothing so much as an opportunity of punishing or humbling his vassals ^k.

IN the midst of these transactions, a new and very extra-^{From the} ordinary scene opened itself in *France*. The popes having ^{same mo-} found a way to raise armies, when, where, and against whom ^{tive con-} they pleased, by the preaching of a few hair-brained furious ^{nives at} monks, resolved to make trial of it in *Europe* against those ^{the pope's} they stiled heretics, as they had done in *Asia* against the in- ^{publishing} fidels. *Raymond* count of *Thoulouse*, who was a man of free ^{a croisade} principles, permitted persons of all opinions to reside in his ^{against the} territories, provided their morals were sound, and they did ^{count of} nothing against the public peace. These heretics, as they ^{Thou-} were stiled, did not agree entirely in sentiments, and it was no wonder, since, in reality, they were driven out of the church of *Rome* by a clear sense of her corruptions, or were the remains of the ancient *Gothic* churches, who were never infected with them ^l. To these people, because they lived about *Albi*, they gave the name of *Albigois*; against whom, at the instance of *Dominic* and his disciples, pope *Innocent* the third published a croisade, in order to exterminate with the sword such as would not be converted with preaching ^m. This pious commission was offered to king *Philip*, who refused it, but connived at the execution of it, or perhaps durst not oppose it. *Eudes* duke of *Burgundy*, and afterwards *Simon de Montfort*, were at the head of these miscreants, who stiled themselves the army of the church, and most blasphemously intitled God to all the sacrileges, robberies, and murders, which they committed; desolating all the fine provinces in the south of *France*, destroying not only those they stiled heretics, but also the catholics that lived amongst them: upon all which *Philip* looked with silence, believing that the miseries the people suffered, and the destruction of nobility in those parts, would pave the way for extending his authority, the only object of which he never lost sight ⁿ.

THE pope, having once got this new weapon in his hand, ^{Is deceiv-} imagined himself to be invincible, and was consequently for ^{ed in his} employing it where-ever he found the least resistance. *John* ^{popes of} king of *England* had refused to admit cardinal *Stephen Langton* ^{gaining} in quality of legate from the holy see, because he looked upon ^{England} him as a man wholly devoted to *France*; and this provoked ^{in quality} the pope to such a degree, that he put the kingdom of *Eng-* ^{of a papal} *land* ^{champion.}

^k WIL. Erit. Phil. MAT. PARIS. CHAIONS. ^m ROG. DE HOVED. Hist. Albig. MONT. Appendix ad Chron. Sigeberti.

^l MEZERAY, ^a ROB. DE

land under an interdict °. This brought a furious persecution on the bishops who obeyed it, insomuch that they were obliged to take refuge in France. Pope Innocent, upon this, resolved to keep no farther measures, excommunicated the king, and gave his dominions to the first occupier, assigning the same indulgencies to such as fought against this prince, as if they had taken the cross against the infidels. The legates from Rome having proposed this expedition to Philip, he readily accepted it, knowing that some time or other an attempt would be made to wring Normandy from him, believing it rather his interest to carry the war into England than to expect it at home; and besides, being desirous to employ his son prince Lewis, who, without his knowledge, and contrary to his intention, had taken the cross against the Albigens; which, he supposed, might be dispensed with by his service against the English P. Many of the great lords, either out of vain-glory, the desire of obtaining estates in that island, or out of pure caprice, applauded his design, and promised to follow him. Philip spent much time in forming an army suitable to so great an undertaking, and in preparing a vast fleet, which, if the French authors are to be credited, consisted of no less than seventeen hundred sail. The king of England, on the other hand, made also great preparations, gathered together an army of sixty thousand men, and had also a formidable fleet at Portsmouth, upon which he might have relied; but either from his own suspicions of the fidelity of his subjects, or from the natural fickleness of his temper, he changed his scheme on a sudden, made the meanest submissions to the pope in the person of his legate, cardinal Pandolph, by which he procured absolution, and when Philip expected all the assistance that the authority of the see of Rome could give him, he was threatened with an excommunication if he proceeded in his attempt; but this was not the motive that induced him to desist.

Finds himself, on the contrary, attacked by king John, and a most powerful

THE great peril he was in had awakened so much sense in king John, that, with great secrecy and much address, he had negotiated a league upon the continent for the destruction of France, and, as it was perfectly well concerted, they had proceeded to divide the bear's skin; Ferdinand count of Flanders was to have the city of Paris and the Isle of France, the count of Bologne the Vermandois, John himself the provinces beyond the Loire, and his nephew the emperor Otto Burgundy

° WIL. Brit. Phil.
Annales Francorum.

P MAT. PARIS.

1 P. ÆMIL.

and *Champagne* *. *Raymond* count of *Thoulouse*, and the rest confederacy. of the princes, who had been so ill treated by the crusade, had likewise promised to make a diversion on their side. *Philip* was no sooner acquainted with this confederacy than he turned all his forces against the count of *Flanders*, ravaged all the flat country, and laid siege to *Ghent*; to facilitate which he ordered his fleet to repair to the port of *Dam*. He was quickly obliged, to raise the siege, by the news that the squadrons of king *John* had taken three hundred of his ships laden with all sorts of ammunition and military stores, sunk a hundred more, and blocked up all the rest in the haven and canal *. They had likewise the boldness to debark a small body of troops, which, marching directly towards the *French* camp, *Philip* surprised and cut the best part of them to pieces; which trivial success could not console him for the loss he had already sustained, and much less for that which followed; since, having no other way to keep them out of the hands of the *English*, he was constrained to order all the rest of his fleet to be burnt †. King *John*, animated by this little gleam of prosperity, transported a considerable army to *Rochelle*, where he no sooner landed than the *Poitevins* revolted in his favour; he afterwards made himself master of *Angiers*, the fortifications of which had been demolished, and were by him repaired: in fine, he ravaged all the country as far as the frontiers of *Bretagne* †. *Philip*, foreseeing the ill consequences that might attend this unexpected diversion, sent his son *Lewis* with a considerable force to oppose him. Some of the *French* historians say, that, upon his approach, king *John* decamped so precipitately, that he left his heavy baggage and engines of war behind him; but others assure us there were faults on both sides, that the *Poitevins*, afraid of being treated as rebels, abandoned the field, and that a great part of the *French* army, being seized with the like panic, behaved as ill; but, however this matter passed, it seems to be certain, that king *John* retired to his castle at *Partenai*, resolved to wait there for the event of the campaign in *Flanders*, where the best of his own troops were, and indeed the combined forces of the whole confederacy, under the command of the emperor in person: and as there never was a campaign of more importance to *France* than this, we shall be obliged to treat it more particularly, tho' at the same time as succinctly as it is possible †.

A. D.
1213†

* WIL. Brit. Phil. 1. x.
Annales Francorum. Chron. Belgii.
lib. x. † DUPLEIX.

* MAT. PARIS, P. ÆMIL.
† WIL. Brit. Phil.
NICH. TRIVET.

The im-
portant
victory at
Bouvines.

A.D.
1214.

KING Philip believing it more honourable, and not at all more dangerous, to meet than to expect his enemies, advanced as far as *Tournay*, with an army of fifty thousand men, the flower of his forces, and commanded by the principal nobility of *France*, such as *Eudes* duke of *Burgundy*, *Robert* count of *Dreux*, *Philip* his brother, *Peter Courtenai* count of *Nevers*, all, in the modern stile, princes of the blood, *Stephen* count of *Sancerre*, *John* count of *Ponthieu*, *Gauchér* count of *St. Paul*, twenty-two other lords carrying banners, twelve hundred knights, and between six and seven thousand gens d' arms *. The emperor *Otho*, on the other side, had with him the earl of *Salisbury*, bastard brother to king *John*, *Ferdinand* count of *Flanders*, *Rainald* count of *Bologne*, *Otho* duke of *Limburgh*, *William* duke of *Brabant*, *Henry* duke of *Lorraine*, *Philip* count of *Namur*, seven or eight *German* princes, thirty bannerets, and an army superior in number to that of *Philip*. The two armies met near the village of *Bouvines*, on the 27th of *July* †. The emperor laboured to outstretch the *French* line, giving the command of the right wing to the earl of *Flanders*, the left to the count of *Bologne*, and remained himself in the center, encircled by his great lords. The army of *France* was disposed in order of battle by brother *Guerin* of the order of the knights hospitallers, and bishop elect of *Senlis*; and to the excellent disposition he made cotemporary writers ascribe the fortune of the day. The king was in the center, the duke of *Burgundy* commanded the right, and the count of *St. Paul* the left. The right was broke in the beginning of the action, but rallied and recovered their ground; the left sustained the attack of the allies, without giving way; but the heat of the battle was in the center, where the emperor was once taken, but rescued; *Philip* wounded in the throat, dragged from his horse, and in the same instant of time exposed to the most imminent danger of being cut to pieces, taken, or trampled to death, if the brave men who were about him had not delivered him. This engagement lasted from noon till about five o' clock, when the allies were totally routed, chiefly through the misfortune of having the sun all the time in their eyes, whereas the *French* had it on their backs. The counts of *Flanders* and *Bologne*, three other great counts, four *German* princes, and twenty-five bannerets, were taken prisoners. *Philip* returned to *Paris*, which he entered in triumph, the two counts of *Flanders* and

* GULIEL. BRIT. Vit. Philip. August.

† NANG. Chron.

Belegne following in chains ^a. He afterwards advanced towards *Poitou*, with an intent to crush *John* and his adherents to pieces; but upon the interposition of the pope's legate, the submission of *John* by *Randal* earl of *Chester*, and a present of sixty thousand pounds sterling, he was prevailed upon to admit of a truce for five years; for which he is exceedingly blamed by the modern *French* writers, who are amazed that he should lose so fair an opportunity of completing the reunion of all that *John* held in *France*. The character of this prince considered, who was one of the best statesmen, and one of the most ambitious princes the *French* ever had is sufficient to persuade us, that he had his reasons for acting as he did, and a sufficient attention to certain facts that lie scattered in the old writers will enable us to distinguish what these motives were ^a. He was sensible before the battle of *Bovines*, that it was his own power rather than any regard for the king of *England*, that had raised so powerful a confederacy; he knew they had intelligence throughout his dominions, and even in his very camp; nay, he was so suspicious of some about him, that, when he heard divine service before the action began, he caused a crown of gold to be placed upon the altar, and told all the lords present, that, as they fought not for him but for the honour and independency of *France*, if they knew any one amongst themselves more worthy to wear it, he was ready to place the crown upon his head, and to fight under his command; which generous proceeding extinguished all disaffection on that important day: but, after his return to *Paris*, he came to know so distinctly how dissatisfied the bulk of the nobility were at the increase of his power ^b, that he thought it an improper juncture to augment it, and chose rather to amass money that might enable him to pay an army of his own, than to risk his person any longer in one, where the troops of the crown bore but a small proportion to those of his vassals, whose army it was in effect more than his own.

THE war being thus ended, the king suffered his son *Lewis* Lewis, to perform his vow, in marching with a body of troops against *the Albigeois*, who by this time were almost entirely reduced; ^{parent to Philip, is invited by the barons to receive} so that he rather inspired with jealousy *Simon de Montfort*, who commanded the crosses, than did them any real service ^c. While he was thus employed, a new occasion offered for gratifying his own and his father's ambition; the barons in

^a ROB. DE MONT. Appendix ad Chron. Sigeberti. ^b GU-
LIELM. BRIT. P. ÆMIL. ^c RIGORD, Annales de Dunstable.
^c Hist. Albigenf. P. ÆMIL. Annales Francorum.

the crown
of Eng-
land.

England had taken up arms against king *John*, and had declared him as a tyrant fallen from his regal dignity; but as he had a good army and fleet at his devotion, they found it not so easy to reduce him to the state of a private man as they expected, and therefore they judged it expedient to set up another king; with which view they invited prince *Lewis*, on the report, as they said, of his virtues, to come and accept of the crown^d. The *French* historians insist, or rather dream, of a legal right, derived from his wife, who was the grand-daughter of *Henry* the second; forgetting that, besides king *John* and his family, the princess *Eleanor*, sister to *Arthur*, and daughter to *Geoffrey*, duke of *Bretagne*, was living. But election was a sufficient right for this purpose; and therefore *Lewis*, in the flower of his age, and full of heat, readily accepted the offer. How to furnish him with forces for this purpose was a point not easy to be solved, even by king *Philip*^e. It was likely to revive the jealousy of his nobility, it was a direct breach of the truce, and it was a step that could not fail of provoking the pope. *Philip*, therefore, had recourse to a very strange expedient; he disclaimed having any thing to do with his son, he forbid him to meddle with the affairs of *England*, but furnished him at the same time with a good army and a numerous fleet. This address was altogether ineffectual; for his nobility were not deceived, the truce was plainly violated, and the pope threatened an interdict. However, *Lewis* went to *England*, landed in *Kent*, took *Rocheſter* and other places, proceeded to *London*, and was received there as king; but he committed a great error in leaving *Dover Caſtle* behind him, which was very ill provided, and which king *John* immediately reſtituted, augmented the garrison, and repaired and enlarged the fortifications^f. His father *Philip* having admonished him of his error, *Lewis* besieged the place, but without effect, as he did *Winſor* alſo with the ſame want of ſucceſs. While his forces were thus employed, *John* marched through the kingdom with his army, and took a ſevere revenge of his enemies, ravaging their lands, and demolishing their caſtles, till ſurpriſed by a ſudden death^g. In the mean time the pope had excommunicated both *Lewis* and *Philip*, and had commanded the biſhops of *France* to put the kingdom under an interdict; which, tho' they reſuſed to do, upon the king's declaring he took no part in this war, yet he was

A.D.
1215.

1216.

^d MAT. PARIS. NICH. TRIVET. POLYD. VIRG. ^e RIG. GUIN. P. ÆMIL. Annales Francorum. ^f GULIELM. BRIT. P. ÆMIL. Annales Francorum. ^g DU TILLET, &c.

so much afraid of assisting his son, that *Lewis* was constrained to make a truce with the young king *Henry* the third, that he might have time to pass over into *France*, in order to obtain succours, without which he saw it was impossible to support his daily declining party ^b. It may be remarked, that at this time a minority proved of singular advantage to *England*.

THE terror of the papal power was at this time so great, that king *Philip* refused to see his son, at least publicly, while he remained in *France*, and so many precautions were used in furnishing him with supplies, that he received no great benefit from this voyage; while in *England* the defection became greater and greater, occasioned chiefly by a report, that the viscount of *Melun* had declared upon his death-bed, that *Lewis* looked upon the barons as traitors, and resolved, as soon as it was in his power, to rid himself of them at any rate ^l. At his return *Lewis* attacked *Dover* again with the same ill fortune; and tho' his army afterwards reduced the city of *Lincoln*, yet, while they were engaged in the siege of the castle, they were surprised and defeated by the earl of *Pembroke*, who, in this action, took no less than fifty-two persons of distinction prisoners; which so much enfeebled the party of *Lewis*, that, in order to preserve the city of *London*, he was forced to shut himself up there with all his forces ^k. In this distress he redoubled his applications to his father for relief, which *Philip*, not daring to assist him in any other way, recommended to the care of his consort *Blanch*, who very speedily raised a body of troops under the command of *Robert de Courtenai*, and embarked them on board a strong squadron commanded by *Eustace Le Moine*. But the *English* fleet attacked them at the mouth of the river of *Thames*, and, having taken the admiral, caused his head to be struck off; because he had been formerly in the *English* service; which so intimidated the rest, that, crowding all the sail they could, they returned into the *French* harbour ^l. This left *Lewis* no other means of saving himself than by a treaty, which he made in person with the young King *Henry*, the legate, and the earl of *Pembroke*: the terms were, that *Lewis* and the lords with him should take an oath to stand to the judgment of the church; to return quietly into *France*; to use their endeavours to procure the restitution of *Normandy*, *But in the close is obliged to capitulate, and to quit the kingdom upon terms.*

^b RIGORD, NICH. TRIVET. POLYD. VIRG. ^l ROB. DE MONT. Appendix ad Chron. Sigebert. Annales de Dunstap. POLYD. VIRG. ^k MAT. PARIS. NIC. TRIVET. ^l RIG. P. ÆMIL. Annal. Francorum.

and the rest of the countries possessed by king *Philip*; and, in case they should not succeed, to restore them whenever *Lewis* became king^m. On the other hand, the barons were restored to all their liberties and privileges, and the prisoners, taken in the battle of *Lincoln*, and at the route of the *French* fleet, were to be set free. The legate, upon the execution of this treaty, absolved prince *Lewis*; who, thereupon returned to *France*, where he was again absolved by the pope's legate with much ceremonyⁿ.

*Is sent
against
the Albi-
geois.*

A.D.
1219.

AT the expiration of the five years truce, which had been concluded with king *John*, and which *Philip* affected to maintain, he sent his son *Lewis* to besiege *Rochelle*, which he reduced; but, upon the coming over of the earls of *Kent* and *Salisbury*, the truce was again renewed for four years more, and the city of *Rochelle* restored^o. By this time, the cruelty of the crosses, under the command of *Simon de Montfort*, had so wore out the patience of the people in the south of *France*, that they had restored the old count of *Thoulouse*, and *Simon*, besieging him in that city, was killed before it; upon which pope *Honorius* the third earnestly solicited king *Philip* to send *Lewis* once more against the *Albigensis*, and the monks were ordered to preach again the croisade^p. The king, after much intreaty, consented; *Lewis* took the command of the army, but made no great progress, either through want of zeal in himself, or in virtue of secret instructions from his father; who at length, in tenderness to his reputation, thought fit to recall him^q.

*The death
of Philip
Augustus.*

THE principal motive to the recalling prince *Lewis* was to have him present at a great council of the nobility and prelates, which was to be held at *Paris*, to consider of the offer made by *Amauri de Montfort*, the eldest son of *Simon*; who, surmising that *Lewis* had carried on the war against the *Albigensis* so coldly because the crown had no immediate interest in it, proposed, out of his zeal against the heretics, to resign to the crown his rights to the duchy of *Narbonne*, the county of *Thoulouse*, and all the lands that had been so liberally bestowed upon his father by pope *Innocent* the third in the council of *Lateran*. The king also returning out of his new conquest for the same purpose, fell ill of a fever at *Mante*, where he died, on the fourteenth of *July*, in the forty-fourth year of his reign, and the fifty-ninth of his age^r.

^m MAT. PARIS, NIC. TRIVET, POLYD. VIRG. ⁿ Annales de Dunstable. ^o P. ÆMIL. Annal. Francorum.
^p ROB. DE MONT. Appendix ad Chron. Sigeberti. ^q NANG.
^r WIL. BART. Phil. lib. xii. Gesta Ph. Augusti.

He is allowed to have been the greatest monarch that reigned in *France* from the time of *Charlemagne*, and that very deservedly, in whatever light he is considered. As a politician, he did more towards restoring the authority of the crown than all his predecessors, and indeed as much as could be expected; for at the time of his demise the balance between the crown and its vassals were destroyed, and the great check of the *English* power removed. As a captain, he was the first who introduced regular troops in his own pay; who reduced war to a system; encouraged the invention of military engines; and introduced a regular method of defending and besieging towns. As the patron of letters, he revived and augmented the privileges of the university of *Paris*; laid the foundations of the castle of the *Louvre*; caused most of the great towns in his dominions to be walled and paved; and, in the latter end of his life, expended the immense treasure he had amassed in making great roads, building bridges, and in constructing other edifices for public use; which shews that his laying up money did not arise from a spirit of avarice, but from a view to public utility, otherwise he would never have parted with it, more especially in his old age. But that for which he is most celebrated by the *French* historians, is, the reuniting to the crown *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Touraine*, *Poitou*, *Auvergne*, *Vernandois*, *Artois*, *Montargis*, *Guienne*, &c. so that he left the kingdom of *France* twice as large as he received it, and by this means made reunions twice as easy to his successors (G).

LEWIS

- * RIGORD in Prolog. GULIELM. BRIT. Gesta Phil. August.
 * DU TILLET, DUPLÉIX.

(G) This famous monarch was of a middle stature, well proportioned, had regular features; but the misfortune to have two specks on one of his eyes. He was affable, and easy in his manners, had the general good of his subjects at heart, and, from a consciousness of this, acted sometimes a little bluntly towards the nobility and the peers. He loved decency in every thing, but was an enemy to gaudiness and useless expence, as appears by his pro-

hibiting the use of scarlet and rich furs during the time of the crusade. His first queen was *Isabel*, daughter of *Baldwin the Brave* count of *Hainault*, whom he espoused the 28th of *April* 1180. Three years after, he banished her to *Senlis* for having spoke to him a little too warmly in behalf of the cardinal of *Rheims*. She died at *Paris*, *March* 15th 1190, in the 21st year of her age, in child-bed of twins, leaving behind her only one son *Leopis*, who succeeded his father,

Lewis VIII. *absolutely refuses to execute the treaty of London.* LEWIS the eighth, surnamed *the Lion*, was crowned with his consort queen *Blanch*, on the eighth of *August*, at *Rheims*, by the archbishop of that city, in the presence of the titular king of *Jerusalem*, and the principal nobility of the kingdom. *Henry of England*, instead of coming in person, or sending any to represent him at this solemnity, demanded by an embassy soon after, that the king, in pursuance of his treaty and oath, should restore to him the dominions which his father had possessed in *France*. But the times were changed, and

• *Gesta Ludovici VIII. P. EMSL. Annales Francorum.*

father. He espoused at *Amiens*, Aug. 12th 1193, *Isenburge*, or *Ingelburge*, sister to *Canute* the sixth, king of *Denmark*, whom he repudiated, and procured a divorce, as we have shewn in the text, under pretence of consanguinity. He had afterwards some thoughts of espousing *Joan* queen dowager of *Sicily*, and in June 1196 married *Agnis*, the daughter of *Bertold* the fourth, duke of *Merania*, whom many historians call *Mary*. She died at *Poissy*, in 1201, of grief, at his being obliged by the pope to take back his former queen. By her he had *Philip Hurspel*, that is, *the Rude*, created by his father count of *Clermont* in *Beauvoisis*, but who, in right of his wife *Matilda*, or *Maud*, became count of *Dammartin* and *Bologne*, and gave great disturbance to the queen regent in the minority of *St. Lewis*. He had also by the same princess a daughter *Mary*, promised in marriage to *Alexander* prince of *Scotland*, afterwards to *Arthur* count of *Bretagne*, but married neither. In 1206 he espoused *Philip* count of *Namur*, and, after his decease, *Henry* duke of *Brabant*. These children were legitimated by the pope, and

had so good an opinion of his own birth, that he secretly aimed at the crown. But notwithstanding the king, to prevent an interdict, took back queen *Ingelburge*, and was seemingly reconciled, yet he very soon after sent her to *Estampes*, where she remained 12 years, and then, when it was least expected, he sent for her to *Paris*, lived with her the remaining ten years of his life in great tranquillity, and, besides her jointure, left her, by will, ten thousand livres, as a mark of his affection. She died at *Corbeil*, in 1236, in the 60th year of her age, and was buried in the priory of *St. John*, at the place before-mentioned, of her own foundation; but the king her husband was interred at *St. Denis*. It is necessary to observe, that, tho' no notice is taken of it by most historians, yet he had certainly a bastard son, whose name was *Peter Carlot*, to whom *William la Breton* dedicated his poem, and, being his preceptor, he wrote also a poem in his honour, stiled *Carlotes*. This young prince became afterwards treasurer of *Tours*, and bishop of *Nojon*, where he died in 1249.

Lewis

Lewis answered roundly, that he looked upon his title to the forfeited dominions, which his father united to the crown, as incontestible; and that, with respect to his own treaty, he looked upon it to be void, because he was informed the *English* barons were not restored to all their privileges, and that the *French* prisoners had been obliged to pay ransom.^v As it was pretty evident a war would ensue as soon as the truce expired, the king renewed his treaty with the emperor *Frederick*, and soon after made another with *Hughes* count *de March*, who had married the queen dowager of *England*. These precautions taken, *Lewis* resolved to prosecute his father's design, which was the total expulsion of the *English*: he raised for this purpose a numerous army, with which he besieged *Niort*: the place was defended by *Savari de Mauleon*, who had hitherto been the chief support of the *English* interest in *Poitou*. He made a gallant defence, but was at length obliged to capitulate, and retire with his garrison to *Rochelle*. *Lewis* next made himself master of *St. John d'Angeli*, and afterwards marched his victorious army to besiege *Rochelle*. *Savari*, who had the reputation of being one of the greatest captains of that age, behaved in a manner suitable to that character, and solicited continually relief from *England*, more especially in money; but, being deluded with fallacious promises, and a quarrel arising between the garrison and the inhabitants, he was obliged to capitulate, and was permitted to embark himself and his garrison for *England*; where, looking upon himself as very ill treated, he returned into *France*, and entered into the service of king *Lewis*.^x All that the *English* now possessed was the city of *Bordeaux*, and the country beyond the *Garonne*. To preserve this, *Henry* sent a stout squadron, with a considerable corps of troops on board, commanded by his brother *Richard*, whom he made a knight, and created earl of *Cornwall* and count of *Poitou*, upon this occasion.^y This had an extraordinary effect, the nobility, clergy, and people, naturally inclined to the *English*, were so pleased to have a prince of the royal blood amongst them, that they enabled him to make such efforts as induced king *Lewis* to make a truce for three years; for which he is, by some writers, very much blamed.^z

A.D.
1224.

THE apparent motive of the king's conduct was his being warmly pressed by a legate from the pope to take the cross, *Enter* into the and to march against the *Albigens*, with which he at length *croisade*

^v NANG. Chron. Gesta Ludovici VIII. ^x P. ÆMIL.
Annales Francorum. ^y MAT. PARIS, Annales de Dun-
staple. ^z DU TILLËT, J. DE SÈVRES.

against
the Albi-
geois, and
dies at
the siege
of Avig-
non.

completed. He accepted, upon this occasion, what his father had refused, that is, the cession of the rights of *Amiauri de Montfort*, to whom he promised the high post of constable of *France*, when it should become vacant. While he was preparing for this expedition, a very extraordinary affair happened. There appeared in *Flanders* a man who stiled himself *Baldwin* emperor of *Constantinople*, and consequently the natural sovereign of that country, and as such he was joyfully received by the people ^a. The countess, who had governed from the time of her husband *Ferdinand's* imprisonment, finding it impossible to resist, had recourse to the protection of king *Lewis*; who summoned this emperor *Baldwin* to attend him at *Peronne*. The man came thither with great intrepidity, related the manner in which he had fallen into the hands of the *Bulgarians*, the great hardships he had endured in his captivity, and the way by which he made his escape; but when they questioned him as to things that had passed before he left *Flanders*, he answered sullenly, that he would say nothing before such a multitude. Upon this the king dismissed him, but with a safe conduct, till he was out of his dominions. Upon this the people abandoned him, and, being seized by some of the countess's adherents, she caused him to be tortured to death as an impostor, which did not hinder her subjects from reproaching her with her ambition and avarice, that had instigated her to treat in this manner a person she knew to be her father ^b. After this, the king having assembled his army, and the cardinal legate having paved the way, by thundering out an excommunication against the young count of *Thoulouse* (which the world in general, and many bishops in particular, thought very unjust), marched directly to *Lyons*, and from thence, along the banks of the *Rhone*, to *Avignon*; where the people would have submitted, but that they were afraid of being plundered. The king refusing to give them any assurance of the contrary, they shut their gates, and he immediately invested the place with an army of fifty thousand men ^c. As the people were driven to despair, they made a very long and very obstinate defence, till at length the king, who had with him the principal nobility of *France*, forced them to yield to a capitulation; but found his army so much diminished, and in so miserable a condition, that he was constrained to defer the siege of *Thoulouse*, which he had likewise meditated, to the next year;

A. D.
1226.

^a Chron. Belgic. P. ÆMIL. Annal. Franc. Annales de Dun-
stable. ^b Gesta Ludovici VIII. ^c P. ÆMIL. Annal.
Francorum.

and, retiring from thence into *Auvergne*, in his passage from thence to *Paris* he was seized with a violent distemper, of which he died in a week at *Montpensier*, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and fourth of his reign. Some writers say, that his physicians thought he might have recovered, if he would have taken a woman to his bed; but that he chose rather to die than to commit a mortal sin^d. An *English* historian, however, who had reason to be well informed, and no reason to conceal the truth, gives a very different account of his death. He affirms, that it happened before the place surrendered; that the count of *Champagne*, who was amorous of queen *Blanch*, went to the king and told him, that, having served the full term of forty days, he would continue no longer at the siege; that thereupon *Lewis* threatened him, if he departed, he would lay his country waste with fire and sword; to prevent which the count caused him to be poisoned; and that the cardinal legate concealed his death till the place was taken^e. Thus much is certain, that the day on which he died is not certainly fixed; but, from various circumstances, it appears to have been some time in the beginning of *November*. He is thought to have foreseen the troubles that happened upon his death, by his requiring the oaths of the prelates and nobility that were about him, that they would place the crown upon his son's head; and tho' it is farther said, that he took this promise under their hands and seals, yet they were not very forward to observe it^f, having long expected such an opportunity of setting up what they esteemed their own rights against those of the crown.

* *LEWIS* the ninth, commonly called *St. Lewis*, was about twelve years of age when his father died; and some of the prelates, who were near the person of that monarch, having deposed, that he declared his consort tutors and regent, the queen dowager immediately took upon her the title and power, got together what forces she was able, and resolved to carry her son to *Rheims*, tho' the see was then vacant, in order to be crowned: others speak very differently of this princess; for some make her a miracle of beauty and piety; others assert, that she was rather agreeable than handsome, and that, if she had her virtues, she had her weaknesses also^g. That she was beloved by *Thibaut* count of *Champagne* was the common rumour of that age, grounded upon

^d Chron. NANG. GULIELM. DE PODIO. ^e MAT. PARIS, Annales de Dunstaple. ^f Chron. NANG. GULIELM. DE PODIO, P. ÆMIL.. ^g PHIL. MOYSES MS de la Bibliothèque du Roi.

the songs and poems written by him in her praise. In answer to the objection, that her lover was one of the first who declared himself a malecontent, it is said, that he did this from jealousy, the queen being wholly directed by the advice of the cardinal legate, who was suspected to love the queen, and who it was also suspected was not hated by her ^b. But it is very probable these are but calumnies, since *Blanch* was at this time towards forty, and the count of *Champagne* little more than half as old; so, that his passion was to be regarded rather as vanity, with which the queen ought to have been offended, and so at first it seems she was, since she gave express directions for arresting him, in case he had come to *Rheims*; but afterwards her affairs taught her to make another use of his folly, which, as we shall see, her son knew how to chastise. In the mean time, perceiving the disaffection of the nobility, she caused her son to be crowned by the bishop of *Soissons*, tho' there were only three counts, the great officers of the crown, and a few prelates, present at that ceremony; which was one of the wisest steps she could take ¹ (H).

THE

^b MAT. PARIS, Annales de Dunstplae, NICHOL. TRIVET.

¹ Gesta Sancti Ludovici IX. Francorum regis, descripta per GU-
LIELM. NANGIACO.

(H) The coronation of he young king was a point of so great importance, that, as we have hinted in the text, the king, on his death-bed, had exacted the strongest assurances from the chief lords who were about him, that it should be performed without delay; but, when they found this inconsistent with their interest, they judged that it gave them a right to perform their promise. The peers, it seems, thought that their presence was so essential, as that this ceremony could not be performed without them; and from this persuasion they stated their demands, which, when complied with, they were content to perform their functions in that solemnity. But

the queen had two able statesmen about her, who gave her right advice; the one was the cardinal legate *Bonaventure*, who, proceeding on the general maxims of policy, told her that the inauguration of her son could not be too speedily performed; and the other *Guerin*, bishop of *Sens*, and chancellor of *France*, the same who won the battle of *Bouvines* for *Philip Augustus*, and who had raised his post of chancellor to be the first civil employment in the state; and he told her what was requisite, according to the laws of *France*. The late king *Louis*, in 1224, had procured a decision of the peers in favour of the great officers of the crown, by which it was decreed, that the chancellor,

THE true state of the matter is, that the great lords, perceiving how much their power had been lessened, and their authority restrained, by the two last kings, thought this minority, which was the third from the death of *Hugh Capet*, a favourable opportunity to recover both; and therefore they made certain demands, which they insisted should be granted before they rendered homage to the new king. The chiefs of this confederacy were, *Philip*, count of *Bologne*, the son of *Philip Augustus*, who was suspected to have a design upon the crown; *Joanna*, countess of *Flanders*, who bore an irreconcilable hatred to the queen regent; *Peter de Dreux*, second son to *Robert* count of *Dreux*, and grandson of *Robert*, fourth son to *Lewis the Gross*, who, by the marriage of *Constance*, the daughter of the heiress of *Bretagne* by *Guy de Thours*, held that country with the title of count, and who was very desirous of rendering himself independent of the crown; *Thibaut*, count of *Champagne*, out of vanity and pique; *Raymond*, count of *Thoulouse*, in hopes of recovering and securing his dominions; *Berenger*, count of *Provence*, from the strict alliance he had long held with *Raymond*. The points upon which they insisted, were, that as the queen was a stranger, she ought to give them some security that she would not violate the laws; that she should restore the estates of such as had been confiscated during the last years reigns; and that she should release such as were prisoners, particularly *Ferdinand*, count of *Flanders*; all which

chancellor, the constable, the bugler, and the chamberlain, had time immemorial sat, and of right ought to sit and vote with the peers. This gave them great weight; himself as chancellor, *Matthew de Montmorency* then constable, with the rest of the great officers, *Peter de Dreux*, a few other noblemen and some prelates, resorted to *Rheims*, where *James de Baisioche*, bishop of *Soissons*, crowned the king on the first of *December*. The countesses of *Champagne* and *Flanders* were also present, and contended, on the part of their husbands, for the right of carrying the sword, which they at length consented should be

born by the king's uncle *Philip*, count of *Bologne*, without prejudice to their respective claims; and thus, as it will ever happen in such cases, the peers, who were absent, not only lost their point, but with it, in a great measure, their principal prerogative, for till this time there had been some show of an election preserved; but henceforward the coronation became a mere ceremony, in which, tho' the peers sometimes contended for precedency and their particular functions, yet these contentions were about their own rights, and those of the king were entirely out of the question.

she peremptorily refused *. In order to secure herself, and to make them sensible of her resentment, she marched immediately with an army against the count of *Champagne*, having with her the count *de Bologne*, who had not as yet declared for the malecontents. Some writers say, that she compelled *Thibaut* to pay homage to the king, and to acknowledge his indiscretion; but others say, that she only signified to him that she had a mind to see him at court, and that thereupon he quitted his party, and went to throw himself at her feet. There is certainly the greater probability of this from her conduct towards the rest; for having twice summoned them to answer before the parliament, she at length condescended to treat with them all, and by a proper distribution of favours to them, and of money to their favourites, drew them gradually to submission. In one instance she shewed great dexterity: the countess of *Flanders*, whom the populace reproached with the murder of her father, and who, by pretending she could not raise his ransom, had left her husband *Ferdinand* so many years in prison, was now inclined to get that marriage dissolved, with a view of marrying the count of *Bretagne*. To prevent this the queen set count *Ferdinand* at liberty, upon such easy terms, that he remained ever after attached to her service. It is also said that she prevented *Henry III.* of *England* from coming to the assistance of the malecontents, by attacking the weak side of his minister the great earl of *Kent*, who, with many heroic qualities, loved money too much, and for a large sum suffered the expedition to fail for want of a fleet ^m. Yet, when she thought all quiet, she found herself in the greatest danger.

It revived when it appeared to be dissipated, and becomes more dangerous than ever. THE old count of *Bologne*, who was taken at the battle of *Bouvines*, had been all this time in prison; and finding he was to remain there, when the count of *Flanders* was discharged; delivered himself, in a fit of despair, of life and chains together. The king's uncle, *Philip*, who had been restrained by the fear of the queen's setting his father-in-law at liberty, now joined the malecontents. Their first scheme was to seize the person of the king in his passage from *Orleans* to *Paris*; but the queen, being informed of this by the count of *Champagne*, carried the king to a strong fortress upon the road, and having given notice of his danger to the

Histoire et Chronique de Saint Louis Roy de France, par J. SIRE DE JOINVILLE, Senechal de Champagne. Annales Francor. m. ¹ MEZ. CHALONS. ^m NANGIUS in vita Ludovici IX.

people

people of *Paris*, they came with a force sufficient to conduct him in safety to his capital. This, though it disconcerted, did not dissolve the confederacy, except in appearance; for having taken their measures with the count of *Bretagne*, they separated, as if they had given all for lost. The count of *Bretagne* broke out into open rebellion; and the king having named the place of rendezvous on the frontiers, all the malecontents, with high professions of loyalty, promised to repair thither; and they did so, but with so slender a force, that the count might easily have made the king prisoner, which was what they designed: but the count of *Champagne*, whom they had trusted in this as in the former plot, arrived, when they least expected it, with so great a force, that the count of *Bretagne*, instead of triumphing, was forced to submit, and to make the best terms with the king and queen regent that he could. The queen also having, by the assistance of the cardinal legate, drawn an immense subsidy from the clergy in *France*, assisted the army of the church so powerfully, that the count of *Thoulouse*, being reduced to extremity, made a peace on the hardest terms, and consented to give his daughter to the king's brother *Alonso*, and declare her sole heiress of his estates, by which they were afterwards annexed to the crown. So that the maxims of the late reign were thoroughly understood, and with great fortitude pursued in this.

In the mean time the malecontents had drawn the count of *Champagne* back to their party, by offering to him the daughter of the count of *Bretagne*; yet the king, being informed of it, broke it by a letter sent to the count, when all things were prepared for its celebration, which so incensed the malecontents, that they sent for the queen of *Cyprus*, who had a claim to this country, and on her behalf entered *Champagne* with an army, which induced the revolt of a great part of the count's vassals; but the king came to his relief with a powerful army, and obliged his enemies to retire. At length the claim of the queen of *Cyprus* was compromised for a sum of money, which the king advanced, by the sale of a considerable part of the count's territories; so that, upon the whole, the crown was the greatest gainer in this whole transaction. A strong proof of the steadiness and prudence of their counsels, rather than their generosity.

They attack the count of Champagne, who deserted them, and who is delivered by the king.

A. D.
1228.

* Chronicon Albertic. Joinville Histoire de St. Louis.
• NICOL. TALYETI Annales. * DU CHESNE, tom. v.
† Chroniques MS. de Mr. de THOU. † NANGUS in vita Ludovici IX.

Queen
Blanch's
regency no
prejudice
to the king
or king-
dom.

IN the course of her regency, the queen gave repeated proofs of her firmness and address. She made use of the earl of *Flanders* to curb the count of *Bologne* when in arms; and, at length, she totally detached him from the party of the malecontents, by convincing him he was deceived by them; and that, while they affected to flatter him with hopes of the crown, they in reality designed it for *Enguerrand de Coucy*, a nobleman of great merit and parts, but weak enough to believe that they were sincere in these propositions, and would be strong enough to effect it, by which he was wretchedly deluded¹. But *Philip*, count of *Bologne*, wisely accepted a good pension, and reconciled himself to his nephew and his mother. In short, she applied the money she received from the clergy so prudently, that very often those who appeared to be the most zealous amongst the malecontents were but her spies; and if there were any who refused her money, she gave it out positively that they had accepted it; so that they were in continual disputes and jealousies of each other, and, except the count of *Bretagne*, though they had the best inclination in the world to rebellion, were never in a condition to attempt it². As for that count he could do nothing without the king of *England's* assistance; and the queen's liberalities were so acceptable to his ministers, that sometimes she hindered him from succouring the count, and rendered his expeditions fruitless when he did; so that, after taking one of the count's principal fortresses, in a manner under the king's eye, she forced the former to submit, and the latter to consent to a truce for three years: and thus the troubles of her regency were ended, without the least prejudice to the king's authority or domain³.

Yet exposes
that prin-
ciple to
great cen-
sure,
which,
however,
she treated
with con-
tempt.

AFTER all this she was far from escaping censure, and the great pains she took about the king's education was made the subject. Those to whom she entrusted it were chiefly clergy, who took more pains to impress on his mind sentiments of religion than politics, and who, though they were attentive enough as to his exercises, were very strict in point of diversions. The courtiers, who were by no means pleased, gave out very different stories; some deplored the fate of the kingdom, the monarch of which was like to have no other abilities than those of a monk; while others whispered, that the young king could dissemble as well as his mother, and that, notwithstanding his modest appearance, he had privately his mistresses, with which the regent was not unacquainted,

¹ NANGIUS in vita Ludovici IX.
² DU TILLET.

³ MATH. PARIS.

but that she was willing he should indulge other passions, while she indulged her ambition *. The queen, being informed of this, took it in a right light; and to prevent their rendering that a truth, which was at present a calumny, she resolved to marry the young king, in his nineteenth year, to *Margaret*, the eldest daughter of the count of *Provence*; and executing that project without difficulty or delay, she kept the young king, and his younger wife, so much under her eye †, and in such awe, as furnished materials for fresh stories, which, though not altogether groundless, she treated with contempt, and continued to take her measures according to her own sense of things, and without giving herself much pain about what was thought of them by others: and, indeed, considering how happily she conducted her administration in times of such danger and perplexity, we need not wonder that many historians have sounded her praises so high, and taken so much pains to apologize for her high spirit, and strong inclination to power, since they were the instruments of so much good to the king her son, and contributed so apparently to the welfare of the state, and to the tranquility of his subjects ‡.

THE count *de Bretagne* remained still in the same mutinous disposition, and was, at every turn, labouring to bring an army of *English* auxiliaries over to his assistance. *Lewis*, by his mother's advice, resolved, once for all, to put an end to this, by attacking him with a puissant force; the queen, in the mean time, having drawn several of the lords in *Bretagne* from their attachment to the count, and having such an intelligence in *England*, as left her free from any apprehensions of a descent from thence. When, therefore, the king approached the frontiers with an army, the count, who had done homage to the king of *England* for his territories, desired leave to demand succour from that monarch, which, if he did not receive, he promised to submit. This was indulged him; and *Henry* refusing to come with a fleet and army to relieve him, he returned, and presented himself before *Lewis* with a rope about his neck. The king, however, after some hard words, and the imposition of very rigorous terms, dismissed him, sufficiently humbled, and yet glad to escape even at that rate †. The king, becoming of the age of twenty-one years, might, as the constitution of *France* then stood, have taken the reins of government into his own

The count de Bretagne continues his practices, till he is most grievously humbled.

A.D.
1234.

* JOINVILLE Histoire de St. Louis.
DU TILLET. † LE GENDRE.
GIL.

* MATH. PARIS.
* POLYDORE VIR-

hands; but queen *Blanch* was not weary of ruling; and *Lewis* had so much deference for his mother, that, though she laid aside the title of regent, she exercised the same authority as before. *Thibaut*, count of *Champagne*, being become, in right of his mother, king of *Navarre*, and having found an immense sum in the treasury of that crown, began to surmise, that it was not a sale, but a mortgage he had made of the estates which some years before he had surrendered to the crown. But the king, notwithstanding the interposition of the pope, made him so sensible of the superior weight of his arms, that he was constrained to submit^a. The manner in which these potent vassals of the crown had been from time to time mortified, and the sense they had of the impossibility of giving the crown any remarkable disquiet at this juncture, induced them to follow the example of the king of *Navarre*, who had taken the cross, that they might go and display their courage and their power, at the same time that they indulged their spirit of independency in distant climates. Accordingly the count *de Bretagne*, having resigned his dominions to his son *Henry* count of *Bar*, the duke of *Burgundy*, with *Amauri de Montfort*, constable of *France*, and several other great lords, attended him^b. About this time it is said, that the prince of the *Assassins* sent two of his desperate attendants into *France*, with orders to kill the king; but being afterwards informed how mild and good a prince he was, sent a countermand, and those who brought it arrived before the *Assassins*. The king, apprised by them of his danger, instituted, as his grandfather had done, a new guard, with maces, for the security of his person. In a little time the two assassins were discovered and seized; but the king was so far from doing them any hurt, that he caused them to be kindly treated, and sent them back with a rich present for their master. But, perhaps, it was not the good character of the king solely that brought about this event^c. The *Tartars* began like an inundation to sweep all *Asia*; and the prince of the *Assassins*, and other *Mohammedan* powers, most earnestly implored the assistance of the Christians, to prevent their common destruction by these barbarous invaders^d.

A. D.
1238.

^a JOINVILLE Histoire de St. Louis. P. DANIEL. ^b NANGIUS Chronicon. LE GENDRE. Chron. Alberic. ^c NANGIUS in vita Ludovici IX. ^d MATH. PARIS. HENAUT. MEZERAY.

So long as the great lords remained abroad, the kingdom *New in-* enjoyed a proper tranquillity. *Lewis*, as soon as he became *trigues, in* of age, had settled his brothers in the manner prescribed by *hopes of* his father's testament, and admitted nothing that could *supports* contribute to place them in a state of grandeur and security *from Hen-* suitable to their birth. This chagrined some, and frightened *ry III. of* others; and, therefore, upon the return of the count of *England,* *Bre-* *tagne*, and other lords, from *Syria*, they began to cabal and *which pro-* fresh, and to take all the measures they could devise for excit- *duced ano-* ing a new civil war. At the head of this contrivance was *ther con-* the count *de La March*, who had married the queen dow- *federacy.* ager of *England*, a princess who could not bear the thoughts of doing homage to the children of queen *Blanch*, and who was bent, at all events, to recover for her son *Henry* the territories his father had lost in *France*. The count of *Thou-* *louse* was also of this faction, and with much more reason than any, since he had been very hardly treated. *Henry III.* of *England*, was the power chiefly depended upon; and, indeed, but for that dependence, there could have been none of these disturbances in *France*.

It was his foible to form very great designs, and to ex- *Defeated* cute them weakly. But he had the misfortune to differ *by Lewis,* with his parliament; and, as they would give no supplies, he *who there-* was compelled to raise money at high interest: and this went *by settles* but a little way in a war where his allies were very hungry, *the autho-* and where, though they were to reap all the profit, they not- *riety on a* withstanding expected him to be at most of the expence. *solid foun-* King *Lewis*, after trying all means to quiet the minds of the malecontents, at length assembled a great army, the best part of which was composed of troops in his own pay; and having twice beaten the confederates, he constrained the count of *La March* to make a separate peace upon very hard terms, and concluded another truce with *Henry*, who finding himself disappointed by the greater part of the *French* lords (who, upon reflection, were afraid to join with him), began to have a distaste for these kind of proceedings, and therefore went to *Bourdeaux*, to get his son *Edward* acknowledged by the inhabitants of that city for his heir apparent. The triumphing over this confederacy, which, if things had taken another turn, would have produced an universal insurrection, was the most important, if not the most glorious, event in the reign of king *Lewis*, as it placed his authority on a level, at least with that of his grandfather *Philip Augustus*.

A.D.
1242.

* Chronique MS. de Mr. THOU. † GULIELM. DE PODIO,
et P. DANIEL. ‡ P. MAUSKES. § P. ÆMIL.

*Measures
taken by
him for
this pur-
pose, and
his cau-
tion in re-
gard to the
pope.*

THE count of *Thoulouse* was the last who submitted; and tho' the king readily pardoned his revolt, yet he was very strict in the precautions he took, that he should not revolt again. His whole conduct was of the same tenure; and the point he kept continually in view was, to put it out of the power of the great lords to disturb him with impunity. He had before made an edict, with the consent of his parliament or council, that they should not marry their daughters to foreigners without his permission; the pretence was to prevent strangers from inheriting lands in *France*, to the prejudice of natives, which was very plausible and popular; but the principal aim was to hinder their having any connections, and of consequence obtaining any support, from other princes^k. At this time he made another edict, that such as held lands from him, and from the king of *England*, should make their election to which of the kings they would render homage, and thereby put an end to the old custom of becoming subjects to both kings, and adhering, either as their humours or their interests led them, to which they pleased. This was considered as a great hardship, since, by making their option, these vassals were sure to lose their estates either in one country or the other. To redress this, as far as it could be redressed, *Lewis* indemnified those, who adhered to him, out of the lands of those who chose to do homage to the king of *England*^l. Pope *Innocent IV.* being driven out of *Italy*, was desirous of putting himself under the protection of *France*, which the king declined, as foreseeing many inconveniences that would attend it, but permitted him to hold a council at *Lyons*, which was not then united to the crown, in which the emperor *Frederick* was excommunicated. The king soon after fell sick of a grievous distemper, in which he remained for the space of twenty-four hours, so totally insensible that many believed him dead; and upon his coming to himself, he immediately took the cross from the hands of the bishop of *Paris*, making at the same time a solemn vow, to go in person with an army against the infidels, which threw the nation into almost as great perplexity as that from which they recovered on the first news of his being out of danger^m. The wisest and ablest of his ministers laboured all that was in their power to dissuade him from this resolution; but their efforts were to no purpose, though he readily agreed to do nothing precipitately, but to take all the precautions possible to prevent this expedition from being so

A.D.
1244.

^k NICOL. TRIVETI Annales. ^l P. ÆMIL. Annales Francorum. ^m NANGIUS in vita Ludovici IX.

prejudicial to his dominions as those of his predecessors had been.

It appears from the common consent of the historians of those times, that the king judged it necessary to have the consent of the nobility before he undertook this expedition; and as the obtaining this was no very easy matter, considering their general reluctance, and the little hope there was of success abroad, or of tranquility at home, if he went unattended by the most powerful of his vassals, he was obliged to act with the utmost caution; and, from the address he shewed in the management of his affairs, we may very safely pronounce, that never was so imprudent a design so prudently conducted. He had an interview with the pope, in hopes of reconciling him to the emperor *Frederick*, but without effect. However, though he missed of doing another's business in this journey, he executed his own, by procuring *Beatrix*, the youngest daughter of the count of *Provence*, to whom, in prejudice of his other daughters, and particularly the queen of *France*, her father had bequeathed his dominions for his brother *Charles* ⁿ. The secrecy and art with which this business was managed, though so many great princes, and particularly the king of *England*, married to another daughter of the count's, employed all their skill and interest to prevent it, did him great credit. He was no less successful in levying a tenth of their revenues upon his clergy, by the authority of the pope; but when the pontiff would have extracted another sum for carrying on his war against the emperor, *Lewis* interfered, which the clergy took so kindly, that, tho' at first they had murmured against the tax for the croisade, they now applauded it ^o. The many different methods he practised, and the earnestness he shewed, in exhorting the nobility to follow his example, had by degrees a great effect, more especially after he had prevailed upon the count of *March*, and the old count of *Bretagne*, the two most turbulent men in *France*, to assume the cross ^p. His greatest difficulty was about the king of *England*; for having, according to the custom of those times, upon all such occasions, made open proclamation, that if there was any person he had wronged he was ready to do them right, and to make restitution to all who had a right to claim it; *Henry* sent over his brother earl *Richard*, who very boldly and plainly told the king, that he ought to restore to his brother *Normandy*, and the rest of the countries of which he had been despoiled,

^a JOINVILLE Histoire de St. Louis.
^p P. MAUSKEE.

^o MATH. PARIS.

A. D. 1247. in case he hoped for success against the infidels¹. The king had so far regard to his application, that he submitted this as a case of conscience to the bishops of *Normandy*, and, upon their declaring he was not bound to make restitution, he declined it. *Henry* consented, nevertheless, to the renewing the truce; and the king, having declared the queen-mother regent in his absence, disposed every thing for his departure².

The army winters in Cyprus, reembarks for Egypt, and lands there without opposition. THE king carried with him in this expedition his queen, and his two brothers *Robert* and *Charles*. At *Lyons* he received the benediction of the pope, and passing down the *Rhone*, he embarked at *Aigues Mortes* on the 23d of *August*, and, having fair winds and a fine passage, landed his forces on the 25th of *September* following in the isle of *Cyprus*³. There it was resolved to winter, which it was thought he might conveniently do, as he had taken the precaution of causing vast magazines to be previously constructed for the use of his army; but, notwithstanding this, they must have suffered considerably, if the emperor and the *Venetians* had not taken care to furnish them with vast supplies. It was resolved, during his stay in this island, that a descent should be made into *Egypt*, experience having shewn that *Jerusalem* and the *Holy Land*, when conquered, could never be kept, while *Egypt* remained in the hands of the infidels. Here also he received ambassadors from *Armenia*, and from the *Khan* of the *Tartars*; the latter assuring him that he would find full employment for the Soltan of *Bagdat*, and the former promising to do the same with respect to the Soltan of *Iconium*⁴. In the spring, having received a considerable reinforcement, under the command of *Robert*, duke of *Burgundy*, he disposed every thing for his second embarkation. It was, however, about the middle of *May*, before his fleet, which consisted of eighteen hundred sail, parted from *Cyprus*; but meeting with a tempest in their passage, it is said he had not a third, some affirm not a fourth part of his forces, at the time of his landing. This, however, produced no ill consequence; for though the enemy had twenty thousand men well posted to hinder his debarkation, yet they were struck with such a panic at the sight of his troops leaping on shore, that, after one discharge of their arrows, they retired in the utmost confusion, and, which was still more extraordinary, abandoned the city of *Damietta*, a place rich, of great extent,

1249.

¹ NANGIUS in vita Ludovici IX. ² NANGII Chron.
³ Du CHESNE, DUPLEIX. ⁴ N. TRIVET. Annales.
 Annal. Francorum.

and extremely well fortified". A piece of good fortune they did not expect.

THE first success seemed to promise great things, with *Advances* which, however, the following events did by no means cor- *souardi* respond. They took possession of this place in the beginning *Cairo, is* of the month of June, and the rising of the waters of the *surround-* Nile rendering it impossible to proceed to Cairo, they were *ed, beaten,* obliged to stay several months where they were. Lewis con- *and at* sidering the importance of *Damietta*, preserved with great *length* care the magazines and military stores that were found there- *taken pri-* in, which displeased the bulk of his army exceedingly, who *soner by* asserted, that, according to the custom of the crosses, he *the infi-* had a right only to a third part of the plunder". They *dels.* shewed from this time but little regard for his orders; for, composed as they were of different nations, being many of them persons of high quality, and all volunteers, discipline could arise only from a sense of duty. Instead therefore of providing for the next campaign, they thought of nothing but feasts, shows, and debauchery. When the season for action returned, after rejecting an offer made them by the Soltan of restoring *Jerusalem*, and all the places the Christians had once possessed, and resolving to listen to no propositions whatever, they marched, as to a certain victory, against the infidels *. A canal of the Nile lay in their passage; they were equally unprovided with boats or bridges; this put them upon attempting to run a causeway, with infinite labour, across it, and with little success; at length they found by chance a ford, which the count *de Artois*, the king's brother, passed with two thousand horse, but instead of intrenching on the other side, after dissipating a corps of the enemy, he pushed on to *Massoura*, and, finding the place open, began to plunder it. The infidels, perceiving that he was unsupported, barricaded themselves in their houses, and from thence threw wild-fire, stones, boiling water, and whatever else came to hand, upon the assailants; the troops too, whom they had dispersed, rallied and invested the place, so that, surrounded by enemies on every side, the count *de Artois*, and the best part of his detachment, perished †. The rest of the Christian army, however, passed the canal, and with great courage, though in great disorder, attacked the enemy, and gained some advantages, but were at length obliged to post themselves in a strong camp, where they suffered exceedingly from the scarcity of provision, the scur-

* MEZERAY. *Annal. Francorum.* P. DANIEL.
DU CHESNE. CHALONS. J. DE SERRIS.

A. D. 1250. vy, dysentery, and other diseases, being closely blocked up by the superior enemy. The king might have made his escape by sea, but he refused it, and resolved to share with his forces the danger of a retreat, which was undertaken when there was scarce a possibility of succeeding. In their march they were continually attacked by the infidels; and at length, on the 5th of April, being entirely broken, the king and his brother were taken prisoners, with the poor remains of their army ^a.

Lewis THE infidels made a most insolent and barbarous use of
bears this their victory, they used their prisoners cruelly, they took
misfortune every method possible of shewing their abhorrence and con-
with great tempt of the Christian religion, they insulted the king per-
fortitude, sonally, they threatened him with fetters, and even with
notwith- tortures; and it is very possible they had proceeded farther,
standing if the precaution he had taken of preserving the magazines
extreme ill and military stores in *Damieta*, repairing its fortifications,
usage. and leaving in it a strong garrison, for the security of the
 queen and other ladies, had not put it out of the power of
 the infidels to carry that place by assault ^a. When, there-
 fore, they saw the war was not at an end, and apprehended
 the Christians might send another army into *Egypt* if they
 continued in possession of this fortress, they began to alter
 their measures. But to understand this matter clearly, we
 must of necessity observe, that, during the progress of this
 war, great alterations had happened amongst the *Mamelukes*,
 who were then in possession of *Egypt* ^b. Their Soltan, at
 the time king *Lewis* landed and made himself master of *Da-*
mieta, was *Al Malec Al Salehi*, who died of a mortification
 in his thigh before the opening of the next campaign; his
 son and successor being at a distance, the army was com-
 manded by *Phachro'ddin Othman*; but, before the last en-
 gagement, the young Soltan *Al Malec Al Moaddhemi* was
 come to the army, and his favourites having observed to him
 that he was a king only in name, and that the power was in
 the old Soltana *Shajro'l Dorra*, and a few of the emirs who
 were in her confidence, they advised him to treat with the
 monarch of the *Franks*, that, by recovering *Damieta*, and
 putting an end to the war, he might establish his own
 power ^c.

^a NANGIUS in vita Ludovici IX. Annales de Dunstable.
 Annales Francorum.

^b P. ÆMIL. DUPLÉIX. MIZ.

^c JOINVILLE Histoire de St. Louis. NIC. TRIVETI Annales.

^d J. DE SERRAS.

He, yielding to their persuasions, entered into a negotiation with *Lewis*, and agreed, that he should surrender *Damietta* in consideration of his own liberty, and pay a million of pieces of gold for the ransom of the other prisoners, to which terms it was added, that there should be peace between the Christians and *Mohammedans* in *Syria*, as well as in *Egypt*, for ten years. This negotiation ended, and on the point of being carried into execution, *Shajro'l Derra* and the principal emirs having intelligence of what was intended, engaged part of the army to revolt, and murdered the unfortunate *Al Malec Al Moaddhemi* under the very eyes of his royal prisoner, who, with those about him, was very near sharing the same fate^d. However, when things were a little settled, these great lords, and *Phares Aktai*, whom they raised to the rank of Soltan, ratified the treaty, which was performed with great punctuality; for *Lewis* understanding that they were deceived in the tale of the money, and had received a considerable sum short, he was so far from availing himself of the fraud, that he caused it immediately to be made good^e, tho' in order to do it he was obliged to borrow the money from the knights templars. This done, and *Damietta* being evacuated by his troops, the king, with his queen and his two brothers, and about six thousand men, which was esteemed about a sixth part of the forces he brought into *Egypt*, embarked on board the galleys of the *Genoese*, and were safely transported to the port of *Acon* in *Syria*^f; all hopes of making any impression in *Egypt* being lost.

• THE wisest persons who were about the king disapproved his conduct in going from *Egypt* into *Syria*, more especially when they found him bent upon remaining there, and applying himself with as much assiduity to the affairs of that country, as if they had really been his own concerns; they remonstrated to him freely, that his own kingdom was the proper sphere of action for his great virtues; and that, while he was so active and diligent in composing quarrels, redressing grievances, rebuilding fortresses, and forming alliances, in *Syria*, *France* suffered severely from his absence, and the truce of *England* being on the point of determining, his subjects would be exposed to the hazard of a war at home, whilst he was exhausting their force and wealth for the benefit of others abroad^g. To this the king opposed his duty

^d Annal. Francorum. GREGORII ABUL-PHARAJII Historia Dynastiarum, p. 495, 496. ^e NANGIUS in vita Ludovici IX. ^f Du Chesne, tom. v. ^g J. DE SERRES.

as a Christian monarch, the honour of performing something worthy of his rank and dignity in such an expedition, and the broken condition of the Christian principalities in those parts; to which he added, that the prudence of the queen-mother's conduct, and the courage of the barons, relieved him from all apprehensions as to the interruption of domestic quiet, or the consequence of an invasion from *England*. In this, however, he was a little too sanguine, for the news of his imprisonment had thrown his hereditary dominions into great confusion, and, together with other afflictions, had so wrought upon the health and spirits of queen *Blanch*, that little of her former conduct appeared in her administration ^b. She had suffered an apostate monk, who was afterwards suspected to act as a spy for the Sultan of *Egypt*, to preach a new kind of croisade for the deliverance of the king out of captivity, by which he assembled near one hundred thousand people of low rank, to whom he gave the appellation of shepherds. It quickly appeared they might, with greater propriety, have been stiled wolves; for instead of living as they did at first by alms, as soon as they grew strong enough to force them, they demanded contributions, which ended in a civil war, by which they were partly dispersed, and partly extirpated ^c. This, with the remorse of having executed two persons as spreaders of false news, who first reported the king was made prisoner in *Egypt*, affected the queen regent to such a degree, that it broke her heart. She took, a little before her death, the habit of a religious order, and was buried in a monastery of her own foundation; with all the demonstrations of profound sorrow and sincere esteem, that the nobility, clergy, and people, could give. This melancholy event had a very untoward effect on the affairs of *France*, and obliged those, upon whom the administration devolved, to send the most pressing remonstrances to the king to return, without further delay, into his dominions, where his presence was absolutely necessary ^k.

A. D.
1252.

takes a re-
solution

THE king received the news of his mother's death with the most sensible regret: but his consort queen *Margaret* was very easily consoled; for the old queen had kept her so much under, that she was not displeased to be free from her restraint. *Lewis*, convinced by the reasons assigned in the remonstrance before-mentioned, determined to return; but

^b N. TRIVETI Annales. P. DANIEL. Annal. Francorum.
^c Annales de Dunstaple. J. DE SEVERE. ^k Du CRESNE.
MATH. PARIS.

he executed this resolution with great deliberation. He left ^{of return-} all the places the Christians still held in Syria in a proper ^{ing into} state of defence; he placed in them garrisons of his own France. troops, and distributed his money freely, by which he acquired very justly the title of the father of the Christians¹. These precautions taken, he embarked at Acon on the 24th of April, with a squadron of fourteen sail. He took the island of Cyprus in his route, and was in great danger upon those coasts; arrived in his own dominions about the middle of July, and made his entry into Paris the beginning of the month of September. He still wore the cross on his upper garment, appeared grave or rather disconsolate, observed great regularity in his court; but affected in his dress and manners rather the plainness of a private man than the state of a great prince^m. Thibaut II. king of Navarre, and count of Champagne and Brie, having demanded his daughter Isabel in marriage, he readily consented to it, after settling the dispute between him and the countess of Bretagne. Henry III. of England, being at this time in Gascony, was desirous of paying him a visit, and was received with great pomp at Paris, where Beatrix, countess dowager of Provence, had the singular felicity of embracing her four daughters, the queens of France and England, and the countesses of Anjou and Cornwallⁿ. Henry entertained the king with great splendour at the temple, where he took up his lodgings, and where Lewis would have yielded him the place of honour, if he had not absolutely refused it; the king likewise entertained him very sumptuously, and, when he would have retired in the evening, told him he was master in his own house, and he was resolved to have him one night in his power^o. He was so well pleased with Henry's frankness and condescension, that he could not help saying at supper, "I would willingly restore you Normandy, and all your dominions, but that is a thing to which the twelve peers and barons of my kingdom will never consent." After a week's stay, Henry set out for Boulogne, and Lewis accompanied him the first day's journey. The truce was soon after renewed between the two crowns^p.

THE king laboured with incessant diligence to correct ^{Applies} abuses, to pacify disputes of every kind, and to promote ^{himself} peace throughout his kingdom; and, in order to this, he ^{with great}

¹ NANGII Chronicon. Annales Francorum. P. HENAUT.

^m Annal. de Dunstable. P. ÆMIL. ⁿ P. DANIEL.

^o NANGIUS in vita Ludovici IX. ^p MATH. PARIS. DU-
PLEIX,

*diligence
to regulate
all things
in his
realm that
had run
into dis-
order in
his absence.*

sometimes took very singular methods. As for instance; when the countess dowager of *Provence*, the queen's mother, and the count of *Anjou*, his own brother, consented to abide by his decision, in respect to certain castles which they both claimed, he decreed that the count should purchase them, and at the same time gave him the money. He was no less desirous of terminating whatever disputes subsisted with his neighbours. With this view he concluded a treaty with the king of *Arragon*, and not long after with *Henry III.* of *England*, to whom he yielded the *Limousin*, *Querci*, *Perigord*, and some other places, in consideration that himself and his son prince *Edward* renounced, in the fullest manner, all their pretensions to *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Touraine*, and *Poitou*. This compromise was equally satisfactory to the two kings, and disagreeable to both nations; the *English* thought their monarch had sacrificed his pretensions for a trifle, and the *French* looked upon that trifle as absolutely thrown away. His eldest son and heir, prince *Lewis*, dying, the king concluded a match for prince *Philip*, who was now become the eldest, with the princess of *Arragon*, who had been intended for his brother, and by this alliance secured the peace of his dominions on that side.

A. D.
1263.

*His brother
Charles
of Anjou,
declared
king of the
Two Sicilies
by the
pope.*

THE reputation of this monarch for candour and justice was so great, that the barons of *England*, as well as *Henry III.* consented readily to make him the umpire of those differences which had produced a civil war. This some of the *French* writers, not without cause, represent as one of the most glorious transactions of his reign. The king accepted the reference, and heard both parties fairly and coolly: his decision was, that the proceedings of *Oxford* were so indecent towards a crowned head, that they ought to be considered as null and void; but he decreed, at the same time, that the king should strictly observe the great charter, and not violate, on any pretence, the liberties and immunities granted to his subjects. This determination, fair enough in itself, was construed by both parties in their own sense. *Henry*, and those who continued firm to him, highly approved it, as restoring the king to his former state and dignity; but *Simon*, earl of *Leicester*, the son of the famous count *de Montfort*, who had been general of the crusade against the *Albigens*, affirmed this decision was in their

* JOINVILLE Histoire de St. Louis. Annales Francorum.
DU TILLET. P. VIRG. Hist. Angliæ. * Compromissum Regis et Baronum Angliæ, Spicileg. A. D. 1263.

favour, since it confirmed the great charter, and obliged the king to perform its contents, which was all that was aimed at by the proceedings in the assembly at *Oxford*: and thus the good intentions of *Lewis* were frustrated, and this dispute once more referred to the sword ¹. In the affair of the pope's conferring the kingdom of the *Two Sicilies* upon his brother the count of *Anjou*, the king was rather passive; and, indeed, it was such a kind of grant as a prince, of so great probity as *Lewis* certainly was, could hardly approve. The pope had before offered it the king for one of his own children, which he absolutely refused, and the pontiff thereupon bestowed it on prince *Edmund*, son to the king of *England*; but the situation of things in that kingdom, putting it out of the young prince's power to avail himself of this grant, the pope, who knew *Charles* of *Anjou* to be a proper instrument of his resentment, as having a high degree of fierce or rather brutal carriage, transferred the title to him ². This title, such as it was, arose thus:

THE popes, perpetual enemies to the house of *Suabia*, had *Charles* deprived the emperor *Frederick* II. of these kingdoms. *Mainfroi*, his bastard, had usurped them from his nephew *Conradine*, the sole heir of the house of *Suabia*, and paid little regard to the pretensions of the see of *Rome*, not only disclaiming all homage to the pope, but, in resentment of the provocations received from him, had made incursions into the papal territory. It was this that induced pope *Urban* to make a tender of the crown to the count of *Anjou*, and to use his utmost endeavours to remove the many obstacles that lay in the way of this prince's intended expedition; but before this could be done he died. His successor, *Clement* IV. prosecuted the same plan; and tho' he found *Charles* in circumstances very unequal to so arduous an undertaking, and both the king and queen of *France* very cold in promoting it, yet, by an assiduous application, and the practice of all the arts for which *Rome* has been ever famous, and particularly by proclaiming a croisade in favour of this new king of his creation, he put him at length in a condition to attack *Mainfroi* with a numerous force ³. *Charles* seconded the views of the pope with all possible vigour, defeated his competitor in the plains of *Beneventum*, where he was slain upon the spot, quickly gained possession of both the kingdoms which the pope had given him, and shewed himself resolved

¹ NANGIUS in vita Ludovici IX. N. TRIVETI Annales.

² P. EMIL. Annales Franco. ³ JOINVILLE Hist. de St. Louis.

to maintain them by the same violent methods by which they had been acquired. The young *Conradine*, seeing the usurper slain, endeavoured to vindicate his rights, and had quickly a very formidable army, composed partly of the friends to his family, but chiefly of the enemies to the *French*. However, the fortune and the experience of *Charles* prevailed; *Conradine* was beat in a decisive engagement, taken prisoner, and by a shameful act of cruelty put to death, by the sentence of those who stiled themselves a court of justice. In this manner *Charles* fixed himself on the throne of the *Two Sicilies*, and gave rise to what the *French* stile the first house of *Anjou*, for reasons that, in the course of this history, will appear *.

*King
Lewis enters on a
new croisade, and
dies before
the city of
Tunis in
Africa.*

ALL this time *Lewis* was employed in settling the affairs of his kingdom and of his family, and was equally attentive to the general system of policy, by which his realm ought at all times to be governed, and the particular cases and events that fell out in his own time. He framed a code of laws, which bear the title of the establishment of *St. Lewis*: he reduced into order the policy of cities and great towns, which was in great confusion †: he contrived, or caused to be contrived, those rules and regulations, in respect to tradesmen and artificers, which have subsisted ever since: he married his children, and assigned them suitable provisions for their subsistence, without prejudice to the crown: he purchased and united to his domain several lordships, the owners of which were the last heirs of their respective families ‡: he determined the claims that some of the nobility had upon the crown; and it is very remarkable, that neither he or they made any scruple of his being judge in his own cause; and it is no wonder, for, if the matter was but doubtful, he decided against himself, as in the case of *Matthew de Trie*, who claimed the county of *Dammartin*, as heir to *Matilda*, countess of *Boulogne*, in which he condemned himself to restore it, though it had been united to the crown: he compromised a dispute between the kings of *England* and *Navarre*, about the town of *Bayonne*; and, instead of availing himself of the troubles, he was continually interposing his good offices with all his neighbours; and tho' this proceeded, in some measure, from his disposition, yet he made it appear to be good policy, according to his maxim, that a reputation for probity and disinterestedness created an authority

* Descriptio Victoris Caroli ex veteri M. S. Biblioth. Reg. v. MALASPINA. P. EMIL. † DU CHENE, tom. v. Annales Francorum.

that was not to be overthrown ^a. It is certain that, by this means, he maintained his dominions in peace, reformed the disorders of the state, and brought the affairs of the kingdom into very good order. All this was with a view to a new croisade, which, after his brother was settled in *Sicily*, the king undertook; and his example was so powerful, that besides his three sons, and his nephew the count of *Artois*, most of the great lords of his court embraced it. He embarked again at *Aiguës Mortes* on the first of *July*, and, by the counsel of the king of *Sicily*, directed his course for *Africa*, and landing on the coast of *Barbary*, made himself master of *Carthage*, and prepared for the siege of *Tunis*, the king of which, who was a *Mohammedan*, had promised him to become a Christian, but did not keep his word ^b. There the plague infected his army, of which many persons of distinction and multitudes of private men died, and at length the king himself, on the twenty-fifth of *August*, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and in the forty-fourth of his reign: he spent the last hours of his life in dictating instructions to his son *Philip*, which are excellent in their kind ^c (I).

A. D.
1270.

THE

^a NANGII Chronicon.
CIUS in vita Ludovici IX.^b DU CHESNE.^c NAN-

(1) The different qualities of *Lewis IX.* are such as were scarce ever united in one prince, which is the reason that authors, who have considered him in single, tho' in different, points of light, have given him inconsistent, and even opposite, characters (1). He was, without doubt, very obedient and submissive to the queen his mother, very familiar with his servants, and withal very devout, so as to spend a great part of every day in public or, in private prayers. We find him from hence considered as a mild, harmless, superstitious prince, who had the obtaining the title of *Saint* in view, which he accomplished (2). But others a-

gain have thought him, with equal justice, a hero. His two foreign expeditions were certainly founded upon maxims of policy, as well as piety, however he might be mistaken. He shewed equal prudence and firmness in securing *Damietta*; his intrepidity in battle was, to the full, as conspicuous as his patience after his defeat. In short, his courage was of a very peculiar kind, without any tincture of fierceness, which shewed itself on every great and momentous occasion: in a word, he was ever at the command of his reason, but was never subservient to his passions (3). His abilities, as a politician, are apparent in his treaty with

(1) Gaguin. *Scipio*.
Tillet. P. Daniel

Le Gendre. Chaplons.

(3) Du

Philip the Hardy succeeds, THE king of Sicily arrived with his fleet and army immediately after his brother's decease, which changed the face of affairs, and saved the remains of the French troops.

Philip,

James, king of Arragon, on the marriage of his son Philip with the daughter of that prince, when he adjusted at once, in an amicable manner, the perplexed claims of both crowns, which had created frequent wars between their predecessors, and which, but for this treaty, must have had the like effect with respect to their successors. His probity was no less remarkable in his behaviour to Henry III. of England, to whom he restored much, and would have restored more, if his nobility had not restrained him (4). Those who treat him as a weak man, and a feeble prince, know not what they say. It is true that his neighbours stood in no fear of his ambition, but it was because they confided in his justice; and on many occasions he gave law to them, not in right of his power, but of that authority which he had acquired by his equity, which he never violated or betrayed, in the greatest or in the smallest instance (5). His zeal for religion, though it carried him into two crusades, did not render him the dupe of priests, or a slave to the popes; on the contrary, he constrained his clergy to discharge their duties, and he fixed on a solid basis the liberties of the Gallican church. He was canonized by Boniface VIII. in the month of August 1297, and Lewis XIII. procured the

day, dedicated to his honour, to be declared a general feast of the church (6). By his queen Margaret, daughter of Raymond Berenger, count of Provence, he had eleven children, six sons and five daughters. Lewis, the eldest, died at the age of sixteen, and was interred at St. Denis; Philip, who succeeded his father in the throne; John, who died a child; John, surnamed Tristan, born at Damietta, when his father was a prisoner amongst the infidels, espoused Violante of Burgundy, countess of Nevers, died at the siege of Tunis; Peter, count of Alençon, who espoused Joanna, countess of Blois, who deceased in 1283; Robert, count de Clermont, who espoused Beatrix, heiress of the house of Bourbon; his son Lewis de Clermont was created duke of Bourbon by Charles the Fair, with this remarkable clause in the preamble of his patent, "I hope that the descendants of the new duke, will contribute by their valour to support the dignity of the crown (7)." Of the daughters, the eldest, Blanch, died at three years old; Isabella, the second, espoused Thibaut, king of Navarre, and deceased without children; Blanch, born at Jassa in Syria, became the wife of the royal infant Ferdinand de la Cerda, whose children were excluded from the throne of Castile by their uncle Don Sancho; Mar-

(4) Paulus Æmilii de rebus gestis Francorum.
Tillet. (5) Histoire de Fr.

(6) Dupliss. J. du
(7) P. Daniel.

Philip, who was in the twenty-sixth year of his age, immediately assumed the title and state of king, received the homage of the monarchs of *Sicily* and *Navarre*, for the fiefs they held in *France*, and, notwithstanding the ravages still made by the plague, kept the field against the *Moors*, and put so good a face on things, that he received in *Africa* the surname of *the Hardy*, which, from his subsequent conduct in *Europe*, he would hardly have attained ^d. However, in a little time he was confined to his bed by sickness; so that the command devolved on *Charles* and *Thibaut*, kings of *Sicily* and *Navarre*. They defeated the king of *Tunis* in two or three engagements, and afterwards prepared to besiege the place in earnest, though the king of *Sicily* had all along treated privately with the infidels; and at length, with king *Philip's* consent, concluded a treaty with them. The king's motive to this was the pressing instances made by the regents, *Matthew* abbot of *St. Denis*, and *Simon de Clermont* count of *Nefle*, for his return. By the treaty the two kings were to have a large sum of money, under colour of paying the expences of the war; the king of *Sicily* was to have five years tribute, and the monarch of *Tunis* was to pay him a double tribute for fifteen years to come: there was also a clause that he should permit the Christian missionaries to preach in his dominions, and such of his subjects as they should convert to be baptized; but this was purely to save the honour of the croisade, and without any great hopes of its being performed ^e. The kings then embarked

and brings
back the
remains of
the army
to France.

^d Annales Francorum. MEZERAY.
Annales. Hist. Angl.

^e NIC. TRIVETI

garet, who espoused *John* duke of *Brabant*; *Agnes*, who was the consort of *Robert II.* duke of *Burgundy*, by whom, amongst other children, she had *Margaret*, who espoused *Lewis Hutin*, and was by him put to death; and *Joan*, who was the consort of *Philip de Valois* (8). Queen *Margaret* was one of the most beautiful, and, at the same time, one of the most virtuous and prudent princesses of her age; and though she had little share in the government, in the

life time of her husband, yet the king of *England* and lord of *Pons* submitted a dispute to her decision; so did *Otho*, count of *Burgundy*, and *Philip*, count of *Savoy*; as also the emperor *Rodolph*, and the same count of *Savoy*. She died at *Paris*, December 20, 1285, at the age of seventy-six, and was buried in a convent of *Cordeeliers*, which she erected, and in which she lived in retirement fifteen years (9).

(8) Du Tillet. Cbalons.

(9) Recueil de Rois de France.

their army and proceeded to *Sicily*, but they carried the distemper with them, of which numbers died after their arrival. The king, to console his melancholy, resolved to make a tour through *Italy*, took *Rome* in his way, and, after visiting most of the remarkable places, entered his own territories; having reposed himself some time at *Lyons*, he prosecuted his journey to *Paris*, where he was received with great acclamations of joy, notwithstanding the sinister events of this last and most fatal of all the croisades; for therein the king lost his father, his brother, the count *de Nevers*; in *Sicily* his brother-in-law the king of *Navarre*, his own comfort *Isabel* of *Arragon*; his sister the queen of *Navarre*, immediately after her return to *Marseilles*; his uncle the count, and his aunt the countess, of *Poitiers*, in their passage thro' *Italy*.

A. D.
1271.

*He compels
the count
de Foix to
surrender
at discre-
tion, and
thereby
humbles his
pride, who
had
given law
to all his
predecess-
ors.*

AFTER the celebration of his father's funeral at *St. Denis*, and the ceremony of his own coronation, at which the count of *Artois* carried the sword of *Charlemagne*, the king visited the frontiers on the side of *Flanders*, and proposed afterwards taking possession in person of the counties of *Provence* and *Thoulouse*, which were now united to the crown, without any thoughts of a military expedition. This, however, he was constrained to undertake against one of his vassals, which we find ourselves obliged to relate, not only as one of the most remarkable actions of his reign, but as it serves to mark the constitution of *France* at this time. The law made by *St. Lewis*, for preventing private wars, was strictly executed within the royal domain; but the royal vassals held it as a great prerogative to decide their disputes like sovereigns by the sword. The count of *Armagnac* had taken some offence at the lord of *Casaubon*, and, after the usual prelude of defiance, came with a great number of his friends to insult him in his castle; upon this the lord of *Casaubon* sallied out, beat the count of *Armagnac*, and killed his brother. The latter, highly irritated, and greatly allied, summoned all his relations, and amongst the rest the count of *Foix*, to his assistance: the lord of *Casaubon*, seeing the party very unequal, demanded the royal protection, surrendered all his places into the king's hands, yielded himself a prisoner, and submitted to make any satisfaction that the law should award; upon which the king assigned him the castle of *Sompui*, on his own domain, for the residence of himself, his family, and

DU CHESNE. NANGIUS in gestis Philip III. Annales Francorum. ~~NAZZI~~ Chronicon. GUL. DE PODIO. P. DANIEL.

friends,

friends, till the cause could be heard ^b. The count *de Foix*, notwithstanding this, took the castle, and carried away prisoners all who were in it, except the lord of *Casaubon*, who made his escape. For this contempt the king summoned him thrice to appear, and on his slighting those citations marched with an army and invested the castle of *Foix*, which was looked upon as impregnable. In a short time, however, the king reduced the count and his garrison to extremities, who thereupon offered to capitulate. *Philip* would grant him no other terms than rendering this, the rest of his fortresses, and himself, at discretion, to which he was forced to submit. When he came with great humility to throw himself at the king's feet, he ordered him to be put in irons, and sent prisoner to *Paris*, but treated the countess and his family with great civility. After a year's confinement he sent for him to court, admonished him to respect the laws, and to live peaceably with his neighbours; then dismissed him to his own house, and restored him all his fortresses; which seasonable act of severity saved him any trouble of this kind during the rest of his reign ⁱ.

A D.
1273.

THE death of *Henry*, king of *Navarre*, gave *Philip* an opportunity of aggrandizing his family, which he did not neglect. That prince left by his queen, the daughter of *Robert*, count of *Artois*, and the niece of *St Lewis*, an only daughter, whom *Philip* took under his protection, with intent to marry her to his eldest son *Philip*, but, as they were related, a dispensation was necessary; and this was vehemently opposed by the kings of *Castile* and *Aragon*, at the court of *Rome*, who represented to the pope, that *Sicily*, being already in the hands of a *French* prince it would be very unreasonable to put it in the power of the king of *France* to add *Navarre* also his dominions, more especially as he pretended a claim to the crown of *Castile* ^b. On the other hand, *Gregory X.* to whom *Philip* had given the county of *Venaisin* (of which the see of *Rome* is still possessed), was very desirous to gratify the king; but that he might keep some measures with other princes, he granted the dispensation for his second son *Lewis*, which, tho' with some reluctance, *Philip* accepted, and sent the count of *Artois* with a *French* army into *Navarre*. After this provision for his younger son he thought fit to marry himself, and chose for his consort one of the most beautiful princesses of that age, *Mary*,

^b NANGIUS in gestis Philip III. F. DANIEL. ⁱ DU CHESNE. MEZERAY. MARJ. NA, ZURITA. DU-
PLEIX.

the daughter of the duke of *Brabant*^l. He celebrated his marriage with great magnificence, and, to the satisfaction which this gave him, he added another, which was receiving the homage of *Edward*, king of *England*, for the lands he held in *France*. This, however, was attended with a circumstance not altogether so agreeable. *Lewis*, his father, had engaged in his treaty with *Henry III.* that if the country of *Aginois* reverted to the crown, it should be yielded to him or his heirs; and as by the death of the count of *Poictiers* it was reverted, *Edward* put in his claim. The country was in itself of great importance, and more so from its situation; but the case was clear, and *Philip* caused the king to be put in possession of it^m. An act of justice that secured him the friendship of a prince, who, in all respects, was the most capable of giving him disturbance.

A.D.
1274.

*Disgraces
his favour-
rite la
Brosse,
who ends
his days
in ignomi-
nious on a
gibbet.*

PHILIP, for which some historians reproach him, was a great lover of peace, and laboured all he could to preserve it; yet he was not an unconcerned spectator of what he took to be an injustice done to his nephews the infants *de la Cerda*, of which, having spoken largely in the history of *Spain*, it is unnecessary to dwell upon hereⁿ. On this account, while there was a kind of rupture between the kingdoms of *France* and *Castile*, in consequence of which an insurrection appeared in *Navarre*, an unlucky event in *France* filled the king and his subjects with great perplexity; *Lewis*, his eldest son and heir apparent, died suddenly, at the age of twelve years, with circumstances that created a suspicion of poison^o. One *Peter de la Brosse*, who had been about the person of *St. Lewis*, but in no higher character than that of a barber, had engrossed the favour of *Philip*, who raised him to the post of high chamberlain, made him his first and almost sole minister, and suffered him to fill all employments, ecclesiastical and civil, with his creatures and relations. This man, perceiving that the king had an extreme tenderness for his young wife, took umbrage at it, and either raised or encouraged a rumour, that she had procured his son's death. As this made *Philip* exceedingly uneasy, *la Brosse* put it into his head to consult a certain nun who pretended to revelations. The king sent the abbot of *St. Denis*, and the bishop of *Evreux*, who was the brother of *la Brosse*'s wife. This prelate got first to the nun and drew from her what he pleased in confession, so that when the abbot came she would say

^l NICOL. TRIVETI Annal. P. ÆMIL. Annales Francorum.
^m POLYDOR. VIRGIL. ⁿ P. DANIEL. ^o DU TIL-
 LET. MAZERAY.

nothing. The king, disappointed and displeased at the bishop's report, sent other persons in whom he could confide to the nun, who then answered clearly that the king ought to despise what was told him to the prejudice of his consort, because it was false ^p. This laid the foundation of *la Bresse's* ruin, who, being soon after charged with holding a private correspondence with the king of *Castile*, and betraying his master's secrets, was sent to prison, and his family disgraced, to the no small satisfaction of the nobility and the people. But, being afterwards condemned without an open trial, and the duke of *Brabant* her brother, and two or three other lords of her party, being eye witnesses of his execution, the popular tide turned, and *la Bresse*, who was before thought a criminal ^q, was now considered as a victim, to the resentment of the queen and her family, which gave the king great uneasiness, and was the prelude to those unfortunate events that embittered the remaining part of his life, and led him from one misfortune to another through the rest of his reign, though it cannot be said that he contributed, by any act of his own, to the bringing on of these disasters, which, as they belong in a great measure to other parts of our history, and must be there treated more at large, we shall mention but very succinctly here.

THE severity of the king of the *Two Sicilies* had not only rendered him, but his family, odious, to a great part of his subjects; and the insolence and debauchery of the French troops had excited an irreconcilable aversion to the whole nation. At the same time, the immeasurable ambition of *Charles of Anjou*, and the *Charles*, who was actually preparing to attack the emperor *Michael Paleologus*, and was suspected to have an eye also to the German empire, raised a general distaste against him amongst all his neighbours ^r. Pope *Nicholas III.* was of this number, and had conceived worse impressions of him than any, which induced him, if he is not slandered by the French historians, to concur in, if not to contrive, the scheme for his destruction, though this did not operate till immediately after his decease. It began by the general massacre of the French troops in *Sicily*, on the evening of *Easter-day*, so famous to all posterity by the name of the *Sicilian Vespers* ^s. Don *Pedro*, king of *Arragon*, who had married the daughter of *Mainfroi*, supported the *Sicilians*, and openly claimed the kingdom in her right. In this situation *Charles* had no hopes but from *France*, where the nobility in general had a great

A.D.
1282.

^p NICEPHOR. ^q GREGOR. lib. v.
^r PTOLEMÆUS Lutenſis.

^s JORDANUS.

affection for him, and very readily offered to furnish troops for his support, to which the king consented. Pope *Martin*, who had succeeded *Nicholas*, was also entirely in the interest of *Charles*, who might probably have recovered his kingdom, if he had not been amused by *Don Pedro*'s challenging him to decide their disputes by a personal combat at *Bourdeaux*, which *Charles*, who wanted not courage, but rather had too much, accepted; and *Don Pedro*, as we have shewn in its proper place, having very adroitly saved his honour and avoided the combat, prosecuted the war with all the advantage that this address gave him¹. The pope, zealous for *Charles*, excommunicated the king of *Arragon*, and gave his dominions to which of his younger sons the king of *France* should be pleased to name, who was to hold them as a vassal to the Roman see². *Philip*, flattered by this proposal, declared his son *Charles de Valois* king of *Arragon* and *Valentia*, and count of *Barcelona*; and, at the same time, furnished his uncle *Charles* with a fleet and forces for the recovery of his dominions, and put himself at the head of a numerous army, with an intent to set his son, of the same name, upon the throne of *Arragon*. Projects splendid and specious, if they had been but practicable.

Philip in- CHARLES had left his son of the same name, and who, *wades Ca-* from an accident that befel him, was surnamed *Charles the* *talonia.* *Lame*, in *Sicily*, with strict orders to act on the defensive, *takes Gi-* and to risk nothing till his arrival with the succours that he *ronne, and* was embarking at *Marseilles*: but the young prince, pro- *dies in his* voked by the *Arragonese* fleet, broke through his father's in- *retreat at* structions, was defeated, and taken prisoner; which, tho' the *Perpig-* king his father at first supported with constancy, yet the con- *nan.* straint he put upon his grief cost him dear, since he afterwards broke his heart³. The *French* army, under the command of king *Philip*, penetrated into *Catalonia*, and laid siege to *Gironne*, which made a gallant defence. *Don Pedro* being in the neighbourhood with a small army, and attacking a convoy that was going to the *French* camp, received a mortal wound. *Gironne* being surrendered, and the king having put a good garrison into it, he dismissed part of his fleet, which consisted of three hundred sail, being ships that he had hired from some of the *Italian* republicks. *Doria*, who commanded the fleet of *Arragon*, who durst not attack the *French* fleet when whole, beat this detachment, and after-

¹ DU CHESNE. P. ÆMIL. ² N. TRIVETI ANNAL.
³ ZURITA. M. RIAN. LE GENDRE, * NANGIE
 Chronicon. RAINALD,

wards sunk and destroyed the remainder ¹, which was not a greater loss in itself, than fatal in its consequence, since having the greatest part of the provision, with which the army should have been supplied, on board, the troops were grievously distressed; and the king taking this reverse of fortune to heart fell sick, and died at *Perpignan*, about the middle of the month of *September*, in the forty-first year of his age, and in the sixteenth of his reign ², extremely regretted by his army, and not less by his subjects in general; for tho' he loved money rather more than became a king, yet he was very tender in imposing taxes, and, when he did, levied them so mildly, and with such equality, that the people never expressed any impatience (K).

PHILIP

¹ ZURITA. • FERRERAS. LE GENDRE.
Chron. Hist. Angl.

² NANGII

(K) *Philip III.* surnamed *the Hardy*, was the first who granted letters of nobility, which he did in favour of *Ralph the Goldsmith*, in which he did no more than restore the ancient constitution of the *Franks*; who, being all of one blood, were esteemed equally noble, and alike capable of the highest offices. The notion of a particular and distinct noblesse arose towards the close of the second race, when many of the officers of the crown had usurped, and converted into an hereditary dignity, the offices and jurisdictions which they received from royal favour (1). In the reign of this prince a great change was made with regard to the succession to the domains of younger sons to the crown; for upon the decease of *Alonso*, count of *Poitiers*, his succession was claimed by *Charles*, king of *Sicily*, as heir by descent, and by *Philip*, king of *France*, as reverting to the crown, in whose favour it was determined

by the parliament at the term of *All-Saints*, 1283, the record of which still remains (2). This prince, by his first wife *Donna Isabella*, daughter to the king of *Arragon*, who died *January* 23, 1271, had four sons; *Lewis*, who deceased five years after his mother; *Philip*, who succeeded his father *Charles* count of *Valois*; *Alençon*, who was the founder of the royal house of *Valois*, and *Robert*, who died young (3). By *Mary* his second queen, the daughter of *Henry*, and the sister of *John*, dukes of *Brabant*, he had one son and two daughters; *Lewis* count of *Evreux*, the founder of the house of *Navarre*; *Margaret*, who espoused, at *Canterbury*, *September* 10, 1299, *Edward I.* king of *England*; and *Bianch*, who first married *John de Namur*, count of *Hainault*, son to *Guy*, earl of *Flanders*, and afterwards *Rodolph*, eldest son of the emperor *Albert of Austria*, in 1300, and, with her only son, poisoned about five

(1) *Gaguin. J. de Serres. Scipio.*
(2) *Du Tillet. Le Gendre.*

(3) *Boulanvilliers. Mémory.*

Philip le Bel succeeds, and is crowned.

A.D.
1286.

PHILIP IV. surnamed *le Bel*, or *the Fair*, from the beauty of his countenance and his majestic presence, was about seventeen at the time of his accession, and was crowned at *Rheims* on the 6th of *January*, together with his consort *Joan*, queen of *Navarre* in her own right, and by whom he became also possessed of the counties of *Champagne* and *Brie* ². He found things in a very perplexed state, his finances exhausted, his troops ruined, and the war still open with *Castile* and *Aragon*. He was willing to have composed his disputes with the former monarch, and a conference was fixed for that purpose; but the *Castilian* declined, and it ended only in an interview between their ministers. *Edward I.* king of *England* demanded the country of *Xaintonge*, as belonging to him by the treaty concluded between *Lewis IX.* and *Henry III.* *Philip* caused that treaty to be examined, and finding the matter perfectly clear, directed the country to be restored; and terminated also in an amicable manner some other differences that had arisen between the two crowns, with which *Edward* was so well pleased, that he came to

* P. ÆMIL. Annales Francorum. DUFLEIX.

years after (4). As for queen *Mary* of *Brabant*, who survived *Philip*, she was in great danger of suffering death upon the poisoning of prince *Lewis*, of which she was positively accused; but her brother procured her a stout champion, by whom the accuser being worsted, was, pursuant to the notions of those times, hanged without mercy (5). This princess was a great lover of poetry, and is said to have written some things herself. She died in the year 1321, having out-lived her husband thirty-six years, and was buried in the church of the *Cordeliers*, to whom she had been a bountiful benefactress (6); but her heart was deposited in that of the *Jacobins*; those convents, says a modern histo-

rian, dividing the relics of this princess after her decease, as while living they had shared her favours. On this occasion it will be proper to remark, that as there was a necessity for embalming the corpse of *St. Lewis*, which gave occasion to the interring his entrails in one place and his body in another, so the clergy took this opportunity of establishing this as a custom; and as these marks of esteem were never given without some foundation for prayers on behalf of the deceased, subsequent monarchs were obliged to make two, one in favour of the convents where the heart was deposited, and the other on behalf of that where the corpse was interred (7).

(4) Du Tillet ubi supra. Genealogie de la Maison Royale.
Æmil. de rebus gestis Francorum.
Gibsons. P. Henault.

(6) Le Gendre.

(5) Poul
(7) P. Daniel.

make the king a visit at *Amiens*, went with him to *Paris*, and there did homage for the dominions he held in *France*; after which the two kings parted as good friends as possible ^b. *Edward*, after this interview, went to *Bordeaux*, where he held a parliament, and where, with great state, he received the ambassadors of *Castile*, *Arragon*, and *Sicily*; which gave *Philip* great pain, as he was at war with all these crowns, and therefore suspected that some negotiation to his prejudice was on the carpet. But in this he was absolutely mistaken; for *Edward*, who was a wise and generous prince, had nothing farther in view than to facilitate a general peace, and to procure the liberty of *Charles the lame*, for whom he had a great affection ^c. He at length concluded a treaty with the king of *Arragon*, and tho' the terms were hard, *Charles* would gladly have accepted them; but, upon laying it before pope *Honorius* for his approbation, he declared it null, and pressed king *Philip* to carry on the war against the crown of *Arragon*, with an offer of taxing his clergy for the support of it. This pope dying, he was succeeded by *Nicholas* the fourth, who had somewhat more moderation; and king *Edward*, renewing his solicitations to the king of *Arragon*, prevailed upon him to set *Charles* at liberty, upon giving hostages for the performance of the terms stipulated, and a ransom of fifty thousand livres, twenty thousand of which *Edward* agreed to pay ^d. *Charles* being at liberty, and perceiving some hopes of retrieving his affairs, pressed king *Philip* to carry on the war in behalf of his brother *Charles* of *Valois*, instead of engaging him to persuade that prince to lay aside the title of *Arragon*, to which he was bound both by the treaty and his oath. However, these military operations not having answered his desire, the king of *England* insisted on the performance of those articles, in respect to which he was bound. *Charles* found it his interest to press this point at the court of *France*; and, perceiving it could be no other way obtained, gave his eldest daughter in marriage to *Charles* of *Valois*, and with her the counties of *Anjou* and *Maine*, in compensation for his claim upon *Arragon*; a claim no better founded than in a bull, granted by a passionate pope, for giving away the dominions of a prince who would not submit to be governed by him ^e. The quarrel with *Castile* had been some time before adjusted, at the expense of the infants *de la Cerda*, whom king *Philip*, finding

A.D.
1288.

^b THOM. WALSHING. NIC. TRIVETI Annales. ^c Annal. de Dunstable, P. AEMUL, MEZERAY. ^d Du CHESNE, NANG. CLIRON. ^e Du TILLET, MEZERAY, LE GEND.

it inconsistent with his interest to sustain, was content to abandon. *Charles of Sicily* also having quarrelled with the count of *Artois*, that prince returned with most of the *French* troops that had served under him in *Italy*; so that peace on all sides was now in some measure established, to the great satisfaction of king *Philip*, tho' things did not long remain in this state ^f.

He quar-
rels with
Edward I.
of Eng-
land, and
refuses all
proposals
of accom-
modation.

THE two kings *Philip* and *Edward*, who had hitherto lived on the best terms imaginable, and whose right correspondence was of so great consequence to their respective countries, were of a sudden involved in a war, as if it had been by accident, tho' at the bottom, upon comparing the best historians, it appears, that the haughtiness and ambition of *Philip* was its real source, through the unfortunate circumstances for him of having to do with the firmest and ablest monarch of that age ^g. The immediate cause of this war was a quarrel between a *Gascon* and a *Norman* sailor; the latter had attempted to stab the former, who escaping the blow, by his agility, the *Norman* fell upon his own weapon. The crew of their respective ships immediately took part in the quarrel, and fought it out at sea. Soon after a fleet of *Norman* vessels engaged an *English* fleet in the same cause, without the interposition of authority on either side. At length, the *Normans* making prize of *English* ships, *Edward* commanded reprisals, and then the matter began to grow serious. *Philip* sent ambassadors to *London*, who demanded satisfaction in very high and very coarse terms. *Edward* gave them good words, and promised an answer by ambassadors of his own, who were sent back with them ^h. These ambassadors acquainted king *Philip*, that, hostilities having been reciprocally committed by the subjects of the two crowns, the dispute was to be considered as between the *English* and *French* nations; which, however, *Edward* was very desirous should be amicably determined. As a farther proof of this, he sent over his brother prince *Edmund* to expostulate the matter with *Philip*; to shew him the impropriety of pretending to summon him as a vassal to the parliament, to abide the judgment of his peers; and at the same time to assure him, that, as he had formerly had strict justice done him by the king in *France*, he should, on a proper complaint, render the like justice to the subjects of *France* in *England*. *Philip*, mistaking condescension for submission, persisted in his own

^f DU CHESNE, NANG. Chron.
NICH. TRIVETI Annales.
TILLET, P. DANIEL.

^g THOM. WALSHING.
^h Annales de Dunstaple, DU

way, summoned *Edward* as a peer of *France* to his parliament; and, upon his refusal, declared all the estates he possessed in that kingdom forfeited for this act of felony. A proceeding which the *French* historians acknowledge to have been equally violent and unjust, and which they likewise own *Edward* bore with extraordinary patience ¹.

THE appearance of war being strong, both monarchs began to enter into alliances, and to make suitable preparations; but the queen of *France*, and the queen mother, very desirous to prevent a rupture if possible, sent for *Edmund* earl of *Lancaster*, *Edward's* brother, back to the *French* court, and proposed to him, that, to satisfy king *Philip*, the king of *England* should order six fortresses in *Guienne* to be delivered up, and should permit him to name an officer to command in each of the great towns of that duchy, three only excepted; that upon this the summons should be recalled, the judgment of parliament reversed, and, a safe conduct being granted to king *Edward*, *Philip* and he should have an interview at *Amiens*, where all things might be finally adjusted; and that in the mean time the places yielded for saving the king's honour should again be yielded up ^k. This agreement, being reduced to writing, was transmitted to *Edward*, who readily consented to it, and sent over to his brother the necessary orders for the general, who commanded in *Guienne*, and for the governors of all the strong places in that country. But earl *Edmund*, before he made use of these orders, had the precaution to demand an explicit approbation of this agreement from the king's own mouth; who, in the presence of the queen of *Navarre* his consort, and of her mother queen *Blanch*, the duke of *Burgundy*, *Hugh Vere* son to the earl of *Oxford*, and *John Lacey* an ecclesiastic, promised, that he would abide by the convention entered into by the queens; upon which the earl of *Lancaster* dispatched the orders he had received into *Guienne*, and *John de St. John*, *Edward's* general, believing all differences between the two kings at an end, sold the ammunition and provisions out of his magazines, and the governors of the fortresses, pursuant to the orders they had received, opened their gates to the *French*. But, being once in possession, *Philip* disavowed the treaty made by the queens, and sent the constable of *France*, with an army, to secure what he had thus safely obtained ^l. It must be owned, that this is related by

¹ NANG. Chron. THOM. WALSHING. NICH. TRIVETI Annales.

^k THOM. WALSHINGHAM, Annales de Dunstaple.

^l NICH. TRIVETI Annales.

English writers ; but by *English* writers of that age, well informed, and so consistent in their accounts, that the modern writers of *French* history very fairly admit their testimony^m ; and indeed a *French* writer of this age appears not to be unacquainted with the fact, by the effort he makes to turn the fraud upon king *Edward* ; who, he says, gave up the places with a design to recover them by conquest, and to hold them afterwards in his own right, without homage to the crown of *France*ⁿ : which suggestion is plainly drawn from *Edward*'s subsequent conduct, who, in resentment of the usage he had received, immediately declared war, and at the same time acquainted king *Philip*, that he looked upon himself as released, by this notorious breach of faith, from his former obligations ; that therefore he renounced his homage, and would acknowledge himself no longer his vassal for any thing he held in *France*^o.

The consequences and issue of this war till concluded by a truce.

A. D.
1296.

It is agreed by the historians of both nations, that the war thus begun was carried on with great vigour on both sides. *John de St. John*, who was sent back to his command, made himself master of the important town of *Bayonne*, and of several other places, while the *French*, who were not at all idle, made a great progress on their side. The count *de Valois* also entered *Gascony* with a numerous army. At the same time *Matthew de Montmorency*, and *John de Harcourt*, with a powerful fleet, attempted a descent upon *England*, burned the town of *Dover*, and some villages on the coast ; but the *English*, in return, landed on the coast of *Normandy*, and destroyed *Cherbourg*, and the places adjacent^p. The next year, *Edmund* earl of *Lancaster* commanded for his brother in *Guienne*, where he recovered several places, and would have done more if he had not been seized with a dangerous distemper, of which he died not long after at *Bayonne*. But what the king of *England* chiefly depended upon, was the alliance he had made with the emperor *Adolphus* of *Nassau*, the counts of *Bretagne*, *Holland*, *Bar*, *Fuliers*, *Guelders*, and *Flanders*^q. *Philip*, who had treated the emperor very rudely, was obliged to repair that fault by an embassy, which perhaps would have produced no great effect, if it had not been accompanied with a round sum of money, which the pressing necessities of that great prince obliged him to accept.

At the same time *Philip* sent as large a sum to *Albert* duke of

^m LE GENDRE, P. DANIEL, BOULANVILLIERS. ⁿ NANG. Chron. ^o DU CHESNE, NICOL. TRIVETI Annales, POLYD. VIRG. ^p NANG. Chron. THOM. WALSHING. ^q NICOL. TRIVETI Annales.

Austria; who sharing this money with the lesser *German* princes, which *Adolph* had refused to do, they formed a design to raise him to the imperial throne; in which they succeeded, the emperor *Adolph* being killed in the dispute. By the same powerful argument *Philip* wrought upon the rest of *Edward's* allies, the count of *Flanders* only excepted, against whom he acted by force of arms, and had probably reduced him to great extremities, if king *Edward* had not come with a fleet and army to his relief^r. Upon this *Philip* dexterously changed his conduct, and, by declaring for the commons in the several cities of *Flanders*, excited a revolt at *Ghent*, in which *Edward* was very near losing his life; and thereupon a negociation was set on foot, and a truce concluded, through the interposition of *Charles* king of *Sicily*, whose gratitude to *Edward* prompted him to act as a mediator upon this occasion. This truce was at first but for a few months; but, for their mutual conveniency, the two kings afterwards extended it to two years, and, as it was made in order to promote a peace, all points in difference between them were referred to the mediation of the pope^s. By letters patents, dated in the month of *September* this year, the king, to replace the peerage of *Champagne* now in himself, erected *Bretagne* into a dukedom and peerage, in favour of *John de Dreux*, a prince of his blood, who had espoused *Beatrix*, sister to king *Edward* of *England*; of which we take notice, because it is the first instance of the kind in the *French* history^t.

A. D.
1297.

ONE of the most remarkable occurrences in his reign was the quarrel between king *Philip* and *Boniface* the eighth, which began before this time, and which seemed to be accommodated by the two kings accepting him for the umpire of their differences. This pontif was certainly a man of parts, but even these were inferior to his pride; he had more learning than judgment, and, with much spirit and penetration, wanted sagacity and steadiness. He had indeed the appearance of both; for his policy, at the bottom, was but cunning, and the firmness, of which he made a shew, proceeded rather from the obstinacy of his temper than from a rational fortitude. The quality which particularly distinguished him was a supercilious haughtiness, which led him to imagine himself as much superior to other princes as they were to private men; and this was peculiarly offensive to

Original
of the
disputes
between
this monarch
and
Boniface
VIII.

^r NANG. Chron. P. • EMIL. Annales Francorum. • DU
CHESNE, THOM. WALSINGHAM. • NANG. Chron. P.
EMIL. — . . .

Philip, from the strong tincture he had of the same kind of weakness himself *. The first thing which gave offence to *Philip*, was his forbidding the clergy in general to grant any aids or subsidies to princes, without leave first obtained from the holy see, under pain of excommunication. *Philip* encountered this by an edict, forbidding any of his clergy to send any money abroad without his leave. The pope next attempted to force a croisade upon the loss of *Ptolemais*, or *Acon*, the last place which the Christians held in the east; to which *Philip* would not consent. But what was most provoking, was the manner in which he interposed between the two kings, directing them, in the most peremptory manner, to make peace, and to submit their disputes to the decision of his tribunal. This was equally resented in *France* and *England*, which, when the pope found, he gave so soft a turn to the swelling terms of his proposals, that the two kings, finding it for their interests, consented that he should act as umpire; upon which, taking the truce for the basis, the project he dictated was this; that *Guienne* should be restored to king *Edward*, and that he should do homage as in times past; that the places in dispute should be sequestered in his hands; that the ships and effects taken should, as far as possible, be restored, and such farther satisfaction made as the pope should hold reasonable; that king *Edward* should marry the princess *Margaret*, the king's sister; and that his son *Edward* should espouse *Isabel* king *Philip's* daughter *. But, many things yet remaining unsettled, the truce was prolonged, and the quarrel between *Boniface* and *Philip* reviving, excluded the pope from having any thing farther to do with their affairs; and having, at length, accommodated all differences by a definitive treaty, *Philip* received the homage of

A.D. 1303. *Edward* on the 20th of *May*, at *Paris*; where they also concluded a defensive alliance against all such as should disturb, impeach, or trouble, the said kings in their franchises, liberties, privileges, or customs, in their respective realms; which was understood to be a league against the pope x.

Revival
of their
differences,
and
methods
taken by
the king
and pope to

It is impossible for us to enter into the detail of the revived quarrel between the king and the pope, the history of which actually makes a considerable volume. It is sufficient for our purpose to say, that *Boniface* was in general the aggressor: he had erected the abbey of *Pamiers* into a bishoprick, without the consent or approbation of the king, in favour of *Bernard Sayseti*, who was very obnoxious to him.

* DU CHESNE. NICOL. TRIVETI Annales.
Chron. POLYD. VIRG. x RAINALD, P. AMIL.

* NANG.

On the other hand the king granted his protection to the *support* *Colonna's*, whom the pope persecuted with implacable *their re-* malice, and who, for very plausible reasons, refused to ac- *sp. cive* knowledge him for pope ¹. To insult him farther, the pope *powers.* issued bull after bull, assuming to himself a sovereignty over the king and his subjects; wrote him a letter, in which he told him he was a fool, if he made any doubt of this, or of his power to correct him, and call him to an account ². He named this very bishop of *Pamiers* his legate, who not only delivered arrogant messages from *Boniface* to the king, but took the liberty of speaking very disrespectfully to him and of him, and entered into intrigues of a treasonable nature; for which the king caused him to be arrested, and sent out of his dominions. *Boniface*, upon this, summoned the clergy and doctors of *France* to assist at a council he appointed at *Rome*, to enquire into *Philip's* conduct. The king encountered this by assembling the states, and not only drew from the clergy and nobility, but also from the magistrates and representatives of cities, a clear acknowledgement of his own sovereignty, a disavowal of the pope's authority, and an appeal to a general council, under a future pope, regularly elected, against the violent and illegal proceedings of *Boniface*, whose title was now drawn into dispute ³.

THE pope notwithstanding proceeded to hold his council *Pope* at *Rome*, at which a considerable number of the *French* clergy *Boniface* assisted; for which the king seized their temporalities at home, *seized* He had also recalled his brother *Charles* of *Valois*, who had been *by the* the pope's general, and on whom, in right of his second *French* wife, the daughter of *Baldwin* emperor of *Constantinople*, he *partizant,* had bestowed that lofty title; but who, in quitting *Italy*, *and dies* had left numbers of those, who had served under him, very *of chagrin* well affected to the *French* nation ⁴. *Philip*, therefore, doubt- *for his ill-* ing what the consequence might be of these disputes, in case *usage.* they should be longer protracted, and apprehending that *Boniface* would have recourse to the severest ecclesiastical censure, resolved to prevent him, and with this view sent *William de Nogaret* and *Sciarra Colonna* into *Tuscany*, with a large sum of money, giving out, that, since other measures had failed, he would try whether peace could not be purchased. These agents of his raised with great secrecy a body of determined men, and with them suddenly invested *Anagnia*, where the pope was born, and which was now the place of

¹ DU CHESNE Hist. des Papes.

² NANG. Chron. RAI-

NALD. NICH. TRIVETI.

³ DU CHESNE, POLYD. VIRG.

⁴ ANTONIN. RAINALD.

his residence. The inhabitants, corrupted by money, joined with them, and seized on his person; when *Sciaron* not only insulted but struck him, and, if *Nogaret* had not interposed, would have killed him: but after some days the popular tide turned, and the inhabitants, having taken him out of their hands, sent him under a good escorte to *Rome*, where he died of a disease brought upon him by anxiety, and the ill usage he had met with. Such was the issue of this famous quarrel, which, instead of lessening the royal authority in *France*, or extending the papal power, established the former, and effectually circumscribed the latter^d. This blow was struck very opportunely, for the pope had actually a bull by him, and which he intended to publish the next day, for excommunicating the king, and for releasing his subjects from their obedience^e.

Source of
the war
in Fland-
ers, that
country
reannexed
to the
crown,
and a
rebellion
thereon.

THE king, during the course of these events, was embarked in the war of *Flanders*, which he had determined to unite to the crown, and therefore would never suffer the count *Guy de Dampier* to be included in the peace with *England*. The *Flemings* were at this time excessively rich, their cities populous and well built, but at the same time they were divided amongst themselves, and there was a strong faction in favour of *France*. *Philip* flattered these, and sent his brother *Charles of Valois* to reduce their opponents. A divided people are incapable of making a vigorous defence. The count *de Valois* was a good officer, had a powerful army of well-disciplined troops, and good intelligence in most of the places he was to attack. With these advantages he soon brought things to such a pass, that the count found himself under the necessity of recurring to the king's mercy. *Charles* received the old man with humanity, promised that neither he nor his sons should be confined, and that if, within the space of a year, he could not compromise matters with the king, they should be at liberty to return home, and take whatever measures they thought proper. After this *Charles* entered *Paris* in triumph, and the queen, who mortally hated the count of *Flanders*, pleased herself with looking upon him and his sons as they passed in the procession^f. It had been well if her resentment had stopped there; but, in conjunction with the count of *Artois*, she engaged *Philip* to disavow the treaty which his brother had made, to send the count prisoner to *Compiègne*, and his two sons to different

^c OSIUS, PROLOMÆUS LUCENSIS, JORDANUS.

NALD. ANTONIN. J. DE SERRES.

LUCENSIS, & al.

^d RAINALD. ANTONIN. J. DE SERRES. ^e OSIUS, PROLOMÆUS LUCENSIS, & al. ^f LE GENDRE, FRANG. Chron.

castles. The king and queen went afterwards into *Flanders*, not as conquerors but as sovereigns, and as such they were received with a profusion of expence, and a joy that bordered upon madness, which was excited by the pains they took to render themselves popular, by remitting some taxes, and by flattering the magistrates where-ever they came. At their return, *John de Chatillon* was appointed governor by the queen's interest, to whom he was nearly related &c. He had courage and abilities, but he was proud and haughty; the magistrates made great court to him, and, in return, he supported their authority, even when they made an ill use of it. This produced murmurs, and these were followed with chastisements: the towns were most of them open, he repaired their fortifications, and in several places built citadels, to bridle their inhabitants; but, what is very wonderful, he forgot garrisons, which, indeed, were not in use in those days but in war. The people of *Bruges*, headed by a dyer, revolted; *Ghent* and other places followed their example; but the *French* faction and the magistrates were still so powerful, that they were soon calmed, and the dyer and his associates banished.

THERE the dispute might have ended; but *Chatillon*, who *The news* had now a body of troops about him, entered *Bruges* in tri-*umphant be-*umph, and proposed, when he had posted them properly, to *comes very* have employed the contents of a couple of hogsheds filled *serious,* with ropes, in stifling what he called rebellion. The people, *and the* having notice of this, took their measures with such secrecy, *army com-* that, recalling the dyer, they surpris'd the governor, and *mande'd by* killed fifteen hundred out of seventeen hundred *the count* *French* horse, which he had brought to be spectators of the execu- *d Artois* *beaten.* tion he intended. He himself hardly escaped, by swimming the town ditch in the night. Three sons of the count, who had retired to *Namur*, which belonged to their mother, quickly returned, and put themselves at the head of the people, and gradually recovered the best part of the country. *Philip* found himself much embarrassed, but, having raised a numerous army, sent it under the command of the count of *Artois* to chastise the *Flemings*. The young princes were then besieging *Gourtray*, and their army consisted of near sixty thousand men, but they were new raised, and very ill armed. However, they fortified their camp, and continued the siege. The count of *Artois*, contrary to the opinion of

^e DU CHESNE, POLYD. VIRG.
ÆMIL. ¹ DU CHESNE, MEYERUS.

^h NANG. Chron. P.

the constable *de Nesle*, resolved to attack them in their trenchments, tho' the strength of his army consisted in cavalry; the consequence was a total defeat, in which the count and the constable both fell, with about twenty thousand men ^k. This so irritated *Philip*, that, to raise a new army, he diminished his coin a third part, that is, he obliged his subjects to take a groat for six pence; and, having assembled the whole force of *France*, threatened the *Flemings* with extirpation. The young princes provided the best they could for their defence; but *Edward* king of *England*, who saw his old allies suffer with infinite concern, told his queen, as a great secret, that the pope had some partizans in the *French* army, who would take their opportunity to deliver the king to the *Flemings*. She, as he expected, gave notice of it to her brother, and *Philip*, under pretence that the season was too far advanced, retired without doing any thing. It may not be amiss to observe, that these two monarchs, *Philip* and *Edward*, understood each other's maxims perfectly well; for as the latter had abandoned the *Flemings*, the former had left the *Scots* out of the treaty, so that they provided for their own interests, and gratified each other's resentments, at the expence of their allies ^l.

King Philip enters Flanders with the whole force of his dominions. It was some consolation to *Philip*, that the fleet which he furnished to his ally the count of *Hainault*, who was also at war with the *Flemings*, gained a great naval victory; but the reader must not imagine from hence, that, at this juncture, the *French* were powerful by sea, for this fleet was composed chiefly of the *Genoese* galleys, and their admiral was *Rainald de Grimaldi*, who took *Guy*, son to the count of *Flanders*, prisoner, and sent him to *Paris*. *Philip*, finding the war expensive, tedious, and hazardous, consented to a kind of truce, and, releasing the old count of *Flanders*, sent him to try what he could do with his subjects; but upon an express condition, that, if he could not bring them to the king's terms, he should return; which he did, and died soon after at *Compiègne* at the age of fourscore ^m. The king, having by this time recruited his army, marched with his brothers the counts of *Valois* and *Evreux*, the flower of the *French* nobility, and the whole force of the Kingdom, against the *Flemings*, who had still three sons of their count at their head. *Philip*, who had served long in *Sicily*, having brought with him a small corps of *Italians*, was intrusted with the

^k NANG. Chron. NICOL. TRIVETI Annales.

CHESNE, MEYERUS, J. DE SERRES.

NICOL. TRIVETI Annales.

^l Du

^m NANG. Chron.

chief command, whom his brethren and the whole nation willingly obeyed^a. He acted as long as it was possible on the defensive, but *Philip* at length penetrated into *Flanders*, eager to decide this long dispute by a decisive action, and came up with the *Flemish* army at *Mons en Puelle* °.

THE young prince *Philip*, knowing the *French* force consisted in cavalry, that he had none to oppose them, and that they had the advantage of ground, fortified his camp with his carriages, determined to defend it to the last extremity. The *French* advancing on all sides to insult them, the *Flemings* issued out; but were repulsed with great loss. After they retired to their camp, it was debated, whether they should retreat in the night; but the people in general pressed their officers to attack, in their turn, the *French* camp; which they resolved and executed immediately, with such spirit, that they penetrated, in a quarter of an hour, to the king's tent, where they found the tables covered for supper. *Philip* had but just time to escape, and, having happily found a horse, rallied some of his troops, and attacked the enemy. The greatest part of the *French* army, who fled at the beginning, hearing of the king's danger, and being encouraged by the great lords, returned to the charge, and, after an obstinate dispute, drove out the *Flemings* with prodigious slaughter^b. After this the king invested *Lisle*, into which *Philip* of *Flanders* had thrown himself with what troops he could collect, and here the king expected the war would have ended, the place having capitulated, in case it was not relieved by the first of *October*; but, when it was least expected, *John de Namur* appeared with an army of sixty thousand men, undisciplined indeed, but daring and desperate; so that the king, by the advice of the duke of *Brabant*, and other great lords, consented to set *Robert de Bethune*, eldest son of the count of *Flanders*, at liberty, to receive his homage for the county, to accept of eight hundred thousand livres for the expences of the war, and to have certain places delivered into his hands by way of security, till this sum should be paid^c. At his return to *Paris* the king granted a rent of one hundred livres to the church of *Notre Dame*, and placed there an equestrian statue, which many, however, have asserted to belong to *Philip de Valois*; but it appears from the breviary of *Paris*, it referred to this battle, which was fought on the 18th August^d.

Gains a great victory, but thinks it prudent, notwithstanding, to conclude a peace.

A.D.
1304

^a DU CHESNE, MEZERAY, P. DANIEL. ° NANG. Chron.
^b P. ÆMIL. P. DANIEL. ° NICH. TRIVETI Annales.
^c DU CHESNE, P. ÆMIL. MEZERAY.

Benedict
XI. ab-
solv-
king
Philip,
dies, and
is succeed-
ed by the
archbishop
of Bour-
deaux.
sided le-
ment V.

WE must now resume the transactions between the em-
perarch and the see of *Rome*, which were interrupted, in order
to give a more distinct account of the war of *Flanders*.
After the death of *Boniface*, the cardinals speedily elected
Nicholas Boccasini, who assumed thereupon the name of
Benedict the eleventh *. He was a mild and good man, and,
being desirous to use his power for the promoting of peace,
revoked the excommunication which his predecessor had ful-
minated against *Philip*, and emitted six new bulls, by which,
in a great measure, all things were put again into their for-
mer state. He also pardoned the *Colonna's*, and shewed a
strong disposition to reform that corruption, which had
spread itself generally through the dominions of the church †.
These proceedings, while they gained him the approbation
of all virtuous and worthy men, excited the hatred of such as
were of a different disposition; so that, before he had ac-
complished much, he was removed by poison ‡. In the con-
clave after his death, which subsisted several months, the
Italian and the *French* factions were so nicely balanced, that
there could have been no election, if the former had not pro-
posed to name three eminent persons amongst the clergy on
the other side of the mountains, out of which they might
name one who was to be unanimously proclaimed pope.
This expedient being accepted, they named three arch-
bishops, all partizans of *Boniface* the eighth, and amongst
these was *Bertrand de Got*, archbishop of *Bordeaux* §. King
Philip, being informed of this, and happening to receive the
news when he was in *Poitou*, sent to desire the archbishop
would meet him, as if it was by chance, in a wood. There
the king told him, he would certainly make him pope, if he
would promise him an absolute pardon for all that had been
done against *Boniface*, an authentic condemnation of the
conduct and memory of that pontiff, the restitution of the
honours and estates of the *Colonna's*, the tenths of the clergy
of *France* for five years, and another request which he would
make to him at a proper time. *Bertrand*, without hesita-
tion, accepted the king's proposition; and, being unani-
mously elected pope, took the name of *Clement* the fifth *.

This pope
is crowned
at Lyons,

THE new pontif, to the great regret of the *Italian* cardi-
nals, resolved to be crowned at *Lyons*; which was performed
accordingly, with great ceremony, on the 14th of November.

* RAINALD. BAILLET. DU PUY, F. ÆMIL. de rebus gestis
Francorum. † SPOND. FÆLIX, OSIUS. § VILLANI

Croniche Fiorentina. †

* VILLANI. ANTONIN. P. ÆMIL.
* CONTIN. NANG.

In returning from the church to his palace, the pope was on horseback with his triple crown on his head, and the king of France, his brothers, the counts *de Valois* and *Eureux*, and the duke of *Bretagne*, led the beast by turns. This procession, however, would not have claimed a place in our history, but for the accident which attended it; for a great number of spectators having taken post upon an old wall, it fell down at once, by which the pope had his tiara beat off, the king and the count *de Valois* were wounded, the duke of *Bretagne*, the pope's brother, and several other persons of distinction, were bruised to death. Such was the introduction of the papal court into France; for this pontif and several of his successors, leaving *Rome*, fixed their seat at *Avignon*. *Clement* performed his promises tolerably well; he revoked, or softened, all the bulls that *Boniface* had issued; he granted the king the tenths of the clergy, for the term required; he created several cardinals at his request; but for stigmatizing the memory of *Boniface* he took time, under pretence of examining witnesses: but, at length, it ended in a justification of his predecessor, in which the king acquiesced, as finding it unavoidable. The king found it necessary to send his son *Lewis* into *Navarre*, where he took the title of king, as heir of his mother. He had the satisfaction also of seeing the marriage completed between his daughter *Isabel* and *Edward* the second, become lately king of *England*, with whom he had an interview at *Bologne*, where he did him homage for the duchy of *Guienne*, and the county of *Ponthieu*. The death of the emperor *Albert* of *Austria*, who was assassinated by his nephew, afforded *Philip* an opportunity of disclosing to the pope his last demand, which he had so long kept secret, and which, if he had still retained in his own breast, had infallibly taken effect; but the king having declared in council that his view was to set his brother *Charles* of *Valois* upon the imperial throne, he was advised to demand assistance of the pope in person, attended by his court and a good body of troops, which the king relished; but, while he was making the necessary preparations, *Clement* was informed of his intention, and wrote thereupon, in strong terms, to the electors, that they could not do any thing better for themselves, or the peace of *Europe*, than to chuse an emperor without delay, and named to them *Henry* of *Luxembourg*; so that, before the king arrived at *Avignon*, the

Y VILLAN. NICOL. TRIVET. Annales, GAGUINI Histor. Francorum. 2 GAGUINI Hist. Francorum. 3 Cont. NICH. TRIVETI Annales.

A. D.
1310.

election was over, and *Clement* delivered from the apprehensions of being distressed by a *French* king on the one side, and a *French* emperor on the other ^b. *Philip*, however, had better success in another project, which was that of reuniting the city of *Lyons* to the realm of *France*, from which it had been formerly detached, to make a part of the kingdom of *Arles*, and was at this time a kind of principality, in the hands of its archbishop, who, partly by fair promises, but chiefly by the appearance of *Lewis* king of *Navarre* with an army at its gates, was constrained, under certain conditions, to render it to the crown. This was justly considered as a great acquisition, tho' the king still suffered the archbishop to stile himself count of *Lyons* ^c.

A resolution taken to humble the power of the order of knights templars, into which the pope enters.

THE king had all this time a very troublesome affair upon his hands, of which the world knew not what to think in his own time, and with respect to which the sentiments of posterity have been, and perhaps ever will be, divided. This was the prosecution of the knights templars, a military order that had been established for the protection of such as went in pilgrimage to the *Holy Land*, and which had received its name from a house, or palace, given them by one of the kings of *Jerusalem*, near the temple. This order had subsisted near two hundred years, was spread through the dominions of all Christian princes, had vast possessions in land, was immensely rich, and was composed of men of the best families in every nation throughout *Europe* ^d. They were, indeed, very much declined from that reputation in which they had formerly stood; were deeply tinged with the corruption of the age in which they lived; were extremely hated for their pride and luxury; and, amongst other vices, were particularly decried for drunkenness; inasmuch, that to drink like a templar was become a proverb ^e. Two of this order being sentenced by the grand master to perpetual imprisonment, the one a *Frenchman* for a robbery (which is very remarkable), the other an *Italian*, for a multitude of crimes, insinuated, that, if they might have life and liberty given them, they would discover certain secret practices of their order that were little suspected ^f. These men, being admitted as witnesses, deposed, amongst other horrible things, that, at their entrance into the order, every knight was obliged to renounce his Saviour, to go through several indecent and filthy ceremonies, and were, through their whole lives, in-

^b VILLAN. GAGUIN. Hist. Consulaire de Lyon.

^c THOM. WALSINGHAM.

^d MENESTRIER Histoire

^e Contin. NANG. GAGUIN. Hist.

^f VILLANI, GAGUINI Hist.

duged to the most horrid and abominable of all lusts g. The king had these informations before the pope's coronation, and had then several conferences with him on this subject, which induced the pope to command *James de Molai*, the grand master, and other great officers of the order, to repair into *France*, under pretence of concerting measures for a new croifade; where, with the rest of the knights templars, to the number of one hundred and forty, they were arrested, by the command of king *Philip*, in one day, and committed to several prisons ^h.

At first the pope seemed to be in great doubt in this matter, and to proceed in it more briskly by degrees, through the evidence that was brought out in prosecutions before his inquisitor, joined with the king's commissaries, to whom the greatest part of the knights freely confessed all that had been laid to their charge, and gave a distinct and particular account of all their horrid practices, to which the first witnesses had deposed. But still a considerable number persisted firmly in denying every word of what had been advanced; asserting, that those, who had confessed, did it through fear of death, through force of torture, or through flattering promises of life and libertyⁱ. Between fifty and threescore of these suffered death, in a field near the convent of *St. Anthony* at *Paris*, and died with great steadiness and piety, professing their innocence to the last ^k. The pope, to put an end to this and to other perplexed affairs, appointed a general council to be held at *Vienne*, in *Dauphiny*; where, on the 22d of *May*, in the presence of the king, the count *de Valois* his brother, *Levis* king of *Navarre*, and the other two princes his sons, a bull, for the condemnation and extinction of the order, was published, and their estates, excepting *Castile*, *Arragon*, *Portugal*, and *Majorca*, given to the knights of *St. John* at *Jerusalem*, otherwise knights of *Rhodes*, and now of *M^{ts} S^{ts}*; but without hearing the knights in their own defence, tho' they demanded it with great earnestness, the grand master and other great officers being reserved to a future judgment^l. In this council, the memory of *pope Boniface* the eighth was freed from all imputation of heresy, several doctors making long speeches in support of his innocence; and, after this was over, two *Catalan* knights offered, and threw down their gauntlets, offering to prove, at the launces point, against any of the king of *France*'s

That order suppressed in the council of Vienne, after numbers of the knights had been put to death.

A. D.
1312.

^g BALUZ. RAINALD. ^h GAGUIN. Hist. NANG. ^k VILLAN. Cont. NICH. TRIVETI. WALSINGHAM.

ⁱ Cont.
^l THOM.

subjects, the innocence of the deceased pope, ^{Aspect of} the charges that had been brought against him, ^{to} heresy, but as to impiety, atheism, and immorality ^{with} which, tho' king *Philip* was by no means pleased, yet, ^{things} were so circumstanced, that he was obliged to seem contented ^m.

The grand master and chief officers burnt, and the rest of the knights of the order dissolved. JAMES DE MOLAI, grand master of the knights templars, and the three great officers of the order, finding they were not set at liberty, as they had been promised, after five years confinement, insisted upon being brought to a trial; and, upon their own confessions, which were very full and express, were condemned to suffer perpetual imprisonment, after making open acknowledgement of their crimes before the people. In order to this, a scaffold was set up before the great porch of the *Notre Dame*, upon which the criminals were placed, in the presence of several cardinals, and other persons of distinction, and of a prodigious multitude of people; where, their sentence and confessions being read, they desired leave to speak ⁿ. This being granted, *James de Molai* declared, with a loud voice, that all they had heard was absolutely false, that they had been threatened and seduced into those confessions, and that, tho' themselves and their brethren had frailties and failings as well as other men, yet, with respect to those impieties and impurities that had been charged upon them, they were absolutely innocent. The king, being informed of this, was so enraged, that he ordered them all to be burnt in a slow fire behind the garden wall of his palace; where they suffered with great composure and constancy, which was the more extraordinary, because the grand master was of a very peckle disposition, had confessed and recanted several times, and shewed such a weakness of spirit as had rendered him very despicable ^o. It is reported, that, a little before he expired, he summoned the pope in forty days, and the king in four months, to answer at the divine tribunal for the murder of himself and his brethren. Of the original accusers it was remarked, that the *Frenchman* was assassinated as soon as he was released out of prison, and that the *Italian*, having committed a murder, was hanged for it not long after ^p. The order, ^{have} cr, was every-where suppressed in *England* by authority of parliament, but upon general suggestions, and the knights were confined to certain convents, with handsome allowances upon which they lived regularly, and without affording

^m RAINALD. Contin. NANG.
Hist. ^o P. ÆMIL, LE GENDRE,
Contin NANG.

ⁿ VILLAN. GAGUINI
^p GAGUINI Hist.

the least maintenance to the imputation that had been cast upon their order ¹. In the *Spanish* kingdoms the templars suffered no injury in their persons, but their lands were appropriated to other religious orders, or to the defence of the countries, where they were situated, against the *Moors*. In short, it has been much doubted, whether the greatest crime of these knights was not their wealth and their possessions; and as it is said that the order possessed, at the time of its suppression, sixteen thousand lordships, this will appear the less incredible. The immense wealth found in their houses, which every-where bore the name of temples, was also confiscated ¹.

THERE happened some disputes between the king and his son-in-law *Edward* the second of *England*, which seem to have arisen chiefly from misunderstandings between their officers in frontier places; yet they might have produced a rupture, if both princes had not been equally unwilling to come to extremities. To prevent these, *Edward*, with his queen *Isabel*, repaired to *Paris*; and, having passed some time there in the most agreeable manner, all things were amicably adjusted, and king *Philip* subscribed an act, by which all memory of their former differences, as well as the errors of their officers which had occasioned them, were abolished ². The old quarrel with *Flanders* was revived with great heat, the king insisting that the count had infringed the last treaty; whereas the count as positively asserted, that it had been broken by the king himself; who, upon the count's retiring privately from *Paris*, and his son's making his escape after he was arrested, summoned him to abide the judgment of his peers; and he not appearing in person, but by deputy, the king upon this, and other suggestions, procured a sentence, by which all his estates were declared confiscated; which, however, was esteemed hard, and to be rather severe than strict justice, tho' the king had extended the power, and raised the credit of his parliament higher than it had ever stood in the days of his predecessors ³ (L). But, whatever the

The affairs of king Philip take an ill turn at home and abroad.

THOM. WALSHINGHAM, Contin. NICH. TRIVET. WALT. SEMINGFORD de rebus gestis Edwardi II. Cont. NANG. GAGUINI Hist. P. ÆMIL. P. DANIEL.

(L) It was to this stirring and active monarch *Philip the Fair*, that the *French* owe the fixing their parliament of *Paris*, which had before followed the person of the prince, and held its assemblies where he judged it most convenient. This is said to be in 1302, and was, without doubt, at the time, considered

the sentiments of the world might be, *Philip*, recurring to his old object, which was reuniting this great ^{king} to his crown,

as a prudent and popular action. At the same time king *Philip* did this, he brought in more lawyers into that assembly, and appointed superiors, by the title of presidents, to see that every thing was done with decency and order. Those who had formerly officiated in this manner were stiled masters of the parliament, they were not fix'd officers for life, but held their places by commission; neither did the parliament continue always sitting, but had stated times for their meeting, as appears by their judgments that are still extant. The principal view of *Philip* in these regulations, was to free himself from the trouble of legal decisions, without prejudice to his subjects; for hitherto the kings themselves had sat in this judicature; which he found inconvenient, more especially as the number of appeals continually increased. By this means the parliament came to be considered as a supreme court of judicature, which indeed it had always been; but it was, nevertheless, a council of state, an assembly of peers and of prelates, in which, and by the advice of which, the king regulated affairs of the greatest moment, and which most respected the welfare of the state. A great modern writer seems to think, that the dignity of this court was abased by the introduction of so many jurists, as he calls them; whereas an elder author, and one of at least equal authority, considers this as a great blessing to the

state, as it preserved the monarchy entire, and hindered it from being cantoned into little principalities, as *Germany* and *Italy* had been. This monarch also erected the parliament of *Thoulouse*, apparently after the model of that of *Paris*, since he appointed six ecclesiastical and six lay counsellors. He settled the court of exchequer in *Normandy* upon a like plan, and appointed the great days or solemn assizes at *Troyes*, in *Champagne*. His difference with pope *Boniface* the eighth put him, by the advice of the *Sieur de Marigni*, upon calling what were afterwards stiled assemblies of the states, in which the nobility, the clergy, and the deputies of the cities, sat separately, and framed their respective letters to the cardinals at *Rome*, in which they asserted the independency of the crown, justified the king's measures, and appealed from the tribunal of the pope. Such as are extremely attached to the aristocratic form of government are offended also with this measure, as interfering, in their sentiments, an alteration, in the *Gallie* constitution. Yet if this matter be strictly considered, we shall find it was not an alteration, but a restitution, of the government, since, according to the original system of the *Franks*, every freeman was intitled to some share in the government, either virtually, or in person. On the other hand, the inhabitants of cities and towns, being no longer vassals, but contributing both in men and

crown, pursued this sentence of the law with a military force, notwithstanding the interposition of the pope, who, by his legate cardinal *Goffelin*, laboured to the utmost of his power to heal this breach, and to prevent the destruction of the count, who was rather unhappy than undutiful. But after much altercation, and many propositions made and rejected on both sides, the king took a resolution, grounded upon an opinion that the conquest was easy, to leave all things to the decision of arms; and having assembled a numerous army, commanded by himself, his two brothers, and his three sons, he marched directly against the *Flemings*; but, upon new propositions from the count, who gave hostages for the performance of them, and surrendered also the fortrefs of *Courtray* into the king's hands, he consented to a new treaty; and having done nothing worth mentioning, except conferring the honour of knighthood on his three sons, and on *Hugh* duke of *Burgundy*, in the field, he returned to *Paris* ". The true reason of this retreat, which did him no great honour, was the want of money, and the small disposition shewn by his subjects to submit to the methods his ministers had contrived for raising it; a misfortune which he had never met with before, and which therefore made the greater impression on a prince of his high spirit ".

THE truth of the matter was, that, finding themselves in a manner exhausted, and remembering the distresses that had been brought upon them by the last *Flemish* war, there sud-

" GAGUINI Hist. Confin. NANGII, P. ÆMIL. DUPLEIX, DU TILLET. " P. ÆMILIUS, J. DE SERRES, DUPLEIX, MEZERAUME.

and money to the service of the state, it was but reasonable, that they should have a measure of power annexed to their property. To speak impartially, however, there is little reason to suppose, that *Philip* was induced by this motive to act as he did. The state of his affairs dictated to him this step. It was of great consequence to him, to let the court of *Rome* see how much all his subjects were attached to his government, and that ecclesiastical censures were not likely to

operate as they had formerly done in *France*. But, after all, when he had served himself by this method, his subjects availed themselves of it in their turn, and began to pursue their own views, and to take care of their own interests in these assemblies, capitulating with the king, that they would give him such and such subsidies in case he relieved such and such grievances, more especially the great point of the money, which he had repeatedly debased.

*mes-
tic mis-
fortunes so
much to
heart, that
it brings
him to the
grave.*

denly appeared a strange spirit of disaffection through all his dominions; so that the nobility, the clergy, and cities in several provinces, entered into confederacies, to prevent the ministers from carrying their measures for levying money into execution; which, when it could be no longer concealed from the king, affected him exceedingly*. To this was added a new circumstance of domestic chagrin, that penetrated still deeper. He had taken great care in marrying the three princes his sons, all handsome and accomplished youths, in a manner suitable to their birth, and great suspicions arose of the infidelity of all their wives; upon a strict examination into this matter, *Margaret* queen of *Navarre*, daughter to the duke of *Burgundy*, and *Blanch*, the wife of *Charles* count de la *March*, appeared to be guilty, and to have lived for some time in a scandalous commerce with *Philip* and *Walter de Launai*, men of a noble family, but rather mean than comely in their persons; for which they were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, and their gallants, after being flea'd alive, were drawn over a field, and then hung upon a gibbet, with an usher of the chamber, who had been privy to their amours†. The vexation of this shameful affair, added to his former disappointments, threw the king into a wasting consumption, in which the skill of his physicians could do nothing; so that he expired on the 29th of *November*, in the 30th year of his reign, and in the 47th of his age‡. He was certainly, to give his character in few words, a prince of great talents, great virtues, and great vices, of which the most flagrant were avarice and cruelty; the consequences of which were severely felt in his dominions long after his decease.

A.D.
1314.

*Lewis X.
surnamed
Hutin,
succeeds
his father,
and meets
with much
dissatis-
faction.*

LEWIS, surnamed *Hutin*, which signifies *the Boisterous*, or *the Quarrelsome*, because something of this kind appeared in his temper while a child, succeeded at twenty-three, or, as other writers say, at twenty-five years of age, being already king of *Navarre*. He continued to use the same seal as in his father's life-time, and put off his coronation, under pretence of making the same ceremony let for himself and his new queen, whose name was *Clemence*, the daughter of *Charles* king of *Hungary*, his first queen *Margaret* being strangled, by his order, for the crime of adultery, in her prison of *Chateau-Gaillard*§. There were, however, other reasons for this delay; such as the want of money, the trea-

* Contin. NANG. GAGUINI Hist.
tres, tom. vii. † Contin. NANG.
P. ÆMIL.

‡ Inventaire de Char-
§ Cronique de St. Denys,

funeral being in a manner empty at his father's decease; and the discontents that reigned in several provinces of the kingdom, which he thought it necessary to compose, to prevent any disturbance at that solemnity; which he effected by the interposition of his uncle *Charles de Valois*, and the king's promises, that the nobility should be restored to the privileges they enjoyed in the reign of *St. Lewis*. These obstacles being removed, he was crowned at *Rheims*, by *Robert de Courtenai*, archbishop of that city^b. The count *de Valois*, tho' the king was of age, had such an ascendancy over him, that, in effect, he governed in his name; which was the easier for him to do, as he had a great share in the administration during that of his father, tho' perhaps it had been better for both kings if they had confided in him less, his hasty and passionate disposition being the principal cause of those disasters that happened both to his brother and his nephew^c.

WHERE a king is in want of money, his government cannot long be either steady or peaceable. *Lewis* was surprised to find himself so much distressed; he demanded the reason of it in his council, and his uncle charged it upon *Enguerand le Poitier de Marigni*, a nobleman of Norman extraction, whom his father had raised to the title of count *de Longueville*, to the post of chamberlain, and, in effect, to that of prime minister, by giving him the direction of the finances: he was a man of great abilities, but as warm in his temper as the count *de Valois*, and unable to bear this usage after the great services he had done the state; for it was chiefly through his management, that *Philip the Fair* had triumphed over pope *Boniface*, and obtained so much from the late pope *Clement the fifth*. In support, therefore, of his own conduct and character, he boldly answered, that so much of the king's treasure as had not been spent for his service, had been taken by the count *de Valois* himself^d. The count upon this gave him the lye, which, with some vehemence, *Marigni* retorted; so that they were on the point of drawing their swords in the king's presence. The rest of the council interposing, the count *de Valois* satisfied himself with putting him in prison, and causing him to be prosecuted, exhibiting against him a multitude of charges, some of which were destitute of all foundation, others strongly exaggerated, and in some there might be truth^e. He demanded time to make his defence; which was refused him, and the

^b GAGUINI Hist. Annales de Franc. P. ÆMIL. NANG.
^d GAGU. Hist. Contin. NANG.
 WALSINGHAM.

^c Cont.
^e THOM.

count had so great influence over his judges, that they pronounced him guilty in the gross of all that had been laid to his charge.* But the king, though he might be well enough content to see the pride of *Marigni* humbled, more especially as it afforded satisfaction to his subjects, yet he by no means desired his destruction, as having a great opinion of his pacificity, and much regard for his family; but the count *de Valois* was not to be pacified, his resentment had dictated the ruin of *Marigni*, and he resolved to accomplish it †.

The Sieur de Marigni is regretted as the victim of count de Valois's cruelty.

THE next step taken, in order to deprive him of the king's favour and pity, was to cause his sister and wife to be arrested, together with the pretended magician, who by their command, as it was said, had made images of wax of the king and his uncle, in order to destroy them by enchantment. The magician hanged himself in prison, the women were convicted, and the king was prevailed upon to give way that *Marigni* should be executed ‡. He was accordingly hanged on the high gibbet at *Montfaucon*, set up by his own order, that the bodies of notorious offenders might be exposed to public view. He did not fall alone; several of the inferior officers in the finances were confined and put to the torture; his brother, the bishop of *Beauvais*, was forced to retire; and the bishop of *Chalons*, chancellor of *France*, was charged with being his accomplice; and with having poisoned his predecessor, but being brought to a public trial was acquitted §. All this was far from answering the end proposed; *Marigni* was considered by the people as the victim of the count *de Valois's* passion; and that they judged right, appeared afterwards, by the king's leaving a considerable sum of money to his children by will, and by the count *de Valois* giving largely to the poor to pray for *Marigni* and for himself, because he looked upon his being struck with a palsy to be a judgment from heaven, for his severity in persecuting this unfortunate gentleman: neither did the confiscation of his effects, and of those who were listed his accomplices, furnish supplies in any proportion to the king's wants, tho', exclusive of what was diverted from the king's coffers, they were very considerable ¶.

The king makes an unsuccessful campaign.

THE coronation quickly exhausted them, he proposed war in *Flanders* required new aids, and, though *Marigni* was in his grave, yet the spirit he had introduced into the councils of *France* still prevailed. The ministers found means

* GAGUINI Histor.

† GENDRE MEZ.
Ma the

‡ Continu. t. NANGII.

§ Tresor de Chartres cite par Saint

to compel the nobility to lend the king money under a variety *paign in* of pretences; they levied a tenth upon the clergy; they *Flanders,* sold their liberty to the king's bondsmen, and when they *and dies* would no longer buy, they levied the money upon them by *suddenly at* ~~force~~ and declared them free whether they would or not *his return.*

By these, and other practices of a like nature, an army was raised, and the king's passion gratified, who desired above all things to chastise the *Flemings*; or rather the haughty temper of his uncle was indulged, who managed the king so absolutely, that he made his own humours appear to be his. The pretence of this war was the breach of his treaty with king *Philip*, by *Robert de Bethune*, count of *Flanders*; but *Robert* insisted that the *French* themselves had broke it, that he had paid immense sums to *Enguerrand de Marigni*, and that he had been imposed upon and deceived in many respects¹. The true motive to the war was the entire conquest of *Flanders*, then in a very low condition, and the people harraßed by a famine. Count *Robert*, very sensible that he could not oppose force by force, thought it excusable to have recourse to fraud. He negotiated with all apparent signs of submission; he consented to give hostages, and to deliver up the fortrefs of *Courtray*; but, at length the wet weather came, as he expected, and the *French* army, no longer able to keep the field, being obliged to retreat, he recovered *Courtray* by surprize^m. • King *Lewis* finding his coffers as empty as ever, fell into great perplexity, from which he was delivered by a sudden death, occasioned, as some say, by drinking imprudently a glass of water when he was very hot; but others think he was poisonedⁿ, and *Mezeray* ascribes this to the accomplices of *Marigni*, assuring us, that, at this time, poison was but too frequent in *France*^o. But, whatever was the cause, the king ended his days at the *Bois de Vincennes* on the fifth of *June*, after a reign of one year eight months and six days, leaving his subjects in great perplexity, on the score of the queen's being with child, and his brother *Philip* at a distance (M); so that it was doubtful whom they were to obey.

A. D.
1316.

CHARLES,

• ^k DE GENDRE. DUPLEIX.

¹ LE GENDRE. P. HE-

NAULT.

^m P. ÆMIL. MEYERUS.

ⁿ DUPLEIX.

^o Abrege de la Histoire de France, vol. ii. p. 329.

(M) This monarch, king of *Navarre*, in right of his mother, espoused, while very young, *Margaret*, daughter to *Robert* : Mod. Hist. Vol. XXIII.

II. duke of *Burgundy*, by *Agnes*, the youngest daughter of *St. Lewis*, who being convicted of adultery in 1313, was

D d

con-

Philip, count of *Valois*, unwilling to part with that authority which he had so long held, seized the *Louvre*, Poitiers, and made a strong party in order to obtain the regency, which he had the more time to do, because *Philip*, count of *regents*, in *Poitou*, being at *Lyons*, where a conclave was held for the election of a pope, could not be prevailed upon to move till he saw that matter in a fair way of being adjusted. On his arrival at *Paris*, near a month after his brother's decease, he found things in great confusion; but being supported by the constable the count *d'Euveux*, tho' brother to *Charles de Valois*, and the citizens of *Paris*, he compelled that ambitious prince to deliver up the *Louvre*, and to submit their pretensions to the decision of the court of peers, or, as it was then stiled, the parliament, who decided, that the regency belonged of right to *Philip*, as first prince of the blood, to whom they granted that title and authority for eighteen years, and directed a great seal, which he was to use during that time, with this inscription, "*Philip*, son of the French king, governing the realms of *France* and *Navarre*" &c.

¶ Continuat. NANGII. P. ÆMIL.

confined in *Chateau-Gaillard*, and there strangled by her husband's command the year following; but whether before or after he became king of *France* is not very clear, tho' the latter is most probable. Her corpse was interred in the convent of the *Cordeliers* at *Vernon*. By her he had only one daughter, *Joan* or *Jane*, heiress after his decease of the kingdom of *Navarre*, and of the counties of *Champagne* and *Brie*, educated at the court of her uncle *Otho*, duke of *Burgundy*, and under the eye of her grandmother. The second queen of *Lewis Hutin* was *Clementia*, the eldest daughter of *Charles Martel*, king of *Hungary*; she espoused the king in the month of *August* 1315, and became a widow in the beginning of *June* following. She is said to have been so passionately fond of her husband, that her grief proved

fatal to his posthumous son *John*, king of *France* and *Navarre*; and that, after having wept and deplored him for twelve years, she died inconsolable in 1328. *Lewis* had also a natural daughter, named *Endelina*, who became a nun. An antient historian ascribes to him the fixing the court of parliament at *Paris*, which other authors ascribe to his father. The crime of poisoning was so common at this time in *France*, and indeed in other countries, that whenever a king died suddenly, the people made no scruple of supposing his end was hastened. In the present case it is not easy to discern who should have an interest in perpetrating such an act, since his demise, as things at that time stood, was equally fatal to his subjects and to the royal family.

By

By this judgment the government was settled for the present, and gave leisure for settling that of the succession. The crown of *France*, from the time of *Hugh Capet*, had gone in a lineal succession from father to son; in case therefore the queen was delivered of a prince there could be no dispute; but if she was brought to bed of a princess, or if her son should die, then came the doubt how the crown should descend, which was so much the greater, as there was no written law to which they could have recourse. Some were of opinion that the kingdom was a great fief, and that therefore the succession should be regulated as in other fiefs; and in that case the princess *Joan*, daughter to the deceased king, was clearly the heiress of the crown¹. *Charles*, count de la *Marche*, the younger brother of the regent, *Charles* of *Valois*, and *Lewis* of *Breux*, his uncles, *Eudes* duke of *Burgundy*, and other princes of the blood, were of this opinion. But others alleged, that the bulk of the realm of *France* consisted of salique lands, and therefore ought to pass by the salique law, which, excluding females, the regent *Philip*, as next prince of the blood, was to inherit². In this situation of things there was a treaty made at *Vincennes*, the 17th of *June*, by which it was stipulated, that, in case the queen was delivered of a princess, the heiress of *Lewis Hutin* should have the kingdom of *Navarre*, and the counties of *Champagne* and *Brie*, in conjunction with her younger sister (not yet born); that the princess *Joan* should be bred up at the court of the duke of *Burgundy*, her uncle, and that neither of the princesses should be married, without the consent of the person at that time governing the realm of *France*, and *Philip* still to have the regency of *Navarre* and *Champagne*, till such a marriage should be concluded and consummated. In the course of his regency he engaged in a war, in support of his wife's mother *Matilda*, countess of *Artois*, against count *Robert*, who claimed that country by descent³. This war he conducted with éclat and with success; obliged *Robert* to surrender himself prisoner, and to submit his pretensions to the decision of the parliament, who gave judgment in favour of the countess, and a fatal judgment it was⁴. The queen, who with difficulty escaped from a fever, into which grief for the king her husband had thrown her, was on the 15th of *November* delivered of a son, who was baptized by the name of *John*, and who lived a week, or, as some say, three weeks, and was buried at *St. Denis*, being

¹ J. DE SERRES.
GUINI. DUFILIX.

² MEZERAY. P. DAN.
³ DU TILLET. CHALONS.

⁴ GA-

proclaimed king, as is generally said, in the funeral service; but there are deeds still preserved which bear date in his short reign, so that the modern historians are justified, who put him into the list of kings of *France* by the name of *John I* ^u.

Philip V. 4. PHILIP LE LONG, or *Philip the Tall*, having made use of the crown revenue to strengthen his party, was declared king upon the death of his nephew; and, as soon as things could be adjusted for that purpose, he went to *Rheims*, in order to be crowned: the day fixed for that purpose was the ninth of *January*. The old duchess of *Burgundy*, the youngest daughter of *St. Lewis*, and grandmother to queen *Joan of Navarre*, protested by letter against this act, till the rights of that princess should be examined. The king's brother, *Charles*, repaired to *Rheims*, but left it the very morning of the coronation, which occasioned such a consternation, that the gates of the city were shut till the solemnity was over ^w. The new king, to prevent any disputes about his title, called a general assembly at *Paris*, in which his coronation was confirmed, and the nobility, prelates, and others who assisted there, took an oath of allegiance to him and to his son *Lewis*, who died however in a few days after ^x. *Philip* did not stop there; he applied himself to pope *John XXII*, who wrote to the queen dowager, and to the counts *Valois* and *de la Marche*, exhorting them not to disturb the peace of the kingdom, and, at the same time, gave his instructions to the archbishop of *Bourges* to excommunicate them if they did ^y. In order to put a final end to these disputes, *Philip* gave his eldest daughter in marriage to the duke of *Burgundy*, and with her the county of the same name, of which her mother was heiress, and promised her the queen of *Navarre* to the son of the count *de Evreux*, which had the effect he desired, and pacified all who had exerted themselves on the side of the queen of *Navarre*. As for the count *de la Marche*, since the death of the young prince *Lewis*, he had changed his sentiments, and highly approved the law that had been made to exclude females from the throne, because it opened him a passage ^z.

A.D.
1317.

New troubles on the point of

AFTER all this, the jealousies and grievances which had disturbed the last years of his father's reign were on the point of creating troubles in his. The nobility, clergy, and

^u P. DAN. BOULANVILLIERS. ^w GAGUINI Chronique M.S. de St. Genevieve. ^x J. DE SERRES. MEZERAY. ^y RAINALD. P. DANIEL. ^z Continuat. NANGI. LE GEND.

citizens, in several provinces, jealous of their respective privileges, began to enter into confederacies for the support of them, which might have been fatal to the public quiet, under a monarch less wise and less firm than Philip^a. He immediately appointed commissaries to enquire into these grievances, and directed them to assure his people, that he would be as tender of giving them just occasion to take up arms, as he would be severe in punishing those who should take them up without cause. He observed that particular privileges were granted, on a supposition that they were not repugnant to the general welfare of the realm; and as he would oppress none himself, so he would not permit either lord, or bishop, or city, to oppress the meanest of his subjects; and, upon the report of these commissaries, having complied exactly with his promise, the people were so well satisfied, that, though their superiors found themselves hurt a little by the king's notions, yet they found an insurrection impracticable^b.

THE war with the Flemings had been suspended by a truce; and though the king was much inclined to put an end to it by a peace, yet this was not easily effected, notwithstanding he had the assistance of the pope's spiritual artillery, as well as the force of his own realm: but in the end the Flemings, being convinced of the rectitude of his intentions, compelled their count to put an end to a quarrel which had been alike burthensome to both nations^c. He summoned Edward II. of England to render homage for the places he held in France; and though the excuse that prince made would scarce have been accepted by his predecessors, yet, partly out of regard to his sister whom that king had married, and partly from the consideration of his own circumstances, he received it with a good grace^d. The integrity of Philip was the source of the only objection ever made to his conduct: he had taken the cross with his father at the council of Vienne, and he was so strict an observer of his word, that he made it a point of religion to prepare for a new expedition into the Holy Land, and was, with great difficulty, dissuaded from carrying it into execution while he was regent. After he was king he remained so bent upon it, that he neglected no method of filling his coffers, and this gained him the reputation of being covetous, and of having nothing so much at heart as amassing money^e. The steadiness of the

^a P. ÆMIL. DUPLEIX.

^b LE GENDRE.

^c J. DE

SERRES.

^d WAL. HEMINGFORD de reb. gest. Edward II.

Hist. Angl.

^e MEZERAY.

A. D.
1321.

Strange
disorders in
France,
occasioned
by a plague
attributed
to poison-
ing the
waters.

king's disposition, however, would very probably have carried him through, if the pope had not interposed; for the politics of the court of *Rome* were now so much changed, and the situation of things in *Italy* rendered the protection of *France* so necessary to the pontif, that he wrote to *Philip* in very pathetic terms, to desist from this enterprize for the present^f; which, though it had its effect, yet he continued to look upon himself as bound in conscience to accomplish his vow, and therefore never desisted from the means that he thought were most likely to put it in his power^g.

AMONGST other mischiefs this occasioned, there was one of a very extraordinary nature, and which was almost as prejudicial to his subjects as if the king had actually executed his design. The *Mohammedan* princes in *Africa*, considering the last croisade of *St. Lewis*, and being apprehensive that the king might revive the same scheme, and make the first descent in some or other of their dominions, practised with the *Jews*, whom his grandfather had banished, and his brother readmitted into *France*, to poison the wells, fountains, and rivers, and offered them great sums if they would enter into their views^h. The *Jews* were afraid to embark in so dangerous a conspiracy; and yet being loth to lose the money, they practised on the lepers, of whom there were great numbers then in *France*, and who lived by themselves in hospitals, very richly endowed, and who had also many *Jews* amongst them, to undertake this villainy, which they did, and were so industrious in the performance of it, that a prodigious mortality ensued, insomuch that, if the king had persisted in his intention, he would have found it scarce possible to have raised an army. This conspiracy being detected, many of the lepers were burnt, and the people rising against the *Jews* committed most horrid disorders, under colour of executing justice; so that a greater or more universal calamity could not well have happenedⁱ. The king had been persuaded by the pope to send an army into *Italy*, against the family of *Visconti*, lords of *Milan*, who were at the head of the *Gibellines*. This army was commanded by *Philip*, count of *Mass*, ~~and Charles~~, count of *Valois*; but *Galeas de Visconti* coming to meet him with a small retinue, giving him good words, and promising to submit all points in dispute to the judgment of the king of *France*, *Philip* returned with his forces, without doing

^f RAINALD. DUPLEIX.

^g MEZERAY. P DANIEL.

^h Contin. NANGII. J. DE SERRES.

ⁱ GAGUINI Inventaire de Chartres, tom. vii.

any thing^k; which, however it might injure his reputation, was certainly without any prejudice to his country. At his return, he found things in the confusion we have represented, the people every-where highly irritated against the *Jews*, and the *Jews* protesting that they were the victims of their impatience, on account of the nation's being afflicted with a plague, which they could neither help or remove^l. This affair is very darkly represented by all, and in very different lights by some historians.

THE last great action of *Philip's* life and reign, or at least the last great thing he attempted, was to complete what his predecessors had begun, in reducing the money, the weights, and the measures, throughout all *France*, to some settled standard. In order to this, he sent commissaries through all the provinces, to take an exact account of the state of things as they then stood; and having done this, he began to compound with some of the great lords, particularly the princes of the blood, for their rights of coinage within their own domains, and actually effected it with the count *de Valois*, and the count of *Clermont* and *Bourbon*, but found it very difficult to succeed, notwithstanding he was at great pains to make it appear how much it was for the common benefit of his subjects, and that it was the only effectual remedy for some of those evils of which they had so much complained^m. But a report prevailing, that he intended to raise a tax of the fifth part of every man's revenue, in order to pay such individuals as would not part with their privileges, it raised a general discontent. *Philip*, much affected by the misfortunes that had happened to his subjects during his reign, and not a little chagrined to find all his actions misinterpreted (more especially by the prelates, whom, from a point of conscience, he had excluded by law from sitting in parliament, because it hindered their residence in their diocese, and prevented them from discharging their pastoral dutyⁿ), fell sick of a fever, accompanied with a dysentery, of which having languished five months, he breathed his last on the third of *January*, at the entrance of the sixth year of his reign, and in the twenty-eight of his age, not without great suspicion of poison, being hated by the clergy, and little beloved by the nobility^o. He is, however, by all the *French* historians, allowed to have been a wise, moderate, pious, just, and public-spirited prince^p. It appeared after his decease, that he

The king dies, and, though a prince of great merit, is very little regretted.

A. D.
1322.

^k Chronique MS. de St. Genevieve.

^l MEZERAY.

^m N. TRIVETI Annales.

ⁿ DUPLEIX. P. HENAUT.

^o J. DE SERRES.

^p DU TILLET. BOULANVILLE.

had been miserably cheated by those who had the direction of his finances; but it also appeared that he was very sincere in his designs, by his appropriating in his will the sums he had saved, for the very purposes for which he had declared they were intended. He was himself learned, and a great lover of learning, religious without bigotry, and so circum-
 ject in ecclesiastical promotions, that those who were most
 fiduous in seeking them very rarely met with prefer-
 ments ¹ (N).

¹ DUPLEIX. P. DANIEL.

(N) This monarch was at great pains in regulating the chatelet, which is, properly speaking, the court belonging to the old peerage, and in which therefore the provost of *Paris* presided; and, at this time, there were signal acts of injustice committed in this court. For instance; one of the provosts, for a sum of money, suffered a rich man to escape, who was condemned to death, and executed a poor fellow in his stead, for which he was very deservedly hanged. The king also directed that the provost should render justice himself in open court, and that if he failed to do this he should lose his office. His queen was *Jane*, or *Joan*, the daughter of *Othelin*, count of *Burgundy*, by the countess *Matilda*, who, as we have shewn, enjoyed *Artois* in her own right. *Joan* was condemned with her sister, at the close of the reign of *Philip the Fair*, as guilty of adultery; but, after a year's imprisonment, the king took her again, being persuaded, or seeming to be persuaded, that she was innocent. He had by her *Lewis*, who died a child; *Joan*, who espoused *Eudes*, duke of *Burgundy*, and was the heiress of
 the countess of *Burgundy* and *Artois*: but an accurate historian affirms, that, at her marriage, she brought her husband only one hundred thousand livres in ready money, and a rent-charge of twenty thousand livres *per annum*, in lieu of the county of *Burgundy*. We shall speak of her death hereafter. *Margaret*, who was the consort of *Lewis*, count of *Flanders*, to whom she brought a great succession; she survived to the age of seventy-two, and died with the reputation of a saint. *Isabella*, the third daughter, married *Guigon*, dauphin of *Vienne*, and, after his decease, *John*, baron of *Faucogney* in *Franche-Compte*; *Blanche*, who died a nun in the monastery of *Long Champ*, the 26th of *April*, 1358. The corpse of king *Philip V.* was interred in the abbey of *St. Denis*, his heart in the church of the convent of *Cordeliers* at *Paris*; and his entrails at the *Jacobins*. *Queen Joan* retired, after her decease, to a convent at *Roie* in *Picardy*, where she died *January 31*, 1329; and her body being afterwards removed to *Paris*, was interred in the convent of *Cordeliers*.

CHARLES

CHARLES IV. surnamed *le Bel*, or *the Fair*, succeeded his brother in the throne, when he was about the age of twenty-six, without any scruple or dispute, though contrary to that rule of succession which himself had espoused when his brother claimed the crown. The duke of *Burgundy*, who had married the eldest daughter of the deceased monarch, was the first to do him homage. But though he set up no pretensions to the crown, yet he claimed the county of *Poitou* upon this principle, that her father having no higher title at the time of his wife's birth, she was of consequence his heiress in respect to that county as well as *Burgundy*, which, or an equivalent, had been yielded to him; but the parliament finding that the county of *Poitou* was given by *Philip le Bel* only to his son and his heirs male, they declared the duke of *Burgundy's* pretensions groundless^t. The next point was to get rid of his wife *Blanch* of *Burgundy*, who had been all this time prisoner in *Chateau-Gaillard*; and, in order to this, an application was made to the court of *Rome*, where the pope was so complaisant as to declare the marriage null, for two reasons; the first was, that the lady's mother, the countess *Matilda*, had been godmother to the king, the other, that the lady *Blanch* herself was related to him in the fourth degree, for which, indeed, a dispensation had been obtained from the court of *Rome*, but this dispensation was now found not to be in proper form^u. On such slight circumstances as these stood the marriages and successions even of princes. The king, being now at liberty, married the princess *Mary*, daughter to the emperor *Henry of Luxemburgh*, in hopes of male issue, and also with a view to facilitate his correspondence with the princes of *Germany*, for reasons that will quickly appear^t.

Charles the Fair succeeds his brother, and meets with no opposition.

A.D.
1323.

THE peace which had so long subsisted between the crowns of *France* and *England*, was interrupted by various accidents. *Edward* being summoned to do homage for the territories he possessed in *France*, made the same excuses he had formerly done, and might have made them with the same success; but the lord of *Montpesat* having built a castle on lands which were claimed by the crown of *France*, was dispossessed of it by that prince's order: however, by the assistance of the seneschal of *Guienne*, it was recovered, and the *French*, who were in possession, put to the sword, as the *French* writers say^u. For this *Edward* was summoned to

A war breaks out with the king of England, which is strangely managed on both sides.

^t GAGUINI. P. ÆMIL. ^u MEZERAY. P. DANIEL.
^t LE GENDRE. ^u WAL. HEMINGFORD &c reb. gest. Edward II.

the parliament to answer before his peers; and, notwithstanding he sent his brother *Edmund*, earl of *Kent*, to prevent things from coming to extremity, yet the *French* army, under the command of *Charles*, count of *Valois*, entered the territories of *Edward*, and reduced the best part of them in a short time; so that to preserve *Bourdeaux*, and the few places that were left, he was forced to conclude a truce for a short time, under colour of giving his brother leisure to recollect himself, and to come over and render homage in person *. The truth seems to be, that this war, tho' carried on in *France*, was contrived in *England*, to serve the purposes of the barons, who were then upon bad terms with the king, and the queen, who began to enter into their views, and looked upon a war with *France* as the only means of accomplishing them *. This was the last campaign of the great count *de Valois*, who being afflicted with a grievous distemper, the nature of which the physicians did not understand, and of consequence knew not how to cure, persuaded himself it was a judgment from Heaven, for the persecution of the sieur *de Marigni*, whose body he caused to be taken down, the judgment against him to be reversed, and his family restored in blood and to their estates. Proofs of a sincere repentance, which he did not long survive. *Mezeray* † would persuade us that he died of poison, and that he had no reason to trouble himself so much about the fate of *Marigni*, who met with no more than he deserved. Yet sure the count *de Valois* was a better judge than he; and how guilty soever the minister might be, he was notwithstanding unjustly condemned, being unheard ‡.

A.D.
1324.

Isabel, the king's sister, contrives the destruction of Edward II. by her husband.

EDWARD of *England* was much at a loss, as the queen and her faction foresaw, how to adjust his affairs in *France*, where his own presence was absolutely necessary; and yet to quit his kingdom was to lose it. In this situation the queen, who stood but ill with him and his ministers, offered to go over and negotiate a peace with her brother; and, notwithstanding the bad terms on which they stood with her, as having lately deprived her of all her *French* servants, they consented to this proposition; the bringing about of which seems to have been the whole secret of the quarrel, in which the kings had very little share on either side *. Upon her arrival at *Paris* she complained bitterly of the *Spensers*, and endeavoured rather to inflame her brother *Charles* against

* J. DE SERRES. P. HENAULT. * POLYDOR. VIRGIL.
† Abrege Histoire de France, tom. ii. † MEZERAY.
‡ N. TRIVETI Anna.

her husband, than to conciliate the disputes betwixt them; but *Charles*, who knew that the pope and other princes had their eye upon his conduct, remonstrated to her the impropriety of her behaviour, and that it was requisite to settle the peace before the king meddled in the matters of which she complained ^b. The peace was accordingly regulated; the seizure of *Guienne* was acknowledged to be just, because *Edward* had refused his homage; *Charles* was to name a seneschal, and to keep possession of his new conquest, but was to grant a safe conduct for *Edward* to come over; and, upon his doing him homage, was to restore all he had taken. This brought *Edward* into the old difficulty of leaving his regal dominions, which he was unwilling to do; and to remove this obstacle, it was proposed he should resign the duchy of *Guienne*, and the rest of his lands in *France*, to his son prince *Edward*, whose homage in that case king *Charles* would receive. This was accepted by *Edward*, with a few restrictions; such as, that these countries should revert to him in case the prince died; that his uncle should not assign him a guardian; and that the young prince should not be induced to marry without his father's consent ^c. The king thereupon sent him over, accompanied by the bishop of *Exeter*, and a suitable train; and all things being adjusted, the king expected his queen should have returned. His expectations, however, were in vain; many of the *English* malcontents repaired to her there, and she continued to instigate her brother against her husband; which the bishop of *Exeter* perceiving, and that the court were no strangers to her intrigue with *Roger Mortimer*, he left *Paris*, and secretly returned home, disclosing all he knew to king *Edward*, who thereupon demanded his queen and his son in high terms; and not prevailing, hostilities were again renewed, abundance of *French* ships taken at sea, and incursions made by land in the duchy of *Aquitaine* ^d. The pope and the king of *Castile* interposing, and representing to *Charles* that his conduct was not at all suitable to his dignity, he forbid his subjects to frequent his sister's court; and at length ordered her and the prince her son, to retire out of his dominions. At the same time, however, *Robert de Artois*, count of *Beaumont* (not without the privity of the king as is generally supposed), advised her to go into *Hainault*, where she concluded a marriage for her son with the daughter of that count, and en-

^b P. ÆMIL. P. DANIEL.

^c THOM. WALSHINGHAM.

^d WALTER HEMINGFORD, de reb. gest. Edward II. POLYD. VIRGIL,

gaged his brother to accompany her to *England* with a small force; and being, on her arrival, assisted by the malecontents she quickly deposed her husband, and raised her son to the throne, whom *Charles* would never acknowledge so long as his father lived ^c. A conduct which some have represented as pure artifice; but, the king's character considered, may be more probably ascribed to his justice.

Charles fails in his attempt to gain the German prince to elect him emperor.

BUT let us now return to the affairs of *France*. At the beginning of his reign, the king, in virtue of a decision of the parliament, had placed *Lewis* in the seat of his grandfather *Robert de Bethune*, as count of *Flanders*, *Nevers*, and *Rethel*, notwithstanding the opposition of his uncle *Robert*, who pretended that, being one degree nearer his father than *Lewis*, he ought to succeed; and the *Flemings* giving him some disturbance, the king granted him such timely assistance as prevented their breaking out into open rebellion ^f. He was not altogether so successful in his attempt to supplant *Lewis* of *Bavaria* in the empire. The pope had quarrelled with this monarch, and supported *Frederick*, duke of *Austria*, who likewise stiled himself emperor, and whom *Lewis* had defeated, and then held in prison. The scheme of the pope was, that *Charles* should enter into a league with *Leopold* of *Austria*, *Frederick's* brother, to procure that prince his liberty: that, in consideration of this, *Frederick*, as soon as he was set free, should resign his pretensions to *Charles*, who, upon his being acknowledged emperor by the princes of *Germany*, was to pay *Leopold* a large sum of money ^g. *Lewis* of *Bavaria* spoiled the first part of this plan, by generously setting his rival at liberty, and allowing him to keep the title of emperor during life. The pope, however, kept to his design; and *Leopold* of *Austria*, desirous of gaining the money that had been promised him, assured *Charles*, that, if he would but come to the frontiers, most of the princes of the empire would meet, receive, and elect him. The king went accordingly, with an equipage suitable to his rank, but found nobody except *Leopold*, who laboured to excuse this disappointment, and engaged the pope also to renew the treaty: but the king was so ashamed of what had happened, that he would not risk a second disgrace, notwithstanding he had this project once exceedingly at heart, from the ambition of restoring the diadem to *France* ^h.

* Histoire & Chronique de JEAN FROISSART, liv. i. WAL-
HEMINGFORD de reb. gest. Edward II. f MEYERUS.
Contin. NANG. g P. ÆMIL. J. DE SERRES h LE
GENDRE. P. HENAUULT.

CHARLES fought in general to be well with his neighbours, and maintain those alliances which were most likely to turn to the advantage of the crown of *France*, in case of any dispute. It was with this view that he renewed his alliance with the king of *Scots*, in which he inserted an article, importing, that in case the throne of either kingdom should be vacant without an heir apparent, the states should declare who had the right: and this done, the other king should assist the heir, so declared, in person, and with all his force, against any opponents¹. It seems the king was apprehensive of dying, as he did, without heirs male, though he had a son by his second queen, who died as soon as born, and his mother not long after, which might probably induce Charles to make this treaty. However, not long after he espoused *Joan*, daughter to *Lewis*, count of *Eureux*, who was his cousin german, notwithstanding he had been divorced from a wife on the score of consanguinity, who was not so nearly related to him². *Edward II.* of *England* being dead, he summoned his son *Edward* to do him homage for the duchy of *Guicenne*, and the rest of his territories in *France*; but *Edward* excused himself for the present, by alleging the unsettled state of his affairs, and the unlucky consequences that might attend his passing the seas, which was accepted and the truce renewed, there being particular reasons why the king did not incline to excite any disputes with *England*, or indeed with any of his neighbours; and, amongst these, it was none of the least that his health began to decay³.

HE shewed a great inclination to live upon good terms with the princes of the blood; and being desirous of having *Clermont*, which belonged to *Lewis*, the son of *Robert*, the younger son of *St. Lewis*, he gave him in exchange the county of *la Marche*, and some other places, and, by letters patent, erected his barony of *Bourbon* into a dukedom and peerage⁴, which was one of the last actions of his life; for his disease increasing, he died at *Bois de Vincennes* on the first of *February*, as he entered the seventh year of his reign, and the thirty-fourth of his life, leaving his third queen, as his brother *Lewis Hutin* had done, big with child⁵. Some historians speak of this king as a prince of a very moderate genius; it may be rather said of a moderate disposition, for he did not want either martial courage or steadiness of mind, which appeared clearly in his zeal for justice; for he called

He marries a third time, his cousin german, in hopes of male issue.

He dies after a short reign, and leaves his queen pregnant, which occasions a new regency.

A. D. 1328.

¹ M. S. de BETHUNE dans le Bibliotheque du Roi de France, cote 9587. ² Contin. NANG. ³ THOM. WALSHINGHAM. ⁴ P. HENAUT. BOULAN. ⁵ N. TRIVETI Annales.

to an account the *Lombards*, and the other officers, who had been employed in the treasury, and had acquired immense fortunes by pillaging the people. One of them died under the torture, and the rest, being stripped of their ill-got wealth, were sent home as naked as they came into *France*°, which *Mezeray* commends as their proper punishment P. *Charles* shewed no less courage on another occasion: *Jourdain de Lisle*, a great lord of *Aquitaine*, relying on his wealth, his quality, and his being allied by marriage to pope *John* XII. committed innumerable insults on the laws, insomuch that he had eighteen charges against him for capital offences. This lord, being summoned to appear before the parliament at *Paris*, beat out the officer's brains with his own mace; notwithstanding which he had the imprudence to go thither in a short time after, of which the king having notice, he caused him to be arrested, and within a few days hanged, by an arret of parliament, without any respect to his birth, his wealth, or his alliance q. In this monarch ended the male line of *Philip the Fair*, who, though he left behind him three sons at men's estate, and consequently had the fairest hope of a numerous and lasting posterity, yet, in so short a space as fourteen years, they all deceased, and left the crown to pass into another branch of the royal family, which some, too boldly judging of the degrees of Providence, have considered as a judgment, for the severity exercised on the knights templars'. *Charles*, on his death-bed, being put in mind of the succession, contented himself with saying, that if his queen was delivered of a daughter, it belonged to the parliament to declare the next heir'. His testament and codicil, both yet extant, regard only his private affairs.

Remarks
on the
history of
France,
during this
period of
the third
race.

THE descendents of *Hugh Capet* governed the kingdom of *France*, in a direct line from father to son, for eleven generations, without taking in the young king *John*, and including the two collateral reigns of *Philip* I. and *Charles* IV. There were thirteen monarchs in all', whose reigns together make upwards of three hundred and forty years, during which space they wonderfully extended, as well their authority as their dominions; and had at this time recovered, either to the crown or to princes of the royal family, the better part of the antient kingdom of *France*": they had also reduced the exorbitant power of the nobility within bounds, and were much less dependent than the monarchs

° N. TRIVETI Annal.

tom. ii.

GENDRE.

q DU TILLET.

J. DE SERRES.

P Abrege de l'Histoire de France,

MEZERAY.

P. HENAUULT.

Le

of the second race upon the clergy w. Yet, after all, the nation was in low circumstances, the frame of government far from being uniform x; and, in short, the seeds of those disorders were very perceptible to prudent and thinking men y, which, in the succeeding reign, sprung up and became visible to the whole world in their dismal effects, and that bloody and consuming war which almost exhausted the strength of two potent nations z.

w CHALONS. BOULAN. x GAGUINI. y M
P. HENault. z LE GENDRE.

S E C T. VII.

The Reigns of the French Monarchs of the House of Valois; Philip VI. or the Fortunate; John the Good; Charles V. or the Wise; Charles VI. or the Well-beloved; Charles VII. or the Victorious; Lewis XI. and Charles VIII. in whom the direct Descent of Philip de Valois ended.

AS, on the death of *Charles the Fair*, France was without a king, and as the succession depended on the sex of a child unborn, there was a plain necessity of appointing a regent. The common histories speak of a great contest between *Philip*, count de Valois, and king *Edward III.* as to their respective rights of succession to the crown of France; and what they say is true in the main, but not clearly or distinctly expressed. The dispute was, in reality, about the crown, but the claim was made only to the regency; for it was a point established, that this belonged only to the next heir; so that declaring the regent was, in effect, declaring the next heir. *Philip* alleged that he was the grandson of *Philip the Hardy*, the nephew of *Philip the Fair*, the cousin german of the deceased king, and his nearest heir male, descended from a male, which was not contested with him by any of the princes of the blood (A). *Edward*, on the other

* Continuat. NANG. • b FRISSARD, lib. i.

(A) In this note, that the first of the princes of the blood, as they stood at this time, distinguished under various houses, that

other hand, claimed it as being the nephew of the last deceased king, and consequently nearer in blood than *Philip*, who was

that it may appear how the right of *Philip de Valois* was prior to theirs; next of the house of *Valois*, at the time of *Philip's* accession, that his alliances may be seen; and, lastly, of the great signiories in *France*, which still remained, and had no more than a feudal dependence upon the crown. Of the princes of the blood, the first house was that of *Evreux*, founded by *Lewis*, the son of *Philip the Hardy*. His son *Philip* had espoused the princess *Joan*, daughter to *Lewis Hutin*, and in her right became king of *Navarre*. Title of his own to the crown he had clearly none; and whatever he might have had by his wife, was taken away by the decision of parliament, supported by his own renunciation (1). The next was that of *Bourbon*, or of *Clermont*, more remote, as descending from *Robert* count de *Clermont*, son to *St. Lewis*. *Peter*, duke of *Bourbon*, was the head of this house, and brother-in law to *Philip de Valois* (2). That of *Artois* descended from *Robert*, another son of *France*, that is of *Lewis VIII.* and brother to *St. Lewis*, who, in his favour, erected *Artois* into a peerage: he was killed, as we have already shewn, in *Egypt*. His son *Robert II.* as we have likewise shewn, was killed at the battle of *Courtray*. His son *Philip* died of the wounds he received at the battle of *Furnes*.

Robert III. the county of *Artois* being adjudged to his aunt *Maud*, was the head of the house, and in his favour *Philip* erected *Beaumont le Roger* into a peerage (3). Of the lines of *Dreux* and *Courtenai*, the chief was *John III.* duke of *Bretagne*, descended from *Robert IV.* son of *Lewis the Gros* (4). And, lastly, that of *Burgundy* descended from *Robert III.* son of king *Robert*, and the grandson of *Hugh Capet*, the head of which was *Eudes*, or *Otho*, IV. duke of *Burgundy*, grandson by the mother's side to *St. Lewis*, and whose sister, *Joan*, *Philip de Valois* had married (5). It is clear from this genealogy, that none of these princes could pretend to a prior right, and therefore their interest lay in supporting that of *Philip de Valois*; because this right of succession being once established, they might all, in their turns, avail themselves of the extinction of the males of the reigning house, which has been actually the case of the family now upon the throne, in whom are united the houses of *Navarre*, and *Bourbon* (6). Let us next speak particularly of the house of *Valois*; *Charles* of *France*, third son of *Philip the Hardy*, count of *Valois*, *Artois*, *Chartrres*, and *Perche*. He espoused first *Margaret* of *Anjou*, and had by her two sons and four daughters. The eldest was *Philip de Valois*, the first of the French monarchs of his line;

(1) Du Tillot. Le Gendre.

(2) Duploix.

(3) Gignini. P. Æmil.

(4) P. Daniel.

(5) Lizeray.

(6) Favyn. Histoire de Navarre.

was but his cousin^c. He admitted the general principle that females could not inherit the crown of *France*, for this plain reason, that otherwise the crown must have belonged of right to the princess, of whom the queen might be brought to bed, or to the queen of *Navarre*, who was the daughter of *Lewis Hutin*; but, in admitting this, *Edward* only set aside his mother's right to establish his own; for though he acknowledged females incapable, yet he insisted that the males

^c WAL. HEMINGFORD, de reb. gest. Edward II.

Charles, from whom sprung the house of *Alençon*; *Joanna*, who married *William*, count of *Hennault*, *Holland*, and *Zealand*; *Isabella*, who espoused *John*, duke of *Bretagne*; *Margaret*, who became the wife of *Guy de Chatillon*, count of *Blois*; *Katherine*, who died young. By his second wife *Katherine*, sole daughter and heiress of *Philip de Courtenai*, son of *Baldwin* II. emperor of *Constantinople*, and who was herself crowned empress by pope *Boniface VIII*, he had a son who died young, and three daughters; *Katherine*, who married *Philip*, prince of *Tarentum*; *Joan*, who espoused *Robert de Artois*, and *Isabel*, abbess of *Fonteverault*. By his third wife, *Maud*, the eldest daughter of *Guy de St. Paul*, he had a son and three daughters; *Lewis*, count of *Chartrain*, who died young; *Mary*, the second wife of *Charles*, duke of *Calabria*, by whom she had the famous *Joan*, queen of *Naples*; *Isabel*, who espoused *Peter*, duke of *Burgundy*; *Blanche*, the first wife of emperor *Charles IV.* (7) The great lords still remaining in *France* were not, in point either of number or power, any way comparable to what they had been in the times of his predecessors; but, notwithstanding this, they were still numerous enough to give him great inquiet, and the force of his kingdom was nothing comparable to what it is at present on the frontiers towards *Spain*; the counts of *Poix* and *Armagnac* were very powerful, and scarce subjects at all; *Gascony* was in the hands of the *English*, whose claims reached to all the countries as far as the *Loire*; *Bretagne* was an independent duchy; in effect the king of *Navarre* had considerable estates in *Normandy*; the constable of *France* had two considerable counties in *Picardy*; *Flanders* and *Artois* were in an unsettled condition; the duchy and county of *Burgundy*, though detached from the crown, were united to him from family connections; the territories next adjacent belonged to the dauphine of *Vienne*; the county of *Provence*, with half the city of *Avignon*, to the queen of *Naples*; the other half of that city, with the county of *Venaissin*, to the pope; besides many other counties and baronies in the very center of the kingdom, and the claim of the house of *Navarre* to the counties of *Champagne* and *Brie*.

(7) Le Gendre. P Daniel Chaleons.

descending from females had a just claim ^d. The parliament of *France* thought otherwise, and decided in favour of *Philip*, count of *Valois*, who thereupon assumed the title and authority of regent during the queen's pregnancy ^e.

Who, upon the queen's being delivered of a daughter, is acknowledged and crowned king. ALL the persecutions in the former reigns having failed of producing any amendment in the administration of the finances, the regent thought it might contribute to his reputation, and bring some wealth into the treasury, if he called *Peter Remy*, lord of *Montigny*, who had for some time directed these affairs, to an account, which he accordingly did; and by a judgment of the parliament, in which there were present twenty-five barons and fifteen knights, the regent himself presiding, he was condemned to be hanged, and all his goods confiscated, which, if we believe the writers of those times, amounted to one million two hundred thousand livres, that is, about twenty millions of the present *French* money ^f. The states of *Navarre* understanding that the daughters of *Philip the Long*, and *Edward III.* of *England*, as the son of the queen's daughter, formed some pretensions to their crown, cut that dispute short, by proclaiming the daughter of *Lewis Hutin*, and sending a deputation to invite her and her husband, *Philip*, count of *Evreux*, to return into their dominions; which *Philip* permitted, after having engaged them to grant a kind of annuity of five thousand livres to the daughters of *Philip the Long*, and to accept of an equivalent for the counties of *Champagne* and *Brie*, which, in virtue of this composition, remained annexed to the crown ^g. On the first of *April* the queen's dowager was delivered of a daughter; upon which *Philip* immediately assumed the name of king, notwithstanding *Edward III.* sent over ambassadors to claim his right, for which several eminent lawyers had declared ^h. On the 29th of *May* following he was crowned at *Rheims*, with much solemnity, and without the least opposition; at which we shall the less wonder, when we recollect that he was a prince in the flower of his age, whereas his competitor was a youth of about sixteen, under the tuition of his mother, and her paramour *Mortimer* ⁱ. On this account he received the surname of the *Fortunate*, though the *Flamings*, who hated him for his father's sake, stiled him *Poverty's Son*, that is, *Philip the Foundling*, or the come by chance king. It is said that *Robert de Artois* was very active in *Philip's* behalf, which is very probable, as he had married his sister;

^d FROISSART, lib. i.

^e Continuat. NANG. DUPLEIX.

^f MEZERAY.

^g P. HENAULT.

^h Murimuth Chron.

ⁱ W. HEMINGFORD, de reb. gest. Edward II.

but certainly his services are overvalued by such as attribute to his address king *Philip's* attaining the crown ^k. He had the king's favour and confidence, and this created an opinion of his abilities and influence.

AMONGST the great peers, who assisted at the ceremony of the coronation, was *Lewis* count of *Flanders*, who carried the sword of state, and whom his subjects had driven out of his dominions, chiefly on account of his attachment to *France*. *Philip*, therefore, thought himself obliged in justice and honour to restore him; and, having speedily assembled a very numerous army, marched directly into *Flanders*, accompanied by the king of *Navarre*, the duke of *Burgundy*, and the principal nobility of *France* ^l. The *Flemings*, tho' their army was inferior to that of the king, encamped on the side of a mountain, with the town of *Cassel* behind them, strongly entrenched, and a river in their front. *Philip* was inclined to have attacked them in their camp, but the best officers in his army dissuaded him; so that if the *Flemings* had remained firm to their first resolution, and acted entirely on the defensive, the king, like some of his predecessors, had been obliged to retire, after wasting his treasure and his army ^m. But, on the eve of *St. Bartholomew*, they attacked the king's camp with such intrepidity and address, that they were very near becoming masters of his person. *Philip*, however, behaved with great courage; and, having given time for his troops to recollect themselves, he attacked the *Flemings* in their turn, who had now lost the benefit of their situation, with such spirit, that they were entirely defeated ⁿ. The loss of this battle was the loss of *Flanders*; for the king becoming master of *Cassel*, turning it to the ground, and threatening every place that made resistance with the same fate, carried all before him, restored the count, and left the *Flemings* humbled by his power, but without any relaxation of their hatred to his person ^o. At his return to *Paris*, he summoned king *Edward* to do him homage, and, receiving no satisfactory answer, seized his revenues in *France* ^p. In regard to the services rendered by *Robert de Artois* in the war of *Flanders*, the king created his county of *Beaumont-le-Roger* into a peerage; so that at this time he was considered as a declared ^q.

A.D.
1328.

^k Chroniques de Flanders, HAILLAN, MEZERAY. ^l Cont. NANG. ^m LE GENDRE, BOULANVIL. ⁿ Cont. NANG. P. ÆMIL. ^o DUPLEIX, MEZERAY. ^p P. VIRO. WALTER HEMINGFORD. ^q LE GENDRE, P. HAINAULT.

Edward
III. comes
over into
France,
and does
homage to
king
Philip at
Amiens.

THE next year *Edward* the third of *England* thought fit to pass the sea, and, having landed at *Bologne*, came to *Amiens* with a numerous retinue; where he was very kindly received by *Philip*, who had with him the kings of *Navarre*, *Bohemia*, and *Majorca*. Great disputes arose about the nature of the homage which the king was to pay; that is, whether it was liege or simple; the former including services, and an oath of fealty, the latter being no more than an acknowledgement that the countries for which homage were done were fiefs dependent on the crown of *France*; besides *Edward* insisted, that satisfaction should be given him for the larks that had been taken from the duchy of *Guienne* before he did homage. *Philip*, desirous of having this matter adjusted, consented that *Edward* should render him homage in general terms, and should take time to examine his own archives, and from thence determine which species of homage was due: and as to the dispute concerning the lands in *Guienne* he was to have his action before the parliament. Upon these terms *Edward* did homage in the cathedral church of *Amiens*, on the 6th of *June*, and returned very soon after to *England*. *Philip* acted in this whole affair with great caution and prudence; he knew that the homage due to him was liege; but considering that the king must then have appeared bare-headed, without arms or spurs, and have taken his oath upon his knees, he was persuaded that the spirit of a young man would not let him stoop to that, and therefore he condescended to this expedient, that he might receive the homage in any form, reserving to himself a right to have this afterwards explained in a manner more authentic, and which would answer his purpose better than the ceremony, if the king had condescended to have gone through the proper form; in which he succeeded, notwithstanding *Edward* had made a protestation before a notary at *London*, that, whatsoever he did, he did by compulsion, and through fear of losing his lands, and that therefore it should be no prejudice to his just rights. The same year king *Philip* determined a dispute concerning ecclesiastical and lay jurisdictions, in favour of the clergy, who held themselves so much obliged thereby, that they set up his statue, and gave him the title of *apostolic*.

A.D.
1329.

Is obliged
to make a
declara-

AFTER a reasonable delay, *Philip* sent the duke of *Bourbon*, accompanied by several great lords and learned lawyers, to the court of *England*, in order to obtain the satisfaction

* CONT. NANG. P. AMIL.

P. VIRG.

LANVIL.

* CONT. NANG.

* WALTER HEMINGFORD,

* DU TILLET, BOU-

that had been promised to him; and the affairs of king *Edward* being, at that time exceedingly embarrasled, he found it requisite, after a previous examination of records, to grant letters patent, in the most clear and explicit terms, acknowledging the homage to be such as king *Philip* had demanded, and allowing the homage he paid, tho' in general terms, to be understood and taken as such^w. What particularly determined *Edward* to this measure was a new disturbance in the duchy of *Guienne*, the inhabitants of which, believing they should have been supported from *England*, made some incursions into *France*; upon which king *Philip* sent his brother *Charles* duke of *Alençon* into that duchy, with an army, who took the town of *Xainte* and demolished the walls. *Edward* concluded from hence, that, if he refused the satisfaction desired, he should be stripped of all his dominions in *France* before he was in a capacity to defend them^x. In the summer he came over into this kingdom, demanded restitution of what had been taken from him, and seemed disposed to live upon good terms with the king; which being all that *Philip* desired, he treated him with all possible respect, and gave him the satisfaction he demanded. Here the *French* writers seem to think the disputes between these princes had ended; for, tho' they did not love, they esteemed each other highly, and had great apprehensions of the reciprocal disturbances that each might create in the other's dominions, which made them willing to avoid a rupture, as being inconvenient to either in the present state of their affairs^y. This disposition, however, was quickly altered, by means of a certain incendiary, whose private interest, or rather whose violent resentment, induced him to leave no means untried to inspire *Edward* with an implacable aversion against *Philip*; in which he succeeded, and involved the two nations in a war, the most fatal and bloody that almost any history records, and which more than once brought the kingdom of *France* to the very brink of destruction. So fatal are private passions, to the welfare of the greatest states^z.

A. D.
1330.

This incendiary was *Robert de Artois*, who being a prince of the blood of *France*, having married the king's sister, and having served him with great vigour and valour in the cabinet and in the field, thought his services could never be paid, and that *Philip* was bound to accomplish for him whatever he desired, in whatever manner, and by removing whatever

^w WALTER HEMINGFORD, POL. VIRG. ^x CONT NANG.
P. ÆMIL. ^y P. VIRG. ^z MEZERAY, P. DANIEL.

where
thereupon
retires in-
to Eng-
land,

obstacles lay in the way ^a. He began by presenting a memorial when king *Edward* was at *Amiens*, desiring leave to examine witnesses in regard to his just claim to the county of *Artois*, which was granted. He next demanded a revision of the judgment given by parliament in that cause, on a suggestion that he could exhibit new proofs, which were absolutely conclusive. He was indulged in this too, and the suit was reduced to the same state in which it stood before either of the two judgments were pronounced ^b. He then produced these evidences, which, upon inspection, were found to be forged; and the very woman, by whose contrivance this whole scene was carried on, being seized, confessed the facts, and made every thing as clear as possible. The king laboured as much as was in his power to prevail upon his brother-in-law to desist from these pretensions, and to have nothing farther to do with those whom he had engaged in these practices, which he promised, but did not perform; so that, at length, provoked by these and some more criminal practices, the king, after granting him various delays of justice, at length, in full parliament, pronounced an edict of banishment and confiscation of all his estates ^c. He retired upon this into the territories of the duke of *Brabant*, where he engaged in new intrigues; and *Philip*, having thereupon taken measures for humbling the duke of *Brabant*, and having caused his own sister, for the share she had in her husband's sinister contrivances, to be arrested, *Robert de Artois* withdrew, in the disguise of a merchant, with all the wealth he had amassed, into *England*, where he was kindly received by *Edward*, as well in regard to the services he was able to render him, as in resentment to the protection afforded by *Philip* to *David* king of *Scots*; who, tho' his own brother-in-law, *Edward* had dispossessed of his dominions ^d. Many of the *French* historians, and amongst these some of great note, have considered *Philip's* proceedings against *Robert* as flowing from a spirit of implacable persecution ^e; whereas others, by producing the original process, have vindicated the king's conduct, and shewn, that, if he had followed the advice of his parliament, in seizing the person of *Robert*, he might easily have prevented the mischiefs to which he was exposed by suffering him to retire as he did, and to seek shelter amongst his enemies ^f. But with regard to *Edward's* creating him

A.D.
1331.

^a Cont. Chron. NANG. FROISSART, lib. i. ^b Du Tillet, Mézeray.

^c Mémoires de Robert d'Artois. ^d Cont. Chron. NANG. Ancien. Chronique de France. ^e Du Hail. Hist. de France. ^f Cont. Chron. NANG. P. ÆMIL.

earl of *Richmond*, tho' affirmed by some good authors, it is certainly a mistake ^g.

PHILIP had lived upon exceeding good terms with pope Philip and John the twenty-second, who seemed to be very desirous of Edward establishing a new croisade; in which, to shew his obedience, and at the same time to answer other purposes of his own, Philip shewed himself very zealous, and, with the kings of *Arragon*, *Naples*, and *Bohemia*, took the cross, tho' it has been very much doubted, whether he was at all in earnest in regard to this expedition ^h. He raised forces; he took the necessary measures for assembling a great fleet; and the doing this afforded a fair pretence for levying large sums upon the clergy and laity, at the same time that it gave a colour for negotiating on every side, and, which was of more consequence than all the rest, gave occasion to the pope to interpose with the king of *England*, and to protest, according to the doctrine of those times, against making any attempts on the dominions of a prince, who had taken a vow to employ his arms in defence of the gospel against the infidels ⁱ. On the other hand, *Edward*, tho' scarce of full age, managed his affairs with great temper and address; he had nothing so much at heart as maintaining what he took to be a good title to the crown of *France*, and at the same time there was nothing of which he was so much afraid as of the loss of the duchy of *Guienne*, and the county of *Ponthieu*, before he was in a condition to prosecute that title. The first thing he aimed at was subduing *Scotland*; yet, in order to this, he did not make war directly upon king *David Bruce*, but suffered such of his nobility as were inclined to assist *Edward Baliol* to invade *Scotland*; where, notwithstanding the assistance of a *French* fleet, they gained great advantages, and, under pretence of giving them a new king, reduced the whole kingdom to misery ^k. As soon as the four years truce was at an end, he marched into *Scotland* in person, and traversed it from south to north, penetrating at length as far as *Caithness*. Philip, to favour his allies, suffered some irruptions into *Guienne*, and at the same time made fresh complaints at *Avignon* to pope *Benedict*, who had succeeded *John*. *Edward* sent his ambassadors also to the pontif, offering to submit the differences between them to his decision, and professed his inclination to go also into the *Holy Land* with

^g FROISSART, lib. i. P. ÆMIL. Ancien. Chron. de France, Memoires de Robert d'Artois.

^h LE GENDRE, J. DE SERRES. ⁱ P. ÆMIL. Ancien. Chron. de France, J. DE SERRES.

^k Cont. Chron. NANG. WALTERI HEMINGFORD Chron.

A.D.
1337.

Philip, and to leave all things in the situation they then stood till their return ¹. He sent his ambassadors likewise to the court of *France*; where they complained of the injuries done him, solicited redress in the most respectful terms, and assured *Philip*, that king *Edward* had nothing so much at heart as preserving the peace between the two nations. But at the same time he did this, he treated with the emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, with the count of *Holland* and *Zealand*, with the count palatine of the *Rhine*, and other princes of *Germany*, and made no secret to them of his intention to attack *France*, not barely about the wrongs he had sustained in *Guienne*, but in support of his right to the crown of that realm, which *Robert* of *Artois* persuaded him was indubitable, and had so high an idea of his own abilities, that as he boasted he made *Philip de Valois* king by his address, so he now threatened to depose him for his ingratitude ^m. Language wild and passionate indeed, but expressive of that vindictive vigilance, by which he went very far towards bringing it to pass.

The war
breaks
out, and
Edward
prevail-
ed on to
conclude a
truce.

KING *Philip* being informed of these negotiations, and perceiving clearly that the pretence of taking the cross was no longer of any use, detached a squadron of his fleet against the infidels, and brought the rest, consisting chiefly of *Genoese* vessels, into the ocean; where they might be employed against the *English* ⁿ. He made alliances likewise with the princes on his frontiers, particularly the king of *Navarre*; and on the side of *Germany* he brought into his interest *John* of *Luxembourg*, king of *Bohemia*, the dukes of *Austria*, and several great prelates and peers of the empire ^o. In a dispute of this nature it was of great consequence which side was taken by the *Flemings*. Their count *Lewis* declared without reserve for king *Philip*, but his subjects were much more inclined to *Edward*. *James Artois*, a brewer, the most able and the most artful man in that country, governed them as much as if he had been their prince, and the advantages derived from the *English* commerce determined him in favour of *Edward*; who, at his request, passed the sea with a great navy, and debarked with his army at *Sluys*, &c. In the first councils that were held, it was resolved to act of-

¹ J. DE SERRES, MEZERAY. ^m FROISSART, lib. i. Ancien. Chron. de France, Memoires de Robert de Artois. ⁿ Cont. Chron. NANG. GAGUI. Hist. P. ÆMIL. ^o Ancien. Chron. de France, FROISSART, lib. i. GAGUI. Hist. P. ÆMIL, J. DE SERRES. ^p ROS. DE AVESBURY, WALTERI HERMINGFORD, ANONYM. Historia Edwardi III. P. ÆMIL.

sensively, but for this there wanted a pretence; the vassals of the empire could not act either by the orders, or even as allies of *Edward*, without direction from the emperor, and he was under a treaty with *France*. This difficulty, however, was soon overcome; the *French* had made themselves masters of *Cambray*, the emperor resolved it should be retaken, and, with a view to this, he created *Edward* vicar general of the empire, who besieged it without delay, tho' *John* duke of *Normandy*, king *Philip's* son, defended it with a numerous garrison. Yet, after a short time, *Robert de Artois* prevailed upon him to raise the siege, and march into *Picardy*¹. *Philip* covered his country on that side like a captain of great experience, and declined coming to a battle, tho' some writers ascribe this conduct to *Edward*. However, the seat of war was again transferred into the *Low Countries*, where *Edward*, with his forces, besieged *Tournay*; to the relief of which *Philip* marched with a numerous and well-appointed army, but acted again with so much caution, that *Edward* found himself in a manner blocked up in his camp; and the countess dowager of *Hainault*, sister to *Philip*, mother-in-law to *Edward*, and sister-in-law to *Robert de Artois*, coming out of the convent to which she had retired, interposed with so much spirit and address, that she engaged all parties to agree to a truce for a year²; and might, perhaps, have brought about a peace if she had survived.

BUT while these things were transacted by land, there were also some great things performed by sea. The *French* fleet, or rather the fleet in the pay of *France*, took two ships of force, many trading vessels, committed great depredations on the coasts, burnt the town of *Southampton*, and attempted descents in several places; and, notwithstanding they were at length repulsed, did a great deal of mischief³. But king *Edward*, in his passage to *Flanders*, met with this fleet at sea, engaged and beat it after a very obstinate resistance. This was the first great maritime action that happened in the course of the war, and cost both parties very dear: the greatest part of king *Philip's* fleet was destroyed, and near twenty thousand men perished; on the other side, the *English* had about seven thousand men killed, and their fleet so roughly handled as to be able to perform nothing of consequence that year⁴. *Philip*, following the course of his predecessors, prosecuted *Edward*

In order to bring over the Flemings, Edward assumes the title and arms of France.

¹ Cont. NANG. Chron. THOM. WALSHINGHAM. ² Cont. NANG. Chron. FROISSART, WALTERI HEMMINGFORD. ³ ROB. DE AVEBURY. Anonym. Historia Edwardi III. ⁴ Cont. NANG. Chron. WALTERI HEMMINGFORD.

A.D.
1340.

*Dispute
about the
succession
to Bre-
tagne re-
vives the
war be-
fore the
close of
the truce.*

as a peer of *France* before the parliament, for receiving and supporting *Robert de Artois*, after he had been condemned for treason, and for this directed the duchy of *Guienne* and the county of *Ponthieu* to be seized; in pursuance of which many places were taken, till the war on all sides was suspended by the truce^u. At the siege of *Tournay*, *Edward* first took the arms, and assumed publicly the title, of king of *France*, and this that he might engage the *Flemings* to act, who did homage to him as their monarch, that they might avoid the imputation of rebellion, and the forfeiture of two millions of florins which they stood bound to pay the pope upon their last treaty with *Philip*, in case they at any time revolted against the crown of *France*; which they conceived to be eluded by their owning *Edward's* title, and acting against *Philip* as the usurper of that realm from the right heir^w. Yet, upon the truce, they admitted the return of their count, who feasted *Edward* magnificently at *Ghent*, tho' he would not be persuaded to enter into his interest; which was the more honourable, as this would have reconciled him to his subjects effectually.

A NEW and unexpected for incident revived the war even before the conclusion of the truce, and spread its flames much wider than ever. *Arthur* the second duke of *Bretagne*, prince of the blood, and peer of *France*, had, by *Mary* daughter of the viscount de *Linoges*, three sons, *John*, *Guy*, and *Peter*. By his second wife *Yoland*, or *Violante*, daughter of *Robert* count of *Dreux*, and *Beatrix* countess of *Montfort*, which lady, at the time of her espousing the duke of *Bretagne*, was the widow of *Alexander* king of *Scots*, he had *John de Montfort*, and five daughters^x. The eldest and the youngest of his sons, of the first bed, lived and died without issue; but *Guy* count de *Penthièvre* left behind him an only daughter, who, from an accident that befel her, while a child, was called *Hopping Jane*. Her uncle *John* the third duke of *Bretagne* would have regarded her as his heiress, having an implacable aversion to his mother-in-law and his daughter *John* count de *Montfort*^y. After contriving various methods to disinherit him of his succession, the duke at last gave his niece in marriage to *Charles de Chatillon*, second son to the count de *Blois*, by the sister of king *Philip*, whom the *French* historians generally call *Charles de Blois*^z;

^u FROISSART, P. ÆMIL.

^x D'ARGEN. Histoire de Bretagne.
GAGUIN. P. ÆMIL. J. DE SERRES.
FROISSART.

^w Cont. Chron. NANG.

^y Cont. NANG. Chron.

^z Cont. NANG. Chron.

and to whom, in conjunction with, and in right of, his wife, duke *John* caused the states of *Bretagne*, to swear homage, not doubting that, after his decease, the king would support his nephew's title, which was the principal motive to the marriage. This duke dying in the month of *April*, *John count de Montfort*, in right of his mother, immediately seized his palace and treasures, which quickly enabled him to make himself master of all the strong places in the duchy ^a. As he knew the disposition of the king and court of *France*, he had very little hopes of remaining long quiet; and therefore, to secure himself a protection equal to that on which his competitor depended, he went over to *England*, and offered to do homage to king *Edward*, either as king of *France*, on whom it depended by the new creation, or as king of *England*, since in quality of duke of *Normandy*, which he claimed independent of his right to the crown of *France*, *Bretagne* depended anciently on him, and was but a remote fief of the crown of *France*. *Edward* entertained him kindly, received his homage, promised him support, and sent him back to *Bretagne* ^b. On the other hand, *Philip* caused him to be summoned to answer for his conduct before the high court of parliament, and probably granted him a safe conduct; for he went to *Paris*, made his excuses to the king, and remained there some time; but, suspecting a design to secure his person, he withdrew secretly, and retired into his own country. The parliament proceeded however, and at length declared the right of succession belonged to the counts of *Penthievre*, and the king ordered his son *John* duke of *Normandy* to put that lady and her husband into possession of the duchy of *Bretagne* ^c. *John de Montfort* exclaimed against this sentence as unjust, and as given at the solicitation and out of complaisance to the king; in which there seems to be some foundation, since he was brother to the deceased duke, and consequently nearer in blood than his niece, and heir male, and therefore to be preferred to a female: and it was not a little strange, that he, who was capable of taking the crown of *France*, by descent, should have no title by the same descent to a fief of that crown ^d.

THE *Est* of *Bretagne* seemed to be determined almost as *Robert* soon as it began; for the duke of *Normandy* entering that *d'Artois* duchy with a numerous army, *John de Montfort* threw him-*slain* in

A.D.
1341.

^a FROISSART, D'ARGENTRE Hist. de Bretagne. ^b Contin.
NANG. Chron. FROISSART. ^c Ancien. Chron. de France,
D'ARGENTRE Hist. de France. ^d FROISSART, THOM.
WALSINGHAM.

the war
with
Charles
de Blois
in Bre-
tagne.

A. D.
1342.

self into *Nantes*, and made all the dispositions requisite for an obstinate defence ; but the duke having corrupted one of his officers, the place was betrayed into his hands, together with the person of *John de Montfort*, who was sent prisoner to *Paris*, and confined there in the tower of the *Louvre*. His wife, the daughter of the count of *Flanders*, retired into *Hennebon*, which was a place of great strength ; and, having prevailed upon the garrison and inhabitants to risk all in her defence, and in that of her son, a child in the fifth year of his age, she spared no pains to encourage or to augment the party of her husband. His competitor *Charles de Blois* marched with a considerable force to besiege her in *Hennebon* ; upon which she sent *Amaure de Clisson* into *England* to solicit succours from king *Edward*, and with him the young prince her son, that he might be safe. *Charles*, who looked on the reduction of the place as a certain prelude to the conquest of *Bretagne*, pushed the siege with all the warmth imaginable, and was on the very point of taking *Hennebon* and the ducches, when the *English* succours arrived, under the command of *Walter de Mauny*, an excellent officer ; who, with a handful of troops, did all that could be expected from him ; but had probably been oppressed by numbers, if the countess had not very artfully procured a truce, which gave her an opportunity of going over in person to *England* ; where, the truce between the two crowns being expired, she procured a powerful succour, commanded by *Robert de Artois*, with whom she embarked on board a fleet of forty-five sail. In their passage, they met and attacked the *French* fleet, commanded by *Lewis de la Cerda*, whom the historians of those times call *Lewis of Spain*, but were separated by a storm. On their arrival in *Bretagne*, the war revived with great spirit, in which, as in the fight at sea, the ducches acted in person. *Robert de Artois* made himself master of *Vannes*, which was soon after retaken by the *French*, and *Robert de Artois*, with much difficulty, made his escape. The wounds he received proving dangerous, he embarked for *England* ; where he died about the middle of *October*, and was buried with great solemnity at *Canterbury*. A very fortunate event for king *Philip*, and which affected *Edward* so much, that he resolved to go over in person to *Bretagne* to revenge it ; which he accordingly performed with a greater force than had been hitherto employed on that side.

* Cont. NANG. Chron. DU TILLET.
Anc en. Chron. de France, P. ÆMIL.
de France.

† FROISSART,
‡ Ancien. Chron.

AN eagerness to perform something very extraordinary King Edward prevented him from doing at all what he thought to have done at once; for, perceiving there was no considerable army in the field to oppose him, he laid siege to *Nantes*, *Rennes*, *Vannes*, and *Guignan*, at the same time. The duke of *Normandy*, who knew those places were well provided, made no great haste to succour them, that the *English* army might be harrassed by the fatigue of those sieges, and that he might have time to augment his own^h. At length, hearing that *Edward* had taken *Guignan*, he marched towards *Rennes*; and, the enemy having raised the siege, he proceeded to *Nantes*, the siege of which was likewise raised at his approach, and the whole of *Edward's* army assembled about *Vannes*; where the duke of *Normandy*, having some officers about him of great experience, and being guided by their counsel, formed a blockade at a great distance; and, though *Edward* took every method he could devise to provoke him, yet he continued still in the same situation, till, by the interposition of the new pope *Clement* the sixth, a truce was concluded, and *Edward* returned into *England* with less advantage than from any campaign he ever madeⁱ. By this treaty *John de Montfort* obtained his liberty, and, tho' he was forbid to leave *Paris*, yet he took the first fair opportunity of leaving it privately, and returning again to *Bretagne*. As for the conferences held at *Avignon*, in the presence of the pope, they were far from advancing the peace, but they had this good consequence, that the truce was prolonged for three years, and this for *France* and *England*, as well as *Bretagne*, *Scotland*, *Guienne*, and the *Low Countries*, the allies on both sides being included^k.

IT seems to have been the view of *Philip*, in concluding the first truce, to make way, if possible, for a peace; for tho' hitherto his losses had not been great, yet he found that *Edward* had so many advantages, and was so capable of improving them, that the war exhausted his subjects so much, and had besides so many inconveniencies, that he would willingly have ended it; which he flattered himself, after the death of *Robert de Artois*, might have been practicable^l. As soon as he was convinced it was not, he applied himself to strengthen the alliances he had already formed, and to make such acquisitions as might prove beneficial to his family. He

^h Contin. NANG. Chron. FROISSART.
de France, FROISSART.

^k D'ARGENT. Hist. de France,
Ancien. Chron. de France, P. ÆMIL.

ⁱ Ancien. Chron.

^l DU TILLET, ME-
ZERAY.

met with some success in the former, and more especially in the promise of naval assistance from *Spain*, and much greater in the latter, by his treaty with *Humbert* the second dauphin of *Viennois*, of which we shall have occasion to speak more largely hereafter, and by the purchase of the lordship of *Montpelier* from the unfortunate king of *Majorca*, of which we have already given an account in its proper place ^m. He might have done more in reference to both, if the war had not broke out sooner, and with greater violence than ever, by a breach of the truce, as some writers say, on the part of king *Edward*; but, in reality, from an inexcusable act of cruelty, flowing from that impetuosity of temper which was the great source of all *Philip's* misfortunes. He had concluded a marriage between his second son *Philip* duke of *Orleans*, and the princess *Blanch*, the daughter of his predecessor *Charles the Fair*; and, to heighten the solemnity of the wedding, had appointed a tournament ⁿ. On the faith of the truce, *Oliver de Clisson*, who had served with reputation on the side of *Charles de Blois*, had been made prisoner by the *English*, and been exchanged for an *English* earl, came to *Paris*, with several other gentlemen of *Bretagne*, to share in these diversions. Soon after their arrival, the king caused *Clisson* and eleven more to be arrested, upon some suspicion that they held intelligence with *John de Montfort*, or with king *Edward*, and, without any form of law, caused them to be beheaded in prison. As the blood of the nobility had hitherto been sacred in *France*, this act of violence excited terror and jealousy amongst them, and struck all *France* with consternation ^o. When the news of it came to *Edward*, he was so incensed, that he was on the point of putting all the *French* prisoners in his hands to death; but *Henry of Lancaster* earl of *Derby* dissuaded him, by saying, that it was not the way to efface a bad precedent by making a worse: upon which the king sent for *Henry de Leon*, and told him, that tho' he might as well put him to death as *Philip* had done his countrymen, or insist upon a very large ransom, as he was the richest gentleman in *Bretagne*, yet he would be content with a very small one, if he would go to *Paris*, and, in his name, tell *Philip de Valois*; tell him, that he looked upon the truce as no longer subsisting, and that he would never conclude another till he had revenged the death of these unhappy gentlemen ^p.

A.D.
1345.

^m See the History of Majorca.

D'ARGENT. Hist. de Bretagne.

Chron. de France.

ⁿ Cont. NANG. Chron.

^o FROISSART, Ancien.

^p FROISSART, WALTERI HEMING-

FORD.

THE first efforts were made in *Guienne*, to which the earl of *Derby* was sent with a strong squadron, and a numerous corps of troops on board. He managed the war with great success, and defeated the count de *Lisle*, who commanded for king *Philip* on that side. *John de Montfort* displayed his banners again as duke of *Bretagne*, and, with the assistance of some *English* troops, besieged *Quimper*; but the place was so strongly fortified and so well defended, and his own troops in so poor a condition and so ill provided, that he was constrained to raise the siege; the disgrace of which affected him so strongly, that he died soon after of discontent, leaving his son a kind of hostage in *England*, and his broken fortune to the care of that heroine his spouse ⁹. In *Flanders* things took the like turn; king *Edward* not only went thither, but carried with him also his son, afterwards the famous black prince, in hopes that, through the interest of his friend *Artevelle*, for so *Edward* always called him, the *Flemings* might be induced to leave their natural prince, and accept either of him or his son. His agent did all that was in his power, but in vain; the proposition was rejected, and the commons of *Ghent* entertaining some suspicion of *Artevelle*, who remained behind, the rest of their deputies ran into a tumult on his return, and beat out his brains ¹. Thus far things went well for king *Philip*, even without his own assistance; but the earl of *Derby* was still victorious in *Guienne*, and pushed his conquests as far as *Angoulême*. The king ordered his son, the duke of *Normandy*, to march against him; but was unable to provide him with a competent army for want of money. He had foreseen this want, but did not think it would so soon have come upon him. He had, however, endeavoured to provide against it, by imposing that tax upon salt which still subsists ². This furnished him with money indeed; but it came in slowly, was attended with several insurrections and universal discontent ³. At length the duke of *Normandy* marched with a hundred thousand men against the earl of *Derby*, who had not a third part of that number, recovered most of the new conquests, and, by degrees, pressed him so hard, that he was forced to send to king *Edward* and demand relief, without which it was impossible to save *Guienne*, which the war had already almost ruined ⁴.

⁹ CONT. NANG. CHRON. Ancien. Chron. de France, P. ÆMIL.
¹ MEZERAY, P. DANIEL. ² Ancien. Chron. de France, P. ÆMIL.
³ J. DE SERRÈS, DUPLEIX. ⁴ THOM. WAL-SINGHAM, RYMER'S Fœdera, tom. iv.

While
Philip
meditates
the inva-
sion of
England,
Edward
debarks a
great army
in Nor-
mandy.

KING Philip, having exerted his utmost force in assembling and completing the army of the duke of Normandy, relied upon that for resisting the English, not only as their forces stood at present under the earl of Derby, now by his father's death become earl of Lancaster, but likewise when they should be augmented by the troops which he knew king Edward was bringing thither in person; and therefore he meditated an invasion on England, in the king's absence, which was to be facilitated by an irruption of the Scots; and with this view he had a great number of Genoese vessels in his ports, and some thousands of cross-bow men, who were to embark as soon as the king had appointed a place for his fleet to assemble. He had also set on foot a fresh negotiation with the Flemings, and had made them very considerable offers, if they would return to his obedience, and that of their count *. While he was using the properest means to carry these important projects into execution, Edward, having drawn together four thousand men at arms, ten thousand archers, twelve thousand Welch, and six thousand Irish foot, embarked them on board eight hundred transports, and, escorting these with a fleet of two hundred and fifty sail, embarked in person on the 4th of July, with an intention to land either at Bayonne or Bourdeaux; but being twice drove back by contrary winds, which threw him, with no small hazard, on the coast of Cornwall, he began to listen to the advice of Geoffrey brother to the count de Harcourt †. This gentleman had not only been of the council, but was also a declared favourite, to king Philip, till, by such degrees that are but too common at courts, he was disgraced; and, knowing the violence of his master's temper, fled about two years before into England, where he was very kindly received, and much esteemed by Edward. This Geoffrey had, from the beginning, remonstrated to him, that Guienne and Poitou were in themselves countisies not over fruitful, and were by this time wholly exhausted, having been so long the seat of war; whereas Normandy (which was his own country), was very rich and fruitful, rich of large towns indifferently fortified, and where, on account of taxes which they thought illegal, and for various other reasons, the gentlemen were highly disgusted with Philip and his government: and now, finding that he could not execute his own purpose, Edward very wisely altered it, and, directing his course to the oppo-

* Contin. NANG. Chron. GAGUI. Hist. Ancien. Chronique de France, FROISSART, P. ÆMIL. † FROISSART, VILLANI Chron. lib. xii.

site shore, debarked his troops at *La Hague*¹. He there divided his forces into three bodies, commanded by himself, the earl of *Warwick*, and *Geoffrey Harcourt*, with which he spread desolation on every side: *Carentan*, *St. Lo*, and *Verlonge*, were taken sword in hand, and pillaged: *Rouen*, better fortified, might have escaped; but the count *d'Eu* and the earl of *Tancarville* having retired thither with the militia of the adjacent country, the townsmen would needs have them give the *English* battle; which they being persuaded, or rather compelled, to do, were not only defeated, but beat into the town, and the place taken, with the constable and the count, a prodigious slaughter, and an immense booty². *Edward* then advanced up the *Seine* as high as *Poissy*, within less than twenty miles of *Paris*, from whence he sent to challenge *Philip* either to a battle or single combat; and, receiving no answer, retired into his own county of *Ponthieu*, in order to refresh and recruit his army, being now inclined to march into *Flanders*, having received fresh invitations from the *Flemings*³.

MANY of his allies, and most of his great vassals, having joined king *Philip*, the sight of so numerous an army, and such a croud of nobility, induced that prince to hope, that in the first transport of their resentment, they might overwhelm the reduced army of his antagonist. Full of this opinion himself, or influenced by those who were, he followed the *English* with all possible diligence⁴. King *Edward*, who had now in view a retreat into *Flanders*, directed his march towards the river *Somme*, in order to pass into *Artois*; but found it so well guarded, that it was impossible: upon this, he ordered proclamation to be made amongst his prisoners, of whom he had fifteen or sixteen thousand, that, if any of them could shew him a ford, he would give him his liberty, with that of twenty more, and a sum of money into the bargain. One of the prisoners accepted the proposal, and led him to the ford of *Blanquetaque*; where the *English* passed in spite of the opposition given them by six hundred cross-bows, and the like number of horse on the other side; and having reached the village of *Bressy*, four leagues beyond *Abbeville*, encamped in the neighbourhood⁵. King *Philip* passed the same night in the last-mentioned town, and in the morning continued the pursuit, not with that leisure and

¹ P. ÆMIL. ² Cont. NAN. Chron. Chronique de St. Denis, DU TILLET.

³ ROB. DE AVESBURY, FROISSART, Chroniques de Fland. P. ÆMIL. ⁴ P. ÆMIL. DU TILLET.

⁵ J. DE SERRES, MEZERAY.

prudence which he had shewn upon other occasions, but like a man led by his passions, and who measured the glory of his victory by the number of the slain.

The famous battle of Cressy in Ponthieu, in which the army of Philip is totally defeated.

HE came up with the *English* about four in the afternoon, and a battle ensuing, was defeated with great slaughter^d. The next day's loss was little, if at all, inferior to this; for a vast body of militia from all the adjacent countries, marching in order to join the king's army, fell in unexpectedly with a body of *English* troops; and, being easily beaten, were most of them put to the sword. The king, who behaved very gallantly himself, and was carried from the battle by force, sent for the duke of *Normandy*, to join the remains of his army, while the victorious *Edward* continued his to march to the sea, and closed the campaign by investing *Calais* ^e, as a place very commodious for his designs.

The important town of Calais is taken by Edward, who soon after consents to a truce.

THE town of *Calais* was obstinately defended by its inhabitants, which obliged *Edward* to fortify his camp, and to take great precautions for the continuance of the siege: in the mean time king *Philip*, being joined by his son the duke of *Normandy*, and having drawn forces from every part of his dominions, took the *Orislame* from the abbey of *St. Denis*, and, with an army of one hundred thousand men, marched to the place besieged. When he arrived at a convenient distance, he dispatched some officers, with orders to view the enemy's camp; who found it covered by a strong regular line, within which were warm convenient huts for the soldiers, places of arms at proper distances, convenient markets, in which all sorts of necessaries were sold at an easy price^f. They offered him battle in the name of king *Philip*; to which he answered coolly, that he did not mean to give him battle, but to take *Calais*; and, at their return, they reported the *English* to be so well posted, that it would be great imprudence to venture an attack. *Philip* carried his point in regard to the young count of *Flanders*, whom his subjects invited home, received him with great affection, and would have married him to the princess *Isabella*, daughter to king *Edward*; but he, deceiving them, escaped to *Paris*, where, by the advice of king *Philip*, he espoused *Margaret*, daughter to the duke of *Brabant* ^g. This, tho' a point of consequence, afforded but very little consolation for the loss of *Calais*; which, after it held out near a year, surrendered on terms which only high resentment could impose, or the

A.D.
1347.

^d Vide History of England.

France.
Chron.

^f P. ÆMIL. DUPIREX.

^e Ancien. Chronique de

^g Cont. NANG.

deepest necessity admit. Six of the principal inhabitants were to be given up to *Edward*, who declared his intention to put them to death. This treaty must have been ineffectual, if six of the chief burghers had not offered themselves, and went out in their shirts, with halters about their necks, to throw themselves at *Edward's* feet, who sternly ordered their execution; from which they were, with difficulty, saved by the queen, upon condition they left the place, and never returned any more. They were honourably received, and amply provided for by king *Philip*. *Edward*, once master of the place, turned out all the inhabitants, and replaced them by his own subjects. The war was not more fortunate for *Philip* on any side. In *Guienne*, the earl of *Lancaster* not only recovered whatever places the duke of *Normandy* had taken, but added also to his conquests the port of *St. John d'Angeli*, *Poitiers*, *Niort*, and *Xaintes*. The widow of *John de Montfort* defeated *Charles de Blois* in *Bretagne*, and made him prisoner, with his two sons; and, while her consort besieged *Calais*, the queen of *England* beat the *Scots*, and took *David Bruce* their king. Things were in this state when a legate from the pope interposed, to the no small satisfaction of *Philip*; and *Edward*, bowing the disorder of his finances, readily yielded to a truce, which he afterwards prolonged for three years.

The return of peace could not but be welcome to a nation in the most distressed condition. All the country from *Paris* to the sea was laid desolate and waste, and beyond the *Loire* all was in the same condition. A famine succeeded to the war, and to that a plague, which swept away multitudes; but this visitation was not peculiar to *France*, having ravaged *Asia* and *Italy* before, and continued its deadly progress to the very extremities of *Europe*. His misfortunes softened the heart of *Philip*, so that, when *Geoffrey de Harcourt* threw himself at his feet, with a scarf about his neck, in the form of a cord, he raised him up with great kindness, and forgave him. An attempt made upon *Calais*, tho' without the king's knowledge, might easily have revived the war; but king *Edward* going thither in person, and making prisoners all who were embarked in that expedition, whom he ransomed at a high rate, and *Philip* disavowing the act, the truce subsisted as if no such thing had happened. The dauphin of

° Chronique de France. P. *ÆMIL.* P. ROB. DE AVESBURY, J. DE SERRES. ° D'ARGENT. Histoire de Bretagne.

† Cont. NANG. Chron. ° FROISSART, Ancien. Chronique de France. P. *ÆMIL.* † DUPLIX, Du TILLET.

A. D.
1350.

Viennois, notwithstanding repeated cessions of his estates, in case he died without heirs, after the death of his first wife was inclined to marry; and having cast his eyes upon *Joan*, daughter to the duke of *Bourbon*, *Philip*, whose talent was negotiation, prevented that match, by interposing his grandson *Charles*, who espoused the lady; and the dauphin, who was of a soft and pliant temper, resolved thereupon to quit the world, to take the order of *St. Dominick*, and at the same time relinquish his territories to *Charles*, the first of the blood royal of *France*, who bore the title of *Dauphin*^u. The duchess of *Normandy*, daughter to the king of *Bohemia*, and sister to the emperor *Charles*, dying, the king thought fit himself, being also a widower, to propose a match for his son with the princess *Blanch*, sister to *Charles the Wicked*, king of *Navarre*; but, when he came to see her, he was so charmed with her beauty and prudence, that he espoused her himself, and obliged his son to marry the countess of *Bâlogne*, widow to *Philip* of *Burgundy* count of *Artois*, and the mother of *Philip*, the last duke of *Burgundy* of that race^w. These marriages occasioned great rejoicings, which, however, were of no long continuance; for his young queen, who was scarce seven^x years old, became a widow in less than a year, the king dying of a short illness at *Chartres en Beauce*, on the 22d of *August*, in the twenty-third year of his reign, and the fifty-seventh of his life^y, leaving the queen with child. His misfortunes, joined to the hastiness of his temper, made him little regretted, more especially as an opinion prevailed, that his person was unlucky, notwithstanding the surname of *Fortunate*, which he acquired at his accession to the throne^z. Yet, it may be truly said, these vulgar opinions deserve little notice, since the cares and sorrows attending it might well induce *Philip* to doubt, whether he had any reason to boast his good fortune in obtaining the crown; and, on the other hand, if we reflect on the great accessions of territory he procured, and how near he was obtaining the noble duchy^u of *Bretagne*, if the states would have consented, we can hardly esteem him unlucky^x. In short, like other princes, and indeed like other men, in some things he was prosperous, and in others not; or rather, his vicissitudes, falling in with those of Providence, were accomplished, and when contrary were defeated, tho' ever so well concerted.

^u Cont. NANG. Chron. Histoire de Dauphine. ^w Ancien. Chronique de France. ^x Contin. NANG. Chron. ^y Hist. de France, par L'Abbe DE CHOISY. ^z Cont. NANG. Chron.

ON the demise of his father, *John* duke of *Normandy* ascended the throne of *France*, with as general an approbation of *Nor-* as any of his predecessors; and indeed there were many reasons why his subjects might expect an extraordinary degree of ease and happiness under his reign. He was forty years of age, had always behaved very dutifully towards his father, commanded armies often, shewed much courage, and no want of conduct, in the execution of those commands; and, having had a large share in the administration of affairs, in his father's life-time, felt the weight of the crown no greater than he was well able to bear at his accession ^a. He was crowned, with his second wife *Joan* of *Bologna*, on the 26th of *September*; and, to grace this solemnity, made his son *Charles*, the dauphin, knight, together with his second son *Lewis*, his brother *Philip* duke of *Orleans*, and the son of his consort, *Philip* duke of *Burgundy*. He proceeded from *Rheims* slowly to *Paris*, and made his public entry into that capital, on the 17th of *October*, with great splendour and the loudest acclamations, the feasts upon this occasion lasting a whole week ^b. This scene of mirth and joy was very speedily disturbed, by an accident of severity; which shewed that *John* inherited the disposition, as well as the dominions, of his father. *Rodolph de Brienne*, count of *Eu* and of *Guines*, constable of *France* (which office his father had executed before him), had made three or four trips into *France*, since the time he had been made prisoner by the *English* in *Normandy*, under colour of procuring money to pay his ransom, which had been fixed at so large a sum as eighty thousand crowns ^c. Being at this time in *Paris*, the king caused him to be arrested, and three days after beheaded, without any trial, in the presence of the duke of *Bourbon*, and some other lords. It was given out, that, at his death, he confessed his having entered into engagements with king *Edward*. The crime charged upon him was, that he had consented to let that monarch have his county of *Guines*; which, lying in the neighbourhood of *Calais*, was at that juncture of the utmost importance; and to excuse the manner of his punishment it was alleged, that, from the examples of *Robert de Artois* and *Geoffrey de Harcourt*, the king had reason to secure himself against the consequences of a third instance of the like kind ^d. But all this did not satisfy the nobility, who looked upon the action with horror, and were terrified with the apprehension

^a FROISSART, P. ÆMIL. J. DE SERRES. ^b CONT. NANG. Chron. ^c Ancien. Chronique de France. ^d J. DE SERRES.

of such a precedent. Their apprehensions were not at all lessened by the manner in which the king disposed of the estates of the deceased. The constable's sword he bestowed on *Charles de la Cerda*, great grandson to *Alonso the Wise*, by the father's side, and standing in the same degree of relation to *St. Lewis* by his mother: the county of *Eu* he gave to *John de Artois*, the son of *Robert*; but, though both were his near relations, neither had merited any thing of the state, but derived these benefits purely from the king's favour^e. The county of *Guines* was left to the daughter of the deceased, who espoused *Walter de Brienne*, titular duke of *Athens*, and who in process of time became also constable of *France*. The king being very sensible of the uneasiness of the barons and the noblesse, endeavoured to dissipate their fears by a great variety of court diversions, and instituted the order of the star^f, that he might attach a considerable number of them to his person; which, though it had some effect, did not answer his intentions in any great degree. The institution of the garter by *Edward* produced this project.

The truce
very ill
kept, and
yet renew-
ed by the
two
creations
under the
mediation
of the pope.

As it was not the fruit of peace, but merely a sense of weakness on both sides, that originally produced and hitherto prolonged the truce, so it was never very strictly observed on either side. The *French* made an inroad into *Xaintonge*, under the command of marshal *Offemont*, who was defeated and taken prisoner; but they had better fortune in the blockade of *St. John de Angeli*, which, though a seaport, surrendered for want of provision^g. On the other hand, Sir *Aumary de Parva*, who was still governor of *Calais*, corrupted the officer who commanded in *Guines*, and so took it, as if by surprize. As this blow was felt, king *John* complained that the truce was violated; but *Edward* vindicated himself, by saying that he had looked upon the truce as a kind of merchandize, of which both were to make use, and that as *John* had got a port on one side, he had borrowed a fortress on the other^h. Sir *Aumary*, who, tho' very brave, was an abominable knave, encouraged by this success, attempted to surprize *St. Omers*, in which *Geoffrey Charni* commanded, but he gave him so warm a reception, that, after an obstinate and bloody dispute, his troops being defeated, he was, by an unlucky fall from his horse, taken prisoner; and, in return for his having cheated *Geoffrey* of

^e FROISSART, DU TILLET.
France. Extrait de la Chambre des Comptes.
SERRÈS.

^f Ancien. Chronique de
J. DE

^h DU PLEIX.

twenty thousand crowns for the sale of *Calais*, where he was also taken prisoner, and forced to pay a great ransom, he now caused Sir *Aumary* to be tore to pieces with wild horses^l. In *Bretagne* the war was carried on with more heat than ever between the houses of *Montfort* and *Blois*; and, in short, every thing tended to an open revival of the war, as soon as both parties should have recruited their forces, in which *John* had some advantage, by his brother-in-law, *Charles* of *Luxembourg*, becoming emperor^k. The next year the truce was again prorogued. At this time *Charles*, king of *Navarre*, having taken possession of his dominions, returned to the *French* court, where he was bred, and where he was admired and beloved, as one of the most gallant and accomplished princes of that age. At first he affected entirely the character of a man of pleasure, which he found to be most acceptable at court; and having, by this means, rendered himself wonderfully agreeable to the queens, for there were then three, he carried his first point of marrying the princess *Joan*, the king's daughter, without difficulty^l. He then complained that the county of *Angoulême*, being ruined by the war, it was but just that the loss he sustained thereby should be repaired; and several places being bestowed upon him in *Normandy*, the king gave that county to his favourite the constable *Charles* of *Spain*, which so provoked the king of *Navarre*, who had a mind to keep that too, as we have shewn in another place, that he caused that unhappy prince to be killed in his bed, owned and justified the fact, and at length compelled the king to grant what terms he thought fit to demand, with a full pardon for his accomplices: and tho' he submitted in person to a kind of conviction before the parliament of *Paris*, yet it was upon an assurance of having his grace, and, which is much more extraordinary, having king *John's* second son delivered him as a hostage till the ceremony of his dismissal should be over, which served only to debase the king, to heighten the ambition of *Charles*, and to augment his party^m.

In another place we have given the character of this prince, *Charles* le Mauvais, whom the *French* stile *Charles the Wicked*, and who was indeed one of the most dangerous enemies the king or kingdom ever had. It shall suffice, therefore, here to observe, that, exclusive of that title which, in his mother's right (the daughter of king *Lewis Hutin*), *Charles* thought he had to all, he also pretended to the duchy of *Burgundy*, the counties of France.

^l P. EMIL. CHALONS.^k Continuat. NANGII Chron.^l MEZ. LE GENDRE.^m FAVIN. Histoire de Navarre

A. D.
1354.

King Edward passed over to Calais, and returns without doing any thing more than ruining the country.

Champagne and Brie, with some other places, which had belonged to some or other of his ancestors ^a. His method was to advance his pretensions singly and separately; and as soon as he had obtained an equivalent for one he set up another, at the same time treating with the *English*, and with such as, from particular prejudices, were become malecontents ^o. The king, being acquainted with these practices, bestowed the duchy of *Normandy* upon his son the dauphin, and ordered him to seize the king of *Navarre's* estates. This brought *Charles* out of his regal dominions by sea, where he quickly became so troublesome, that the crown was forced to purchase quiet at the expence of one hundred thousand crowns; notwithstanding which he still kept up an intelligence with *England*, and was the only person confided in by the malecontents ^p.

A STRONG desire in king *John* to recover the important fortress of *Calais*, and the well-grounded opinion which *Edward* entertained, that there never was a more favourable opportunity for extending his conquests, induced both princes to suspend negotiation, and to refer their quarrel once more to the sword. *Edward the Black Prince* was sent over, with some of the young nobility, a reasonable supply of money, and a small body of old troops, into *Guienne*, where he was received with great joy, and carried on the war with spirit, while the *French* forces under *Gaston Phœbus*, count of *Foix*, and the constable de *Bourbon*, gave him very little opposition, because their pride and jealousy of command would never allow them to act in conjunction ^p. In the autumn *Edward* himself crossed the sea to *Calais*, with a good army; and having taken the field, ravaged the country to the gates of *Hedin*. *John*, having at length collected a superior army, marched directly to give him battle, and sent one of the marshals of *France* to offer it; but the king of *England* answered, that he would fight when he thought fit, and so retired again to *Calais*. It seems as if this expedition was undertaken on expectations that were not answered, which engaged the *English* monarch to act as he did ^a. *John*, perceiving clearly that this war would prove too weighty for his revenue, called an assembly of the three estates of the realm at *Paris*, before whom he laid a true state of his affairs, and desired their assistance. They consented accordingly to maintain thirty thousand men so long as the war should last;

^a Ancien. Chronique de France.

BOULANVILLE. P. ROBERT DE AVESBURY.

WALSINGHAM, P. EMIL.

^o GAGUINI Hist.

^p THO.

revived the gabelle on salt, which had been suppressed on the death of king *Philip*; imposed many other taxes, and settled a committee of accounts, who were to levy, receive, and disburse the money thus granted, for the purposes to which it ought to be applied, which is a demonstrative and incontestable proof of the liberty which the *French* nation enjoyed at this time, and which was not inferior to that of any other in *Europe* (B).

A. D.
1355.

* GAGUINI Hist. P. DANIEL.

(B) This assembly of the states of *France* was the king's last resource; he had altered the value of money in such a manner as to create infinite disorders, and, in comparison of those disorders, with very little profit to himself. His ministers were no longer able to advise him in raising men or money, but it was his own inclination, and the confidence he had in his people, that threw him upon the states (1). They consisted of three distinct bodies, or, as some should call them, houses. The first comprehended the clergy, and very nearly resembled our convocation, having at their head the archbishop of *Rheims*. The second was the nobility, and (in our stile) the gentry, whose speaker was the duke of *Athens*. The last were the deputies of the provinces, or, as we should call them, the representatives of the commons, with the famous *Stephen Marcel*, provost of the merchants, at their head. The chancellor and the parliament were also present, who, on behalf of the king, represented the distressed state of public affairs, and submitted it to their consideration (2). They promised to support the king with their persons and fortunes; but, at the same

time, they took notice that the nation was exceedingly distressed, and expressed their expectation, that, at the very time he accepted their assistance, the king would redress their grievances. They then proceeded immediately to vote him a supply, and to deliberate on the ways and means most proper to raise it. The method in which they inclined to do this, was by imposing taxes on the necessities of life for a short time, to be levied by persons of their own appointing; whereas the ministers were desirous of a capitation, or poll-tax; and, upon trial, the former method being found ineffectual, they had recourse to the latter. In their second sessions they brought in a long and distinct roll of their grievances, and explained themselves, as to the means which they desired the king and the dauphin, duke of *Normandy*, should take for removing them; insisting frequently on their binding themselves, by oath, to comply with their demands. The ordonnance, comprehending all these particulars, is still preserved; and we are told by the *French* writers, that the journal of the states either is or was in the *Cotton* library (3).

(1) P. *Emil.* Du Tillot.
les Anciens Parlements de France, Let. 14.

(2) *Gaguin Hist.*

(3) *Lettres sur*

King John
arrests the
king of
Navarre,
and causes
some of his
confidants
to be be-
headed in
his pre-
sence.

WHATEVER satisfaction the king might receive from this condescension in the states, it could scarce alleviate the disturbance given him by the intrigues of the king of *Navarre*, who had drawn the counts of *Foix*, *Namur*, *Harcourt*, and in general all the young nobility, into his party; and, which is very singular, the dauphin duke of *Normandy*, whose head he filled with notions that he had not a proper degree of authority allowed him, and even went so far as to engage him to think of leaving his father's dominions, and to retire to the court of his uncle the emperor *Charles* *. These projects were discovered in time; the king sent for his son, gave him so clear an insight into the king of *Navarre*'s views, and made him so sensible that he meant him no better than he did to himself, who was obliged to have guards about his person, to defend him from the emissaries of this ambitious prince †, that the dauphin, who had great abilities, entered thoroughly into his father's schemes, and, in order to carry them into execution, made the peace of his associate as well as his own, and then returned into *Normandy* ‡. There he had the address to get the king of *Navarre*, and most of his creatures, into his power; where, being surprized by the king with a small troop of determined persons, the count of *Harcourt*, and some of the most seditious, were beheaded upon the spot, and the king of *Navarre* sent prisoner to *Chateau-Gaillard* §. It was believed that this act of severity would have broke all their intrigues, and have prevented this country from becoming the seat of war; but it fell out quite otherwise; for prince *Philip* of *Navarre* broke out immediately into open hostilities, demanded and received succours from the *English*, so that all *Normandy* was in confusion *. Amongst the most active in these troubles was *Geoffrey de Harcourt* †, whom king *Philip* had pardoned, and who now took up arms again to revenge the death of his nephew, and in one of these expeditions ‡ he was slain; but king *Edward* retained such a sense of his services, that he took care to preserve his estate to his family §.

Is de-
feated and
taken pri-
soner.
THE prince of *Wales*, taking advantage of this great diversion, marched from *Bordeaux* with two thousand gens d'arms and six thousand archers, and, after traversing *Auvergne*, entered into *Berry*, plundered all the country round, and amassed a very rich booty. On the news, however, that the king was advancing towards him with fifty thousand

* Contin. NANGII Chron. Histoire de France par l'Abbe de CHOISY. † GAGUIN. Hist. ‡ P. ÆMIL. § Du TILLET. * J. DE SERRES.

men, he resolved to retire through *Touraine* and *Poitou* into *Guienne*; but the king, conscious of his own superiority, took his measures for surrounding him so well, and pushed him with such vivacity, that at length he came up with him at *Mauvertuis*, two leagues from *Poitiers*, having so effectually secured the passes, that it was in a manner impossible for him to avoid fighting, for which, in this situation, the prince made the best disposition possible *. *John*, at the head of a vast army, engaged him with great fury; but, by his own obstinacy and indiscretion, he lost the battle, and was taken prisoner with his fourth son *Philip* †. There fell, exclusive of persons of great rank, about six thousand in the field of battle, and about fifteen thousand were taken prisoners, most of whom the *English* dismissed, on a promise to render themselves, or send their ransom to *Bourdeaux*, on a certain day. After this glorious victory the prince, with infinite difficulty, got safe to *Bourdeaux*, for if the *French* had recovered from their consternation, they might easily have prevented it ‡. The king remained six months there, with whom prince *Edward* would willingly have concluded a peace; but his father, desirous of having his share in the triumph, insisted that he should be sent into *England*, as he was .

It is impossible to conceive a country more miserable than *The dis-*
France, upon the falling out of this untoward event. The mal situa-
king had left no regent, and consequently no legal representa- tion of
tive in the kingdom: but the dauphin, assuming the title of *France*,
his lieutenant, endeavoured to supply this defect, by calling and the
an assembly of the states, to be held at *Paris*, which was the great in-
more necessary, as the nobility paid him no great respect, tending
and seemed disposed to lay hold of this opportunity to raise troubles
their own power, and to live, in all respects, like princes. that ensue
The dauphin found the rest of the assembly of the states king's ab-
exactly in the same disposition; so that, without attending sence.
either to his or the public distress, they began to prescribe
to the dauphin whom he should turn out, or whom he should
take in, so that he was glad to let them separate, under pre-
tence of giving him time to make a visit to his uncle the
emperor §. Soon after the king of *Navarre* made his escape,
and was in a little time brought in triumph to *Paris*, where
by his eloquence, of which he made a very free use upon all
occasions, he governed the populace at his pleasure, so that

* FROISSART, Ancien. Chronique de France. * Histoire
Angl. † GAGUIN. Hist. POLYD. VIRG. ‡ AD.
MURIMUTH. P. ÆMIL. § DUPLEIX.

the dauphin knew not what to do, or whom to trust. He was obliged to call another assembly of the states, but instead of governing them they appointed a council to govern him. Upon this he followed the example of the king of *Navarre*, began to harangue the citizens at their common-hall, and made, in a short time, a great progress in popularity^b. An accident spoiled all. A common fellow murdered the treasurer of *France*, and then retired into a privileged place; upon which the dauphin sent the two marshals of *Dauphine* and *Champagne* to take the criminal out of sanctuary and hang him, which they did. The bishop of *Paris* immediately exclaimed that the privileges of the church were invaded; and the provost of the merchants, *Marcel*, by whose instigation the murder was done, having raised a general insurrection, went to the lodgings of the dauphin, butchered both the marshals before his face, and some of their blood flying upon him, the dauphin asked, with some emotion, if he was to share the same fate? The provost told him that he was not; and as a mark of security and protection, snatched his embroidered hat, or hood, off his head, and clapped his own blue one, which was the signal of the *Navarre* faction, upon the dauphin, who was forced to dissimulate his resentment, and take all in good part^c. He had been compelled to grant all the king of *Navarre* desired, and obliged to live upon fair terms with him; though he suspected that a dose of poison he had received, and by which he lost his hair and his nails, and had lost his life too, had not the skill of the emperor's physician, who, by the help of a perpetual issue, hindered the venom from falling on his vitals, preserved him^d. The scheme of the malecontents was to change the form of the government, to vest the supreme power in the third estate, and to leave the king his title with little or no authority; but when the chiefs of the citizens of *Paris* made a proposal of this sort to the other great cities in the kingdom, it was rejected with contempt. The dauphin seeing this, conceived hopes; and taking advantage of the king of *Navarre's* being in *Normandy*, went to the parliament, and demanded from them the title and authority of regent, which was granted; and upon this he gave the great seal to his chancellor of *Normandy*, and the sword of constable to *Moreau de Fienues*; afterwards he held the states of *Picardy* and *Champagne*,

A.D.
1357.

^b Ancien. Chronique de France. MEZ. ^c LE GEND.
DU TILLER. ^d Continuat. NANG. Chron. POLYDOR,
VIRGIT.

where he was received, obeyed, and assisted, to the utmost extent of his wishes and their power¹.

WHILE the dauphin was thus employed, the miseries of *New dis-* the kingdom, which seemed scarce capable of any augmenta- *sturban-* tion, were nevertheless heightened by so new and unexpected *ces thro'* an evil, as, for the time it lasted, abated the consideration and *the insur-* even the sense of all the rest. The nobility, as we before *rection of* observed, were so far from entertaining any just sentiments *the pea-* of the danger and distress to which the nation was exposed, *sants.* that, on the contrary, they pushed their pride, luxury, and ill-timed magnificence, further than can be well imagined, pillaging the poor peasants who inhabited their lands, and using it as a common phrase of reproach, *Jacque bon homme*, that is *good man James*, or, as we would say, *the poor Jacks, shall pay for all*^m. The common people, in this starving condition, rendered the more conspicuous, and at the same time the more intolerable, by that splendour and profusion which appeared in their lord's houses, could not help venting their complaints to each other, deploring the hapless state they were in, and the want of any reasonable hopes of seeing things mend. It happened that some peasants about *Beauvois* discoursing about this subject, and inveighing against the inhumanity of their lords to themselves, their want of regard to the honour of *France*, and their contemptuous behaviour to the king under his misfortunes, wrought themselves at last to such a height of fury, that they resolved to extirpate the whole nobility; and laying hold of pitch-forks, staves, reap-hooks, and such rough instruments of mischief as came in their way, began to carry their desperate design into execution, destroying, without mercy, the families of such as they could surprize, and plundered their houses. This humour diffused itself into several provinces; and this mutinous rabble, from the circumstances before-mentioned, were stiled *the Jacquerie*ⁿ. The danger being general, the nobility, who in those days made the use of arms their sole profession, assembled for their own defence, and, in a little time, took a severe revenge on these undisciplined multitudes. The duke of *Orleans* charged them in the neighbourhood of *Paris*, and cut off ten thousand; the king of *Navarre* fell upon another body, and put twelve thousand to the sword, with their principal leader *William Caillet*^o. The regent also laid hold of this occasion to raise an army of

¹ MEZERAY, P. DAN.

^m GAGUIN. Hist. LE GEND.

ⁿ P. *EMIL*. DU TILLET.

^o Ancien. Chronique de France.

A. D
1358

*King of
Navarre
saves
France
and the
regent, by
making a
peace on
reasonable
terms.*

thirty thousand men; but, acting with more moderation, engaged many of them to lay down their arms, and at length appeared with his forces before *Paris*. The citizens, sensible of the ill usage he had received, endeavoured to pacify him; but the provost *Marcel*, foreseeing that he should be the victim in case of an accommodation, excited a fresh sedition, and called in the king of *Navarre* with a body of *English* and *Norman* troops; but as these did not observe the strictest discipline, new disturbances happened, and they were expelled^p. The provost and his faction conspired to deliver the city entirely into his hands; but their design being discovered at the very point of execution, the provost, with the ringleaders of his party, were destroyed, and the gates being opened to the regent, the public tranquillity was gradually restored, notwithstanding the efforts made by the king of *Navarre* to prevent it, which at length rose so high, that he sent a public defiance to the regent, and broke out into open war^q. The circumstances he was then in rendered this extremely difficult to that young prince.

As there were at this time great bodies of *English* troops in different parts of *France*, under the command of officers who subsisted them as they could, who acknowledged no superior, and acted on no principle but that of getting the most they could, it was by the assistance of these that the king of *Navarre* hoped to carry his point; and what that was will not be difficult to learn, when we know that he made a solemn declaration, that, for the future, he would never acknowledge any right in the house of *Valois* to the crown of *France*^r. By the help of these independent bodies of *English*, who were, beyond comparison, better soldiers than the dauphin's new raised troops, he so straitened the city of *Paris*, in which he had still a great number of friends (for, with all his faults, he had a great facility in making, and a more wonderful art in keeping them), that, at length, it became more than probable he would have prevailed, and have had the city delivered to him by capitulation at least, if not without. But of a sudden, and contrary to all expectation, and without any visible motive, he demanded an interview with the regent, and concluded a peace with him on moderate and reasonable terms^s. The writers of those days attribute this to inspiration from Heaven; on the other hand, his brother *Philip* said he was bewitched; later writers ascribe it to the inconstancy of his temper; but

^p Contin. NANGII Chron. H. KNYGHTON Chron. ^q A. MURIMUTH. P. HENAUT. ^r LE GENDRE, L'Abbe de CHOISY. ^s POLYD. VIRGIL.

all agree, that this conduct of his saved *France*, and the subsequent part of this history will put it beyond doubt. The truth of this perplexed business seems to have been, that, in his harangue to the people of *Paris*, he had suffered words to escape him to this effect, "That, if right took place, he " had a better title to the crown of *France* than either he " who wore it or he who pretended to it;" which being reported in *England*, he quickly found that he was to expect no farther assistance from thence; for, as to what was given him by the truce before-mentioned, *Edward* disavowed it. The king of *Navarre*, therefore, began to consider what effects would follow upon the taking of *Paris*; and perceiving clearly that it would serve only to enrich the free-booters, his allies, in the first instance, and facilitate *Edward's* design of setting that crown on his own head, with whom he should be much less able to deal than with king *John* and the dauphin, he very wisely altered his plan, and made an equitable peace, to which his brother *Philip* refused to accede, but continued to carry on the war in *Normandy* in conjunction with the *English* ¹.

ALL this time king *John* remained in *England*, under circumstances none of the most pleasing. On his arrival he made a public entry into the city of *London*, but it was such an entry as could give him no disquiet. He rode on a white courser, which, in those days, when punctilios were much observed, was a mark of sovereignty, and the glorious prince of *Wales*, on a little black horse, rode by his side ². He had lodgings assigned him in the *Savoy*, where he was treated with all the respect due to his high rank, and with all the esteem which his great personal merit deserved. The king, the queen, the princes of the royal blood, paid him their visits, and endeavoured to comfort him: he had liberty to go where he pleased, to take the diversion of hunting, was feasted and caressed by the nobility, and adored by the people; for, with all the heat of his temper, he had an affability and a condescension that made subjects of all who approached him; and he had his favourite son *Philip*, to whom *Edward* is said to have given the surname of *Hardy*, for reprimanding a gentleman who served that monarch with wine before his father. But, notwithstanding all this, he had his sorrows ³. His subjects had shewn but little concern for him from the time he was taken. On the contrary, in the first assembly of the states, all they laboured was to re-

¹ Ancien. Chronique de France. FROISSART.
P. DANIEL. ² J. DE SERRES.

³ MEZ.

duce his authority. His queen, though a princess of incomparable merit, being little regarded at *Paris*, withdrew into her son's dominions, and died in *Burgundy*. His ransom, or his liberty, scarce occupied the attention of any of the assemblies; and, in a word, he seemed to be so thoroughly abandoned, that he took a resolution of concluding a treaty with *Edward*, upon the best terms he could: but when he had concluded it, and, in conjunction with *Edward*, sent it over to the regent in order to have it ratified, the states thought them so hard and so dishonourable, that they refused their approbation, which equally displeased both kings, and gave *Edward* an opportunity of returning to *France* as soon as the truce expired *. This truce was made for two years; and some of the *French* authors seem to think, that if the cardinals who made it had not prevailed, *France* must have been inevitably conquered. Yet, if we consider facts, they will scarce leave us any room to doubt that this truce was more fatal to *France* than if the war had continued; for this afforded leisure for civil broils, left those independent corps, who were stiled companions, to plunder where-ever they were strongest; made way for other insurrections, and deprived the dauphin, and other princes of the blood, of that authority, which, with an army in the field, they must have had †. *Edward* was aware of all this, and, under colour of punishing such as were in the stile of his court rebels alike to both kings, he raised an army, and equipped a fleet, which plainly enough expressed his real intention to become the master, as well as to assume the title, of *France*; and accounts sufficiently for the alteration of his conduct towards king *John*, whom, with his son *Philip*, he committed to close prison. His fleet, transports included, consisted of eleven hundred sail, and his army, when debarked at *Calais*, and joined by the troops which were before in *France*, amounted to one hundred thousand men. He began his campaign in the month of *November*, and, though the season was rude, he continued in the field, on a supposition that he should quickly receive submissions from most of the provinces in *France* ‡.

The famous treaty of Breigny;
King John

THE regent was very sensible, that he had not either money or men at his disposal sufficient to give any direct opposition to such a force: he took, therefore, the only method that was left, and with great prudence distributed what troops he had through the principal cities and towns in the

* P. EMIL. J. DE SERRES.
‡ AD. MURIMUTH.

† THO. WALSINGHAM,

kingdom, under officers of distinguished courage and indisputable integrity. This had its effect; for, though *Edward* ^{recovers} his liberty marched up and down where he thought fit, and plundered and laid waste the country at his pleasure, insomuch that he drew from the dutchy of *Burgundy*, by way of contribution, two hundred thousand florins, exclusive of provisions, yet no place of any consequence submitted ^a. At length he invested *Rheims*, with an intention; as the *French* historians say, to have caused himself to be crowned there, as soon as he became master of the city. But the archbishop, who had a considerable force in the place, defended it for about six weeks; and then the king decamping, marched towards the *Loire*, carrying with him his dogs and his hawks, that he might hunt and take his pleasure, and that the world might see how little he apprehended from the *French* arms. At length he changed his course and took the route of *Paris*, where the regent was with what forces he could collect, to whom he sent a defiance by a herald; but he was wiser than to change his measures, or to risk another day like those of *Gressy* or of *Poitiers* ^b. The pope's legates all this time solicited *Edward* to listen to an accommodation, in order to which the plenipotentiaries from the regent followed his camp; but, though the duke of *Lancaster* joined his intreaties to theirs, he shewed great coldness to these motions for peace, till, towards the close of *April*, being encamped in the open fields that lie round *Chartres*, such a storm of thunder and lightning arose as astonished his army and himself, by which many of his soldiers, and above a thousand horses, perished ^c. *Edward*, looking upon this as a signal from heaven, sent his plenipotentiaries to the village of *Bretigny*, about a league from *Chartres*, where they met the *French* ministers on the first of *May*, and concluded their conferences on the eighth. This treaty was in the names of the two princes *Charles* and *Edward*; the regent swore to the due performance of it on the tenth, and the prince of *Wales* on the sixteenth of the same month ^d. A truce upon this took place, till things could be finally adjusted. King *John* passed the sea to *Calais* in the month of *July*, where the regent was permitted to visit him; but it was three months before *Edward* could come thither and put the last hand to the treaty; which being sworn to by both kings, *John* was set at liberty, on the 24th of *October*, after a captivity of more

A. D.
1360.

^a Continuat. NANCII Chron.

^b GAGUIN Hist. Du

TILLER.

^c THO. WALSHINGHAM'S

^d VILLAN

Chron.

than four years. In his way to *Paris* he was met by the king of *Navarre*, who promised to live with him for the future in the strictest friendship. On the 13th of *December* he made his public entry into the city of *Paris*, where the inhabitants in general, and the common people in particular, gave great testimonies of joy, and made him a present of silver plate that weighed about a thousand marks *.

The kingdom of France once more ransacked and plundered by the companions, or as they now styled themselves Tard-venus, or Late-comers.

THE vast ransom which the king had engaged to pay, constrained him to think of every method of raising money; and for this reason he did two things, which were very disagreeable to his subjects; the first was giving his daughter in marriage to *Galeas*, the son of *John Visconti*, duke of *Milan*, who purchased that princess at no less than six hundred thousand crowns; the other, was permitting the *Jews* to return into and remain in *France* for twenty years, for which they paid largely †. To these calamities there were added two others, that were still more sensibly felt; the first was a plague, that swept away upwards of thirty thousand persons within the compass of a year at *Paris*; the other, an inundation of disbanded soldiers, who had formerly served in the *English* army, and now, under the command of officers of their own chusing, made a lawless and cruel war, to fill their own pockets. These styled themselves the *Tard-venus*, or the *Late-comers*, signifying that they had only the gleanings of the late harvest that had been made in *France* ‡. The king, after they had been disowned and declared robbers by the *English*, ordered the constable *James de Bourbon* to march against them; which he did, accompanied by many of the nobility, and an army of twelve thousand men. He had, however, the misfortune to be totally defeated, he himself and his son were mortally wounded, the greatest part of the nobility slain, and the rest made prisoners, by which the whole kingdom was laid open to these insatiate plunderers §. They then separated into two bodies; one of which, under the command of *Seguin de Badouet*, wasted the countries of *Lyonnais*, *Beaujolais*, and *Nivernais*; the other, under various commanders, took the route of *Avignon*, in order to ransom the pope and his cardinals. In their passage they made themselves masters of *Pont St. Esprit*, where they met with an immense booty, and where they elected a general, who styled himself the friend of God, and the enemy of all mankind ¶. At some distance of time, the king, with much

* *Ancien. Chronique de France.*

† *Anonymi Historia Edwardi III.*

‡ *J. DE SERRES.*

§ *DU TILLET, P. D'AN.*

¶ *MEZELAT, LE GROS.*

difficulty, and at the expence of a vast sum of money, prevailed upon *Badefol* to retire into his own country of *Gascony*; and the marquis of *Montferrat*, whom the pope had sent for to his assistance, prevailed upon him to follow him into *Italy* *. About this time died *Philip*, duke and count of *Burgundy*, count of *Artois*, *Auvergne*, and *Bologne*, and the hopes of his succession raised new disturbances. The king of *Navarre* conceived that he had a clear right to the duchy at least, as descending from *Margaret* of *Burgundy*, eldest sister to *Eudes*, grandfather to the deceased duke. King *John* claimed it, as being descended from *Joan*, her younger sister; but, being one degree nearer in point of descent, he entered under that pretence, and annexed it to the crown †. The French historians may stile *Charles* of *Navarre* what they please; but whoever candidly considers the nature of his claims to this duchy, the counties of *Champagne* and *Brie*, and even to the crown of *France*, will think that, how bad a man soever he was, he was also very badly used. *John de Bologne*, the uncle of the deceased duke, by the mother's side, had the counties of *Bologne* and *Auvergne*, and the count of *Flanders* the counties of *Burgundy* and *Artois* ‡.

A. D.
1361.

KING *John* finding himself much less at his ease than he expected; his court far from being so magnificent as formerly, and the power of the dauphin, since he became regent, such as in some measure restrained his own, he resolved to divert himself for some short time, by making a tour to *Avignon* to confer with pope *Innocent VI.* to whom he had great obligations, as having interposed, upon all occasions, and sometimes with more warmth than was decent, on his behalf §. In this journey he took the opportunity of visiting his new acquisition the duchy of *Burgundy*. On his arrival, the inhabitants of all ranks, but more especially the nobility and the inhabitants of great towns, applied to him, with great duty and humility, representing that they had been so long used to be governed by a prince of their own of the blood royal of *France*, that it was impossible for them to be happy under any other form of rule, and therefore intreated him that he would so far comply with their customs, as to bestow upon them one of his sons for their duke. It seems not improbable that the king and his petitioners understood each others mind; at least it is certain that they

King John bestows the duchy of Burgundy on his son Philip, and declares him first prince of France.

* Ancien. Chronique de France. P. EMIL.
TILLET. BOULANV. ‡ GAGUINI. Histoir.
GENÈRE.

† Du
LE

came very soon to an agreement, since, notwithstanding the late re-union of the duchy to the crown, *John*, by his letters patents, containing very high commendations of his favourite son *Philip*, granted to him and his heirs, procreated in lawful wedlock, that duchy, in as full a manner as it had been held by its former dukes; and, as a mark of special favour, declared this new duke the first peer of France *. This was afterwards confirmed, out of respect to his father, and with little regard to the rules of true policy, by his brother *Charles the Wise*. This fortunate young prince *Philip*, by the marriage of his predecessor's widow (who was also a maid) acquired immediately the county of *Burgundy*, and in process of time those of *Flanders* and *Artois*, of which she was the heiress, and thereby laid the foundation of the greatness of the second house of *Burgundy*, which, in succeeding times, made so great a figure in Europe; and which, from the penning of king *John's* letters patents, became long after the subject of lasting and bloody disputes †.

A. D.
1362.

Makes a
tour to
Avignon,
and at the
persuasion
of Urban
V. takes
the cross.

ACCORDING to some writers, king *John* arrived at *Avignon* in the life-time of pope *Innocent VI.* according to others, immediately after his decease. He was succeeded in the pontifical throne by *William Grimoaldi*, abbot of *St. Victor* at *Marseilles*, who was not so much as a cardinal. At the time of his election he was minister at the court of *Naples*; but, being recalled to *Avignon*, he accepted the papal dignity, and assumed the name of *Urban V.* The king of *Cyprus* coming to intreat his favour and protection against the infidels, to whose insults his dominions were continually exposed, he entered so warmly into his interests, and recommended them with such vehemence in his sermons and discourses, that king *John* took the cross on *Good-Friday*, notwithstanding all the opposition that such of the nobility as were about him made to a project of this kind, when his dominions were in so unsettled a condition, exhausted of men and money, and so many disputes raised as to the true meaning of several articles in the treaty of *Bretigny*, that a war with *England* was more likely to ensue than that peace to subsist. But king *John* attributed the misfortunes of his father, and several of his predecessors, to their taking the cross, and not fulfilling their vows. He had imagined a possibility, by the help of this expedition, to carry the greatest part of the companions,

* P. *ÆMIL. J. DE SÈRRES.* † *DU TILLET, P. DAN.*
‡ *Contin. NANGIS Chron.* § *Ancien. Chronique de France.*
L'Abbe de CHOISY.

the best troops and the worst men in *Europe*, into places where their valour might be employed, and their thirst of riches gratified, without prejudice to christendom. Besides, his lofty temper was gratified by the title of generalissimo of the Christian armies; so that he entered with great heat into this new design, for which he is grievously censured by the *French* historians, both ancient and modern, as a prince who sacrificed to his own humour the welfare of his subjects.

A. D.
1363.

At his return into *France*, king *John* met with fresh circumstances of difficulty and displeasure. The hostages that had been sent into *England* for the performance of the treaty, and for the payment of the king's ransom, grew very uneasy at the uncertain and distant prospect of their return home. King *Edward*, taking advantage of this, framed, with their concurrence, a kind of new convention, in which the reciprocal renunciation of claims was contained; and farther, a release from king *John*, from all pretensions of satisfaction for the spoil and damage committed by the companions and late-comers, in breach of the truce. This convention did not appear very unreasonable to king *John*; but the dauphin and the parliament, who considered those pretensions as the only means they had to prevent the rigorous execution of that harsh treaty, disapproved the convention entirely; upon which the hostages, who had been carried over to *Calais*, that they might contribute, by their solicitations, to the ratification of this piece, were more closely confined. *Lewis*, count of *Anjou*, the king's son, bore this so impatiently, that he made his escape, as several others also did, both before and after, to the great grief of the king, who would not suffer him to remain in his presence, but ordered him to return to *England* again, pursuant to his famous maxim, that if truth and good faith were banished from the world, they ought at least to reside in the mouths and hearts of princes. As prince *Lewis* did not think fit to obey him, king *John* took a sudden resolution of returning himself to *London*; from which he was not to be dissuaded, as holding himself obliged thereto by the treaty, and hoping also to bring things to a better conclusion with king *Edward* in person, than it was possible for him to do by the interposition of ministers.

* Ancien. Chronique de France. GAGUINI Hist. * PAUL.
EMIL. J. DE SEBRES, DU TILLET. * Contin. NANG.
Chron. P. HENAVLT. * MEZERAY.

King John
goes over
again to
England,
and dies
there at
the palace
of the
Savoy.

A. D.
1364.

HE passed the sea in the *Christmas* holidays, and landed at *Dover* the fourth *January*, where he was received with great honour. He proceeded from thence to *Canterbury*, where he offered a jewel of great price, according to the notions of those times, at the shrine of *Thomas à Becket*. He next continued his journey to *London*, where he was welcomed by the king and queen, and restored to his old lodgings in the *Savoy*: but it does not appear that he advanced much in his negotiation, though treated with all possible marks of affection and respect, and indulged in his favourite diversion of hunting *. Whether the chagrin of this, or some natural malady, was the cause, so it was, that he fell into a wasting and languishing condition, of which he died on the eighth of *April*; having the satisfaction, however, of being attended in his last moments by his brother the duke of *Orleans*, his son the duke of *Berry*, and his cousins *Lewis*, duke of *Bourbon*, and *John d'Artois*, count *d'Eu* †. He deceased in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and in the fourteenth of his reign, more regretted and beloved by the *English* than by his own subjects; his funeral was solemnized with great pomp, at which *Edward* assisted in person, in deep mourning, and his corpse was afterwards sent over to *France*, attended by the count *d'Eu*. This monarch had the surname of *the Good*; for which some historians find themselves at a loss to account, because they behold him in the light of an impetuous, obstinate, and over-bearing prince, who listened only to his own notions, which were commonly dictated by his passions ‡: but, as they confess, he was unfeignedly pious, candid, honest, and sincere, as brave as any man of his time, generous, magnificent, and affable. Posterity may, perhaps, be inclined to think that some surnames might be mentioned, even amongst the *French* kings, that were not at all better founded; be this as it will, he left his dominions in a deplorable condition, and his son and successor under great difficulties, notwithstanding he had done all in his power to deliver them. But negotiation was not his talent, and the hopes he had of persuading, in conjunction with the king of *Cyprus*, *Edward* III. to close his victorious reign by a crusade, deceived him; for that king answered civilly, but coldly, that he was now arrived at too great an age to

* Continuat. NANGII Chron. Ancien, Chronique de France.
† THO. WALSHINGHAM, AD. MURIMUTH. Anonymi Historia Edwardi III.
‡ P. EMIL. GAGUINI Hist. MEZERAY, P. DAN.

think of seeking foreign adventures, though he was some years younger than king *John*, and of a much more robust constitution (C).

CHARLES

(C) The history of this prince's reign sufficiently demonstrates his character; but, in order to do him justice, the reader must remark, that luxury was at a prodigious height in his time, and corrupted all ranks and degrees of people; so that being a very honest man himself, he was very liable to be deceived, and being also of a very hasty disposition, punished with little regard to form, and, it may be, with too much severity (1). He is charged with carrying the royal authority too high; and yet it is allowed that he summoned assemblies of the states frequently, and remitted his concerns into their hands; but both he and they were ill served; for faction prevailing, some busy intriguing men betrayed both the king and the people, in order to serve their private purposes, which did not hinder their being involved in the general ruin which their arts produced (2). His first consort, for she was never queen, was the princess *Beaü* of *Luxembourg*, daughter to *John*, king of *Bohemia*, and sister to the emperor *Charles IV.* by whom he had *Charles* the dauphin, duke of *Normandy*, *Lewis*, duke of *Anjou*, *John* duke of *Berry*, and *Philip* duke of *Burgundy*. He had likewise by the same princess five daughters; *Joan*, queen of *Naples*; *Mary*, who espoused *Robert*, duke of *Bar*; *Agnes*,

who died young; *Margaret*, who became a nun; and *Isabel*, who espoused *John Galeas*, duke of *Milan* (3). His second consort, *Joan*, widow of one duke of *Burgundy* and the mother of another, was, at the time of their marriage, about twenty-nine years of age, and esteemed one of the most beautiful and one of the most prudent ladies in his dominions. She retired, during his captivity, into the territories of her son the duke, and died there, in the fortieth year of her age (4). By this princess king *John* had two daughters, who died young. It is reported the king had an amour in *England*, and some attribute his return into this kingdom to that cause, but this is very uncertain (5). There is somewhat more credit due to another report, as if he had once thought of espousing the famous queen *Joan* of *Naples*; but upon his arrival at *Avignon*, he received such a character of her from her own subjects, as put an end to all thoughts of that kind (6). There is an odd story in one of our old historians, and not to be met with any where else; he says, that on his death-bed, king *John* acknowledged to king *Edward* that he had employed persons through his dominions to export gold beat into thin plates, and arms, into *France*, which would have appeared more probable, if he had not added

(1) *Freiffart, Du Tillet.*(2) *Dupleix, Menervay.*(3) *Jean de**Barres.* (4) *Maassrecht, Annales de France.*(5) *Gaguini Histori.*(6) *Le Gendre.*

*Accession
of Charles
V. and
the pru-
dential
maxims
by which
he restored
France.*

CHARLES V. surnamed, very justly, *the Wise*, succeeded his father, that is, he assumed the title of king, with very little augmentation of power. He caused himself and his queen to be crowned at *Rheims*, on the 19th of *May*, and a few days after made his public entry into *Paris*, with great magnificence, in which he was never deficient on such occasions, though remarkably frugal at other times^a. He found the kingdom in a distracted and distressed condition; he bent his utmost endeavours to recover and restore it, and he did this slowly and silently, by making choice of wise ministers and able generals, reserving to himself the great secrets of state, and issuing his orders with the same coolness and punctuality, when his affairs were in the worst and in the best condition. The king of *Navarre* was in arms in *Normandy*, at the time of his father's decease, and had a good army there, well paid, under the command of *John de Grailli*, captain of *Buch*. Charles had not either men or money to oppose him; but he sent *Bertrand du Gueslin*, an officer of great reputation, to command in *Normandy*, and he, partly by his arts, but chiefly by his fame, raised a considerable body of forces, with whom he beat and made prisoner the captain, at the battle of *Cocherel*. It was no great affair; but we find it as particularly described by the writers of those times as any action that had happened in *France*, out of regard, as they say, to the generals, who became afterwards the most distinguished of their time; but, in reality, because it was the first dispute of any note in which the *French* troops had been victorious, since the battle of *Cressy*^b. The king came soon after in person to *Rouen*, where he caused a nobleman, of a great family and considerable fortune, to be beheaded, for being in arms against him at that battle. He declared *du Gueslin* marshal of *Normandy*, and count of *Longueville*, which county reverted to the crown by the death of prince *Philip*, brother to the king of *Navarre*. This method of punishing and rewarding with éclat the king commonly follow-

^a Contin. NANGIË Chron.

^b GAGUINI Hist.

that he asked king *Edward*'s pardon also, for having usurped the crown of *France*, which he obtained⁽⁷⁾. His corpse being brought over into *France*, was interred in the abbey of *St. Denis*, with all outward testimo-

nies of respect, but without real sorrow or affection⁽⁸⁾; and the same disposition prevails even amongst modern historians, so little regard is shewn to the unfortunate, even though they are princes⁽⁹⁾.

⁽⁷⁾ Hen. Knyghton Chron. See also Tyrrel, and the notes upon Rastin, Gaguini Hist.

⁽⁹⁾ Le Gendre.

ed, and with good effect ^c. He confirmed his father's grants to his youngest brother, augmented the appenages of his other brothers, and rendered great kindnesses to all the princes of his blood, contrary to the maxims of his grandfather *Philip de Valois*, who did all he could to keep them low. Yet to fill his coffers, in some degree, he had recourse to an act of resumption, making it his choice rather to disoblige the great than to oppress the little ^d. In *Bretagne*, the war being renewed, the young count *de Montfort* defeated *Charles le Blois* in the battle of *Auray*, in which he fell. The king, who managed every occasion with great address, laid hold of this, admitted the count to do homage as duke of *Bretagne*, and secured to the widow of *Charles le Blois* the title of duchess of *Bretagne*, for her life, a pension of forty thousand livres, and the county of *Penthièvre* for her children, with the remainder of the duchy to them, in case of the failure of heirs in the reigning family ^e.

THE new duke of *Bretagne*, who was much of the same age with the French king, came to *Paris* to pay his homage, in virtue of the treaty; and, at this interview, both princes shewed great marks of esteem and condescension for each other, *Bertrand du Gueslin*, who had been taken prisoner in the war of *Bretagne*, was set at liberty; and the duke, perceiving how great his credit was at the court of France, confirmed to him the grants that had been made by his predecessor; at the same time the king took *Oliver Clifton*, and other *Bretons*, into his service, without giving the duke any offence. But he could not draw that prince into a marriage to his satisfaction, upon the loss of his wife, who was a daughter to king *Edward*, but on the contrary he espoused the daughter of the princess of *Wales*, by her first husband, so that he still maintained his connection with *England* ^f. The capital *de Buch*, though a prisoner, was extremely well received by the court of France. *Charles* was an excellent judge, and a liberal rewarder of merit; and having seen the dexterity with which the capital managed a treaty between himself and the king of *Navarre* (which, as we have shewn in its proper place, was concluded upon terms very favourable for France), resolved to gain, at any rate, one who, as it now appeared, was as able a statesman as he had shewn himself a general. The capital could not resist the king's caresses, who released him without ransom, and who, on

^c Annales de France. MEX.
CHOISY. ^d D'ARMENTIERE Histoire de Bretagne.
sien Chronique de France.

^e P. EMIL. L'Abbe de
his

his coming into his service, made him a present of the county of *Nemours*. But, upon his going to *Bourdeaux*, the prince of *Wales* telling him, that it was impossible to serve two masters, he returned the king his patent for the county of *Nemours*, and remained with his old lord ^e. The low state of his finances continued still to give the king a great deal of trouble; because the situation of his subjects in general was such, that it was not either prudent or safe to impose any new taxes, or even to exact, with the usual rigour, those they had been formerly accustomed to pay ^h. This obliged the king to have recourse to methods not very agreeable either to his rank or to his nature. His uncle *Philip* duke of *Orleans*, who had been long prisoner in *England*, had a very large estate, a considerable part of which arose from grants that had been made by the late king; and these, in the present state of things, the king had a mind to resume. The process was no sooner commenced with this view, than the duke of *Orleans*, instead of defending himself, declared in full parliament, that, tho' he thought and believed he possessed nothing but by a legal right, yet, knowing the king's motive, he surrendered the whole into his hands, and should be content with whatever he thought fit to restore ⁱ. This defeated *Charles's* scheme, who only accepted of his uncle's renunciation to confirm his titles in the strongest manner. The king, however, had recourse to sumptuary laws for repressing luxury, which was still at a great height; and for encouraging industry, as the sole means of relieving his people; and enforcing these, not so much by penalties as his own example, they had their effect ^k.

The grand companies ravage France, and reduce the king and his subjects to the utmost distress. THE composition of affairs in *Bretagne*, and the peace concluded with the king of *Navarre*, seemed to leave *France* much at ease, and to allow king *Charles* leisure to put in practice the schemes he had formed for restoring prosperity to his subjects; and yet from these treaties followed an evil, that brought the nation into greater distress than ever it had felt before. While the war lasted, *Bretagne*, which did not belong to the crown of *France*, and *Normandy*, felt the weight of it, while other provinces had time to breathe. But now these mischiefs were carried into every part of the kingdom, by the troops that were disbanded on all sides on the conclusion of those treaties ^l. This flowed chiefly from the manner in which armies were formed in those days, and

^e Ancien. Chron. de France.

^h Annales de France.

ⁱ P. ÆMIL. MEZERAY, P. DANIEL.

^k P. HENAUULT.

^l Annales de France, Hist. de Bertrand du Gueslin.

was the most terrible scourge to which any country could be exposed. For these soldiers did not straggle about the country, either singly or in small bands, robbing and pilfering at their pleasure, but were formed into large corps, under the command of some knight or officer of distinction, who, having raised himself in service, but having no estate, chose this method of supporting himself, and those who adhered to him^m. When these corps appeared single and separate they were stiled the *Malandrins*; but, after six or seven of these knights entered into a confederacy, tho' their corps were at a considerable distance, to march to each other's relief, in case of any attack, they assumed the name of the *Grand Companies*, and became very formidable in point of strength, as well as dreadfully oppressiveⁿ. One of these knights, who stiled himself the archpriest, had such a strength, that, after spoiling *Champagne* and *Burgundy*, he made an irruption into the territories of the empire, and had done more mischief, if some of his own soldiers had not murdered him in a fit of resentment. The king saw, with the greatest anguish of mind, his subjects oppressed and exhausted, and himself treated with contempt, without any power of redress. With small forces, or even larger bodies of the troops hastily raised, there was nothing to be done; and to set on foot an army required money, which he had not^o. In the mean time this evil was intolerable. He complained of it to king *Edward*, a great part of the companions being his subjects. It touched the king of *England* in honour as well as in interest; he therefore issued a proclamation, requiring them to lay down their arms, and no longer to molest the people of *France*. Some few obeyed, and but a few; the rest sent him for answer, that they held nothing from him, and that they would not abandon the places they had seized, or disband their corps, for him or any prince living. This so provoked *Edward*, that he resolved to pass the seas with a numerous army, if king *Charles* had not declined his assistance, having, as he said, found out a method of relieving himself: on which *Edward* swore, he might trust to that method, for help he should have none from him, if they drove him out of his dominions^p. But *Charles* was by no means willing to have *Edward* again in *France* at the head of a potent army, for reasons that will appear.

^m J. DE SERRES, Du TILLET.
 France, P. ÆMIL,
 P. VIRG.

ⁿ Ancien. Chron. de
 FROISSART, Annales de France.

Bertrand
du Gus-
slin en-
gages them
in an ex-
pedition
into Spain
with the
king's con-
sent.

THE man who delivered the king and his subjects, when in this terrible dilemma, was *Bertrand du Gueslin*, who undertook to persuade the companions to quit *France* of their own accord; and, having opened his project to the king, he approved, and offered him all the assistance in his power. Thus encouraged, he went to a meeting of their chiefs, who were all his old acquaintance, and most of them his intimate friends; after being, for some days, a companion of their mirth, he observed to their chiefs, that it was a base and dishonourable kind of life they led, and that the shame of it, instead of being alleviated, was heightened by their birth and rank. They pleaded necessity; to which *du Gueslin* replied, that the *Mons* were still in possession of *Granada*, and other rich provinces in *Spain*; that it would be more safe, more advantageous, as well as more honourable, to turn their arms against these infidels; that he would undertake to procure them the means, in every respect, of doing this, and would accompany them in the expedition. This they readily accepted; upon which thirty-five of their chiefs went to *Paris*, where they were kindly received, and magnificently feasted, by the king, at the temple, and, besides rich presents, had two hundred thousand franks given them for the current expences of their expedition. Their rendezvous was fixed for *Chalons* on the *Soane*, where *du Gueslin* joined them, with three hundred of the most gallant gentlemen in *Bretagne*. *Charles* sent a marshal of *France* to see them out of his dominions, and to conduct them with as little prejudice to his subjects as possible. The route that they took was to *Avignon*. The pope, alarmed at their approach, sent a cardinal to meet them; who demanding what they were, and why they came, *du Gueslin* told him, they were thirty thousand crosses, marching against the infidels, and that they were desirous to have the pope's absolution, and a couple of hundred thousand florins by way of alms. The cardinal promised the absolution at the first word, but hesitated as to the money. However the pontif, seeing there was no remedy, taxed the inhabitants of *Avignon* at one hundred thousand florins, in hopes they would be content with that sum. But *du Gueslin* told the cardinal, they did not come to plunder poor people, but to receive alms from the rich; that therefore he must take back the money, and restore it punctually to those from whom it was taken,

A. D.
1365.

• Annales de France.
• P. ÉMIL. P. DANIEL.
Chron. de France.

• Histoire de Bertrand du Gueslin.
• Annales de France, Ancien.

and bring them two hundred thousand florins from the pope and the college, who could spare it ; which, as there was no remedy, he was obliged to do, together with a plenary absolution^a.

BEFORE they passed the *Pyrenees*, *du Gueslin* acquainted them with his true design ; which was to dethrone Don *Pedro the Cruel*, and to advance his brother *Henry*, count of *Trafemara*, to the throne. We have already reported the progress and event of this expedition, and it shall suffice to say here, that *Charles* the fifth never gave a stronger proof of his consummate policy than in the assistance he afforded to count *Henry*, tho' it might seem very extraordinary for a monarch, whose dominions and whose treasures were equally exhausted, to advance such prodigious sums in favour of a young prince, whose title was none of the best, and by whom at this time he was not so much as personally known^u. His penetration shewed him, that nothing could be more advantageous for *France* than this undertaking, which, at the bottom, had the approbation of the pope, and at the same time his address enabled him to persuade the new king of *Castile*, that what he had done was out of pure generosity, and that as he acquired, so he had no other means of preserving, the crown, but by the support of *France*, which gained him a firm and constant ally, and put such a check on the kings of *Aragon* and *Navarre*, as fully compensated the succours afforded to the king *Don Henry*, even supposing them to have had no other motive^v. The famous black prince having, from a point of honour, taken the dethroned *Don Pedro* under his protection, improving the mistake of *Don Henry*, who had too soon dismissed the greatest part of the companions, and employing his interest to draw off the rest, who were either *English* or *Gascons*, defeated *Don Henry* in the famous battle of *Navarette*, made *du Gueslin* prisoner, and reseatd *Don Pedro* on the throne^v. *Charles* did not, upon this, change his measures, but relieved *Don Henry* with the same alacrity and apparent generosity as before, furnished him with troops and money, negociated for him at several courts, procured the liberty of *du Gueslin*, tho' set at a high price, and therefore contributed, in a great degree, to change once more the face of affairs in *Spain*, and the fortune of her kings, replacing *Henry* on the throne, to which he made his way, not only by the defeat, but the death of his brother ;

^u Histoire de Bertrand du Gueslin, Annales de France.

^v Ancien. Chron. de France.

^v Annales de France, Hist.

de Bertrand du Gueslin.

FROISSART.

an event which, in its consequences, had a great operation on the political system in that age ^a.

Charles's
domestic
admini-
stration
restores
the French
monarchy
imperi-
ously.

WHILE these things happened abroad, *Charles* administered with the utmost prudence, and with indefatigable diligence, the public affairs at home; he restored the credit and authority of parliament, by assisting there frequently in person, by causing the judgments given therein to be strictly executed, and by introducing persons of established probity and learning into its principal dignities. He looked into the management of his finances narrowly; he remitted some impositions, abated others, and levied all with great moderation ^a. He granted new privileges to the cities, rendered the roads safe, and, by many new-devised encouragements, re-peopled his dominions. He repressed luxury by his own example, and by the sobriety of his court, where a well-managed magnificence appeared on public occasions, and the strictest frugality at all other times ^b. He neglected nothing that might conciliate the friendship of the neighbouring princes. The pope was entirely in his interests, so was the emperor, and several of the princes of *Germany*; the count of *Flanders* (whose daughter *Margaret*, the widow of the last duke of *Burgundy*, was the greatest heiress in *Europe*), he held in continual suspense. The count was inclined to marry this rich princess to a younger son of *Edward* of *England*; but this could not be done without a dispensation, and *Charles* had so great an interest with the pope, that it could not be obtained ^c. He afterwards proposed his brother *Philip* duke of *Burgundy*, and procured a dispensation, about which there had been so much difficulty ^d. By these arts, and more especially by rewarding liberally men of parts of all characters, the king found himself in a situation of making the most of any opportunity that should offer. It was not long before one presented itself to his view, the most favourable that he could wish, and he managed it with such calmness and dexterity, as drew from it such events as none but a true genius could have discerned it would produce: his neighbours looking on his conduct as an effect of an humble and placid spirit, from which they had nothing to apprehend ^e.

^a Annales de France, J. DE SERRES.

Chron. ^b GAGUI. Hist. P. 2. MIL.

J. DE SERRES, P. DANIEL.

^c CONT. NANC. Chron.

^d Contin. NANC.

^e Annales de France,

MAYER in Annal. Fland.

AT the time the gallant prince of *Wales* returned from his *Spanish* expedition, he found a melancholy alteration in his affairs. Pestilence and a very hot climate had consumed the greatest part of his army. Don *Pedro*, in deceiving him, left an immense debt upon his shoulders, instead of the mighty reward he had promised him; and, which was worst of all, a latent disease, which degenerated into a dropsy, brought upon him great infirmity of body, which rendered him the less able to apply proper remedies for stopping the declining state of his affairs. The war had drawn him into prodigious expence, and into a variety of engagements, which he knew not how to discharge. Six thousand of the companions, all that remained of those dreadful troops, were quartered in his territories, till their wages could be paid. Besides, he could not bear the thoughts of retrenching his court, which had been hitherto at least as magnificent as those of *Paris* or *London*^f. This obliged him to impose a florin upon every hearth within his territories; which, tho' submitted to in most places, yet in *Guienne* it was opposed with the greatest vehemence, the count of *Armagnac* and other great lords looking upon it as a violation of their privileges; which, at all events, they determined to maintain^g. *Charles* considering, that two-thirds of his father's ransom was paid, most of the hostages redeemed, his people in a great measure recovering, his neighbours well-affected to him, and the concerns of *Edward* such as left him less able to maintain a war, than at any time since the peace of *Bretigny*, began to listen to the complaints of the *Gascons*, had his emissaries in the county of *Ponthieu*, and in other parts of the *English* conquests, where they found a great spirit of discontent, which they took all possible pains to cherish and increase^h. At length, he laid the treaty of *Bretigny*, and all the subsequent proceedings, before his court of peers, and demanded their advice; in consequence of which he summoned the prince of *Wales* to appear, and answer the complaints made against him by his barons. To this he answered with disdain, that he would appear, but it should be with a retinue of sixty thousand men; and he likewise caused those, who had summoned him, to be arrestedⁱ. Hostilities did not immediately follow; on the contrary, a negotiation ensued with the court of *London*. King *Edward* insisted, that the crown of *France* had no sovereignty

^f *Annales de France*, H. KNYGHT. Chron.Chronique de France.
de France.^g *Cont. NANCY Chron.*^h *Ancien.*ⁱ *Annal.*

A.D.
1368.

over the provinces he possessed, and that the appeal of the *Gascon* lords was an act of rebellion: on the other hand, *Charles* asserted, that *Edward*, having never renounced his pretensions to the crown of *France*, the duchies of *Nor-*
mandy, *Anjou*, and *Maine*, he still retained the sovereignty over *Guienne* and the rest of provinces ^k.

By the as-
sistance of
his estates,
Charles
finds him-
self in a
condition
to begin a
war.

As the embarking in a new war was a very dangerous step, *Charles* proceeded very deliberately, and with seeming irresolution; by which he gained time to enter into distinct treaties with his allies, held his enemies in suspense, and called an assembly of the states in the month of *May*, that it might appear he did nothing but by the advice and with the consent of his subjects. In this assembly he managed all things with such address, that the clergy declared the king, in all his proceedings, had acted in a manner suitable to the principles of religion and equity ^l. The nobility promised to assist him with their lives and fortunes, and the third estate applauded his majesty's justice and moderation, with a promise to support so good a cause to the utmost of their power. As the king wanted no more at this time, they were dismissed without so much as the mention of new taxes; but, in consequence of these declarations, *Charles*, without ceremony, declared war against *Edward*; who resumed the title of king of *France*, and prepared to punish what he stiled temerity and breach of faith. The war, on the side of *Guienne*, was rather favourable to *Charles*; for the companions revolted, in a great measure, to him, which surprised the prince of *Wales*, who had also the misfortune to lose the lord *Chandos*, one of the wisest men, and one of the ablest officers, in his service, who was killed in a skirmish ^m. The county of *Ponthieu*, in *Picardy*, revolted; but the fleet, which the king had assembled at *Harsleur*, with an intent to invade *England*, was rendered useless by the arrival of *John* of *Gaunt* duke of *Lancaster*, and a great body of *English* troops; for this obliged the king to oppose to him his brother *Philip* of *Burgundy*, with the forces that should have embarked for a naval expedition. There was, however, very little done on this side by either party; for *Charles* had expressly prohibited his brother from fighting, and the attempt made by the duke of *Lancaster* to burn the fleet was also very luckily prevented ⁿ. In *September*, the states met again, and, upon a detail of what had happened, since they had been held last,

A.D.
1369.

^k FROISSART. H. KNYGHTON.
^m Ancien. Chronique de France.
POLYD. VIRG.

^l Annal. de France.
ⁿ THOM. WALSHINGHAM,

they unanimously agreed to impose the same taxes that had been levied for the release of king *John*, with the addition of hearth-money; which was esteemed a more equal, tho' a heavier, tax than a capitation. A method of proceeding which astonished all *Europe*, who supposed *France* to be quite exhausted.

IN consequence of these great aids, the king augmented his forces; and, upon the resignation of the good old constable *Fiennes*, determined to recall *Bertrand du Guesclin* out of *Spain*; who not only very readily obeyed, tho' amply provided for by the king of *Castile*, but negotiated and signed a treaty with that monarch, by which he agreed to assist king *Charles* with a force by sea. On the arrival of this celebrated officer in *France*, he was first employed in *Guicenne*, where the king's brother made no scruple of serving under him, tho' he had no title, or so much as a regular command. He recovered many places in a short space of time, and had, without doubt, made a greater progress, if the king had not sent for him to oppose Sir *Robert Knolles*; who, with a body of *English* forces, after having ravaged *Champagne*, advanced into the neighbourhood of *Paris*, and burnt some small towns in the sight of that city, where the king was with a considerable number of troops; but he would not be drawn out, or run any hazard: on the arrival of *Bertrand*, he had the sword of constable delivered to him, and was directed, with a small sum of money, to raise what forces he could. The king might have given him greater forces, but he was afraid he would hazard a battle. The constable, with the few troops he had, stopped the progress of *Knolles*, and recovered most of the places he had taken: the king commended his prudence highly, tho' now and then he ventured on a bold stroke. His success revived the spirit of the *French* nation, and made them endure with patience the heavy taxes which the last assembly of the states had imposed, the rather because the king took the precaution of engaging the clergy every-where to preach up the justice of his cause, and to urge the necessity of continuing a war, that was of equal importance to the crown and to the people. About this time died pope *Urban* the fifth, who had done that monarch essential services, and who was succeeded by *Gregory* the eleventh, whom he likewise gained to his side. To balance these advantages, king *Edward* drew over the duke of *Gueld*

A.D.
1370

* P. EMIL. J. DE SERRES, DU TILLET.
France. † Ancien. Chron. de France.
KNYGHTON Chron.

‡ Annales de
HEN.

derkind to his party, and would have made a greater progress amongst the princes of the empire, if Charles had not prevented him, by augmenting their pensions, and by inviting several of them to his court, where they were treated with all possible attention and respect. He could not, however, prevent the King of Navarre from passing privately into England, where he concluded the treaty of Clarendon with king Edward, the substance of which was not known in France till some years after; but Charles, however, took his measures so prudently, that it had no effect ^s.

*Methods
taken to
strengthen
his alli-
ances, to
prolong
the war,
and to
wary the
black
prince.*

THE constable returned in the winter to Paris, and concerted with the king the operations of the next campaign; in regard to which the greatest difficulty was to find the funds requisite for the payment of the troops. By the counsel of du Gueslin, the king gave a gentle squeeze to the officers of his treasury, who, it was suspected, had stole, but who, it was certain, could spare: he borrowed likewise large sums of the lawyers: and the clergy, who having so often declared to the people the justice of the war, could not refuse to support it. But these were temporary expedients, which the king knew might, in their consequences, do him more hurt than good; and therefore he appointed commissaries for the payment of his troops, who accounted to the constable, and the constable to the king; and out of the money he saved, he punctually paid his debts ^t. He had this year five corps in the field; none of any great force, but sufficient to take towns, more especially by intelligence, and to harraßs the English army, instead of coming to a battle; for he still remembered Cressy and Poitiers; tho' he kept a numerous body of troops about his person, that he might push any extraordinary success, or repair any unforeseen misfortune, without delay ^u. The king of Navarre, who was returned from England into Normandy, perceiving that he made war with success, and took all his measures with so much precaution, consented, upon hostages given, to confer with the king, concluded a treaty with him, and left his children in his hands, notwithstanding his late treaty with England. For, knowing that neither of these monarchs wished him well, he held it best, either by force or by fraud, to provide for himself ^v. About this time Charles of France concluded a treaty with Robert king of Scots, and established the Scots gens d'arms at a hundred

^s T. WALSHINGHAM, P. DANIEL, L^e GENDRE. ^t Cont. NANG. Chron. Annales de France. ^u Histoire de Bertrand du Gueslin. ^v Annales de France.

men; but it was St. *Lewis* who first formed this corps, intrusting his person to twenty-four of that nation *. The cardinal bishop of *Beauvais*, perceiving how incompatible it was to be the counsellor of the king and the pope at the same time, laid down his office of chancellor, in which, however, he was succeeded by his brother; for it was not the king's custom to disgrace his ministers †. In the mean time the prince of *Wales*, vexed at the success of the *French*, resolved to recover *Limoges*, which he suspected had been delivered to them by treachery; and, having reduced it, he caused a great part of the inhabitants to be put to the sword. This was his last exploit; for, perceiving the people chagrined, being himself afflicted for the loss of his son *Edward*, and, in a manner, wore out by his disease, he returned into *England*. He left the government of *Aquitaine* to his brother *John* duke of *Lancaster*, having first taken an oath of fidelity from the barons, who troubled themselves little about it after his departure; for the imposition, feuage, and other duties, had alienated their affections, which he formerly commanded ‡.

A. D.
1371.

By the treaty which the constable had concluded with *Don Henry* king of *Castile*, that prince was bound to assist the *French* monarch with a fleet; and as he would certainly have done this out of gratitude, so he was not the less willing to do it when, from an unexpected event, it became visibly his interest. The duke of *Lancaster*, having espoused the daughter of *Don Peter the Cruel*, assumed thereupon the title of king of *Castile and Leon*; soon after which he returned to *England* with his brother, who had married her younger sister, leaving the command in *Aquitaine* to the famous captain *de Buch*, with the title of constable. *Don Henry*, who knew the connections which the duke of *Lancaster* had with the king of *Navarre*, and suspecting his intentions to make a new irruption into *Spain*, in case the war with *France* had a favourable issue, sent a fleet of forty sail of large ships, and thirteen frigates, with instructions to act as the king of *France* should direct §. *Charles*, having early intelligence of a great succour, under the command of the earl of *Pembroke*, that was to be sent to *Rochelle*, gave timely notice of it to the *Castilian* admiral; who attacked that fleet on the eve of St. *John*, within sight of the port; and, being much superior in strength, defeated, and almost destroyed it entirely, made the earl of *Pembroke*, with many other persons

Don Henry of Castile sends a fleet to the assistance of France, which does great service.

* MS. de la Biblioth. du Roi, c. 8354. † Annales de France.
Ancien. Chron. de France, H. KNYGHTON.
‡ Annales de France.

of distinction, prisoners, and, amongst other large vessels, sunk that which had the treasure on board for the pay of the troops; so that it may be very truly affirmed Don *Henry* repaid, by this naval succour so opportunely given, whatever support or assistance he had received from the *French* crown ^b. The constable *du Gueslin* took advantage of the consternation this occasioned to make an irruption into *Poitou*, where he took several places of great strength, and afterwards joined the duke of *Berry* in the *Limosin*. It is, however, uncertain what the fate of the war would have been, if the capital *de Buch* had continued to command; but he, being surpris'd and taken prisoner in a skirmish, was sent to *Paris*, where he was confined in the temple; and, tho' immense sums were offered for his liberty, he ended his days there, after five years confinement ^c.

The constable du Gueslin conquers great part of the English possessions.

IMMEDIATELY after this accident, *Poitiers* opened her gates to the constable; at which the king was so agreeably surpris'd, that he declared noble the mayor, the sheriffs, their descendents and successors; *St. John de Angeli*, *Taillebourg*, *Angoulême*, *Xaintes*, and several other places, followed the example of *Poitiers*. The city of *Rochelle* would willingly have followed their example, but there was an *English* garrison in the castle. The *French* mayor was too hard for the *English* governor, whom he invited to dinner, and produced to him an old letter, under king *Eduard's* seal, knowing that the governor could not read; who, after he looked upon it a little time, returned it. You see, said the mayor, that the king commands we should muster both our garrisons together, that the people may be better acquainted with, and have greater confidence in, each other, and I shall leave the time and manner to you. The governor drawing out his garrison the next day, the mayor surpris'd the castle; but, before he would render the place to the constable, he insisted upon having the king's consent to raze that fortress, and a charter for the town as ample as that of *Paris*; both which were obtained, and the mayor actually demolished the castle before he delivered the keys ^d. The progress of the constable's arms received some check from the gallant defence of *Fontenai-le-Comte*, in which the lady of Sir *John Harpedon* commanded; who, tho' young and handsome, expos'd her person as much as any private man during the siege, and even when the place came to be storm'd, nor once offer'd

^b H. KNYGHTON Chron. THOM. WALSHINGHAM. ^c Annales de France. ^d Ancien. Chronique de France, FROISSART.

to capitulate, till on the point of being taken; when the constable, who was a gallant man, gave her leave to prescribe her own terms. The remains of the *English* officers and troops threw themselves into *Thouars*, which was a very strong place, and which they meant to defend to the last extremity; but the constable offering to allow them till the feast of *St. Michael* for the succours they expected, they consented to surrender, if not relieved by king *Edward* or the prince of *Wales* *. *Edward* assembled and embarked an army, commanded by himself and his sons, which, if it had arrived in time, might yet have changed the face of affairs; but, meeting with contrary winds, they were constrained, not without great hazard, to regain the *English* coast; so that, at the time appointed, *Thouars* submitted †. The constable had afterwards the good fortune to beat *John d'Foreux*, who came with twelve hundred men at arms to relieve the castle of *Chifai*, made himself master of that place, and surprised *Niort*, which was stronger, and of greater consequence, all in a day; so that *Poitou* was entirely reduced, and the king gave that county to his brother the duke of *Berry* ‡. The best part of the expence of this campaign was borne by the *Jews*, to whom the king sold a permission to remain ten years longer in *France*, at a very high rate; tho' this event is placed lower in his reign by many historians §

A. D.
1372.

THE duke of *Bretagne*, who, as we have shewn, still maintained his connections with the *English* nation, as having a grateful remembrance, that, to their assistance, he owed his dominions, found himself in a wretched dilemma from the ambition and artifice of the king, who never discovered his discontent till it was in his power to make himself felt severely. The constable and *Oliver de Clisson* were not the only *Bretons* provided for in his service; and, besides those in his pay, he had many of the nobility in pension; so that he ran no great hazard in summoning the duke to attend him as his vassal, with all the forces he could raise. It was in vain that he pleaded he was allowed a neutrality by the treaty of *Bretigny*; it was to little purpose he distinguished between his homage for the duchy, and for his county of *Montfort* †. The constable entered *Bretagne*, with an army, on one side, *Oliver Clisson*, with his forces, on the other, the nobility and the people revolted in most places; so that,

* GAGUIN. Hist.

† Annales de France, T. WALSHING.

‡ DU TILLET, P. HENAULT.

§ GAGUINI Hist. P. ÆMIL.

‡ D'ARGENT. Histoire de Bretagne.

having distributed the *English* succours into *Brest*, and some other towns of importance, he retired into *England*^k. But it was not long before he returned with *John* duke of *Lancaster*, who debarked at *Calais* an army of fifty thousand men, with which he proposed to restore his father's affairs, and to rival his brother's great exploits in that kingdom. He began his march towards the end of *July*, and passed through *Picardy* and *Champagne*, leaving behind him every-where sufficient marks of his resentment. *Charles* had three armies in the field; one commanded by his brother the duke of *Burgundy*, another by his cousin the duke of *Bourbon*, and a third by the constable, which consisted chiefly of cavalry. Besides these the king had a corps of four thousand gens d'arms, and a numerous body of infantry, under his command^l. The two dukes coasted the *English* army on each side, the constable followed in the rear, so that there were frequent skirmishes; but as none of them had a strength sufficient, and were besides restrained by the king's orders, there was no battle. The duke of *Bretagne* pressed the duke of *Lancaster* to march into his duchy; but that prince persisting in his resolution to proceed to *Guienne*, there was never after a right understanding between them^m. The duke of *Lancaster*, however, pursued his own measure, traversed *Burgundy* and *Auvergne* with great rapidity, and suffered so much in this long march through an enemy's country, that, when he arrived, in the *Christmas* holidays, in the neighbourhood of *Bordeaux*, he had scarce a fifth part of his army left. In the course of this year, the king lost his two great ministers, the chancellor and his brother the cardinal *de Beauvais*. He replaced the former by *Peter d'Argemont*, by the election of the parliament, and the latter by the bishop of *Amiens*, by his own choice; but, tho' fortunate in these respects, yet this year was alike fatal in *Italy* and *England*, as well as *France*, by a severe famine, and by a devouring pestilence that followed itⁿ. The king, however, did all he could to keep up the spirits of his people, and obliged the clergy to do all that was in their power likewise to cherish and relieve them; shewing such a vigilance and activity, even in the minutest things that regarded the public welfare, as contributed greatly to maintain a tranquillity that had never been seen before under circumstances of a like kind, and which contributed as much to the support of his character,

^k Ancien. Chronique de France.^l Histoire de Bertrand du Guesclin, FROISSART.^m Annales de France.ⁿ Annales de France,

and preserving the affections of his people, as the victories he had gained, and the great turn he had given to the affairs of France^o.

THE pope, who had sent repeated admonitions, and employed different legates to reconcile the two kings, now pressed things so warmly, and set the epidemic diseases reigning throughout their dominions in so strong a light, that they, at length, agreed to send their plenipotentiaries to *Bruges*, in order to conclude a peace, or at least a truce. At the head of these plenipotentiaries, on one side, were the king's brothers, *Lewis* duke of *Anjou* and *Philip* duke of *Burgundy*, and at the head of the other *John* duke of *Lancaster*. All hopes of peace were lost, by the *English* insisting peremptorily, that *Edward* should hold *Guienne* in sovereignty; to which the *French* would not hearken. At length, however, a truce was concluded for a year; but without making any mention of *Bretagne* P. This was a great stroke of policy between the two kings, to relieve their own territories, and give their subjects time to breathe; but at the same time to nourish the flame of war in a corner, that such as wanted either a will, or the means, of being quiet, might find employment, and prevent the reviving of the companions. In consequence of this, *John* duke of *Bretagne* returned into his own dominions, with a considerable body of *English* troops; where, from the inveterate spirit that prevailed between the two parties, much blood was shed, the duke considering the opposite party as rebels, and *Oliver Clifton* openly professing his intention to exterminate the *English*, tho' he had served amongst them with great vigour in the beginning of this war. The duke, however, was very near seizing him, and most of the other chiefs, whom he had reduced to the last extremity, and to whom he refused all terms, if they had not been reformed from his vengeance by renewing the truce of *Bruges* for another year; in which *Bretagne* was included^a. *Charles* willingly seized these short intervals of peace, in order to accomplish many things he had in his mind for the benefit of himself, his family, and his people. He made an edict to fix the majority of the kings of *France* at their entrance into their fourteenth year; whereas *Philip the Hardy* had fixed it at fourteen complete. *Charles* caused this edict to be registered in parliament, and then declared it a fundamental and irrevocable

Charles
consents to
a truce.
and makes
use of it to
improve
the domestic
state of
France.

A.D.
1374.

^o GAGUINI Hist. P. DANIEL, LE GENDRE. P Ancien.
Chronique de France, FROISSART. ^a D'ARGENT. Hist. de
Bretagne.

A.D.
1375.

*He makes
use of the
death of
the prince
of Wales
and of king
Edward
to turn the
affairs of
the Eng-
lish.*

law of the kingdom^r. The death of his uncle the duke of *Burgundy* was a loss to him in some respects; but it augmented his revenue considerably. He was so provident, that, from the time of the first truce, his coffers were always full, and yet there was never a prince more liberal. He was continually giving lands and estates to the constable, who sold them almost as fast as he received them, and spent the money; yet he was so far from being extravagant, that he did not so much as affect magnificence; but he suffered no service to pass unrewarded^s, he left no man of merit that he knew in distress^t. The king, who was perfectly informed of this, took care to support a generosity that was of such use to his service. The king did the like with regard to his ministers: he had many in different departments, and, in cases of difficulty, he took the advice of them^u all; reported them to three or four persons in his cabinet, and determined with them what was to be done. His maxim was, that, even in matters of state, reasoning might be public, provided the resolution was kept secret^v.

THE next year died the great terror of *France*, *Edward* the black prince, for whom the king caused a solemn service to be performed; not so much, say the *French* writers, out of respect to their kindred, as through esteem for his person, and for his virtues. Immediately after, and he could not have chose a more proper season, he published a general amnesty; knowing that there were many of his subjects who had hitherto adhered to the *English* interests purely out of gratitude and affection to the prince of *Wales*, and it had a good effect^w. It happened otherwise in respect to the embassy he sent to *Avignon*, in order to dissuade pope *Gregory* from returning to *Rome*; and this notwithstanding he sent his brother and the duke of *Anjou*. The truce was renewed for another year; but the hopes conceived on both sides for a peace were defeated. The truth seems to be, that *Charles* had never any intention to conclude it; for at this time he entered into fresh alliances with the kings of *Castile* and *Scotland*; and, as soon as the truce was expired, the joint fleets of *France* and *Spain* came upon the *English* coasts, made several descents, and attempted more; but, except burning the town of *Rye*, did nothing very considerable. It was by the prisoners taken in this expedition that the *French* had an account of king *Edward's* death; which happened near a

^r Ancien. Chron. que de France.

du Gueslin.
de France,

^t POLYD. VIRG. P. AMIL.

^s Histoire de Bertrand

^u Annales

month before, but had been concealed by an embargo *. This was a kind of signal, upon which the armies of *Charles* attacked the *English* on all sides. One army, under the command of the duke of *Burgundy*, entered *Artois*; another entered *Auvergne*, under the command of the duke of *Berry*; that which acted in *Guienne* was commanded by the duke of *Anjou*; and the forces in *Bretagne* were under the constable: the king himself had a very powerful body of troops, that he might be able to repair any accident that happened by the chance of war. The constable joined the duke of *Burgundy*, who found it difficult to deal with the duke of *Berry*, and the seneschal of *Bordeaux*. Soon after the duke of *Berry* and the constable attacked and defeated them, making both their commanders prisoners of war †. This victory was so well pursued, that, at the close of the campaign, *Bayonne* and *Bordeaux*, with the districts about them, and the fortresses of *Calais*, with its dependencies, were all the places left to *England* on the continent; and a strong appearance there was that they would not long keep these; for, besides the weakness natural to a minority, there were already great divisions in the *English* councils ‡.

A. D.
1377.

It is reckoned a very singular honour by the *French* historians to this reign, that the emperor *Charles* the fourth, and his son *Wenceslaus* king of the *Romans*, came to make the king, who was the emperor's nephew, a visit at *Paris*. They were received with all possible marks of respect, and entertained with all imaginable kindness, as well as with the utmost magnificence; but, with all this, *Charles* took care not to push his complaisance so far as to afford the smallest foundation for those claims of superiority, which some princes have been inclined to make from being invested with the imperial dignity. He took occasion, on the contrary, to make some use of this interview, by procuring his son the dauphin to be declared perpetual vicar in the county of *Dauphine*, and the ancient kingdom of *Arles*, which were still reputed dependent on the emperor †. About this time happened the famous process against the king of *Navarre*, on a charge of intending to procure the king to be poisoned; for which some persons suffered, and that king lost his valuable possessions in *Normandy*, by which he had been so troublesome to the *French* crown, and his lordship of *Montpellier*; which

The emperor
Charles
IV. visits
the king at
Paris,
whom makes
a new
treaty
with the
king of
Navarre.

* Ancien. Chronique de France, FROISSART. J. DE SERRES.

† Histoire de Bertrand du Gueslin, H. KNYGHTON, P. ÆMIL.

‡ Ancien. Chronique de France, FROISSART. † Histoire de Bertrand du Gueslin, P. ÆMIL.

A. D.
1378.

was all he had for the the counties of *Champagne* and *Brie*, and the duchy of *Burgundy*; and at this very juncture he was on the point of being deprived of the rest of his dominions, by the infant of *Castile*; but *Edward* the third was now dead, which abated the terror of the *English* arms ^a. The reigning queen of *France*, and the dowager queen *Joan*, deceased this year; which gave the king great concern. Pope *Gregory* the eleventh also died; upon which the cardinals elected an *Italian* prelate, who assumed the name of *Urban*; but, as he had the misfortune to disoblige the cardinal of *Amiens*, the *French* minister, whom he charged with being an enemy to peace, he and his associates chose another, who took the name of *Clement* the seventh, fixed his residence at *Avignon*, and procured himself to be acknowledged by all the crowns in alliance with *France*, except the king of *Castile*, who would acknowledge neither ^b, but maintained a prudent and exact neutrality.

The death
of Charles
V.

A. D.
1379.

THE king thought he could not have any season more proper for executing the great design he had formed, of annexing the duchy of *Bretagne* to the crown; in order to which he proceeded against the duke before the court of peers in parliament, with all possible solemnity; procured him to be attainted of felony, and his duchy, with the rest of the lands he held, to be confiscated, notwithstanding the opposition given by the widow of *Charles de Blois*, in respect to the claim of her children on the extinction of the reigning house ^c. But, contrary to all probability, what was intended for the ruin, produced the restoration, of the duke; for the nobility, who had hitherto followed the *French* party, revolted, recalled and received their natural prince, with all possible testimonies of loyalty and affection, and drove the *French* out of the province. The king, listening to the insinuations of the cardinal of *Amiens*, shewed some coldness to the constable, who thereupon offered to resign his office, and to retire into *Castile*; from which he was, with great difficulty, diverted; and even then declared, without ceremony, that he would not serve against his country ^d. Another egregious slip of the king was, the disbanding at once all the *Breton* officers and soldiers in his service; by which the duke was furnished with a complete army of his own subjects, formed and disciplined at the expence of *France*; with which he gained such advantages as produced a negotiation, and a sort of

^a Ancien. Chronique de France.

^b GAGUINI Hist. P. DANIEL.

^d GAGUINI Hist. DU TILLET.

^c Annales de France,
Ancien. Chron. de France.

project for a peace. The *English*, while the king was thus occupied, began to restore their affairs, and had recovered some considerable places in *Guienne*, and several castles in *Auvergne* and the *Limosin*. The constable was sent, with a considerable body of troops, to repress them; and with these he laid siege to the castle of *Chateaufort de Randan*, in which there was a numerous garrison; who, after a long siege, entered into a capitulation, by which they promised to surrender, in case they were not relieved by the twelfth of *July*. On that very day the constable died, and the governor of the fortress, notwithstanding, brought the keys, and laid them at the feet of his corpse^e. The king, as he had reason, expressed great concern for his death, and ordered his body to be interred in the abbey of *St. Denis*, between the tomb of the queen his wife, and that intended for himself. The earl of *Buckingham*, uncle to *Richard* the second, arrived at *Calais* with a strong corps of troops, and traversed all *France*, tho' not without some loss, in order to throw himself into the country of *Guienne*; which he, at length, performed; and, before the king could well receive advice of this, he was advertised, by the stopping of the issue in his arm, that he had but a small time to live^f. He thereupon sent for the dukes of *Berry*, *Burgundy*, and *Bourbon*, to whom he gave his last instructions as to the government during his son's minority; advised them to give the constable's sword to *Oliver de Clisson*, to marry the young king to a princess of *Germany*, in order to strengthen their alliances, and to remove, as speedily as it was possible, that heavy load of taxes which the necessities of the times had obliged him to impose. He supported the approach of death with great constancy of mind, and, in his last moments, shewed much piety, and a perfect resignation. He breathed his last at a country palace near the wood of *Vincennes*, in the forty-fourth year of his age, and seventeenth of his reign^g, exceedingly regretted by his subjects, and respected, as a wise and religious monarch, by all the princes of *Europe* (D).

CHARLES

^e Ancien. Chronique de France.^f Annales de France.^g Ancien. Chronique de France.

(D) The sagacity of this prince was as much celebrated in his life time as after his demise, and yet it was not more considerable than his modesty. He did nothing without advice, which he received thankfully, and heard patiently; but, in the end, squared his actions by his own judgment, which was always acknowledged to be right, because it was always attended

Charles
VI. suc-

CHARLES the sixth, at the time of his father's decease, was about twelve years old, and consequently under the necessity of

attended with success (1). He had a singular felicity in judging of the characters of men, which was much assisted by his conversing with them very familiarly. He chose his ministers and his generals with great caution; but he treated them with confidence, and never disgraced them. He had an eye to every thing himself, and he had two maxims in economy that were very remarkable. The first was, that he paid liberally; for he had a notion, that, when a king was cheaply served, he was generally cheated: and he paid in ready money, without deduction; which, he thought, went as far again (2). He left an immense treasure behind him, for which he has been censured by some, and commended by others; but, without question, his aim in collecting it was good. He had seen the monarchy on the very point of perishing for want of money, and this, as wise as he was, made him think he could never have too much; he repented this when it was too late, and remitted some of the heaviest taxes the very day that he died (3). He was the founder of the royal library, which is now become one of the principal ornaments of France; he left therein nine hundred vo-

lumes; whereas his father king John had not above twenty (4). He was rather knowing than learned, but he was a lover of learning, and a great patron of learned men, and took so much pleasure in their conversation, that some of the nobility, who were not of that number, took it amiss; upon which Charles said once what ought to be ever remembered, "It is true I love (clerks) men of letters, and I hope my successors will ever esteem them; for so long as learning is cherished and promoted, so long shall this monarchy flourish, and, when it loses its reputation, this kingdom will dwindle and decay (5)." His private life was perfectly regular; he rose early; was punctual in his devotions; dined before noon; slept after dinner; took moderate exercise; was never idle, and went to bed betimes (6). He had a calmness in his temper which those about him often mistook for coldness; with which they sometimes reproached him, which he bore with great patience; and very often they had the news of things being effected, for which they were soliciting his orders; and then the king smiled at their confusion (7). He was less solicitous about glory than any

(1) MSS. de Christine de Pisan, *Hist. de Bertrand du Gueslin*, P. *Æmilii de rebus Franc.* Duplex, *Abbé de Cboisy*. (2) MSS. de Christine de Pisan,

Froissart, J. de Serres, Du Tillet, *Le Gendre, Abbe de Cboisy*. (3) Ga-

guini *Hist. P. Æmil. de rebus Francorum*, *Mexmeray, Le Gendre, Cbalons*.

(4) *Biblioth. du Louvre sous les Rois Charles V. Charles VI. & Charles VII.*

Dissertation historique par M. Borvin, Le Gend. Abbe de Cboisy. (5) MSS.

de Christine de Pisan. (6) *Mem. de Ch. Pisan, Gaguini Hist. Duplex*,

P. Daniel, *Abbe de Cboisy*. (7) *Frois. P. Æmil. de rebus Francorum*,

Du Tillet, Mexmeray, Cbalons.

of having a guardian ; but who that was to be was not easily determined. The duke of *Anjou*, the eldest of the king's uncles, who had quitted the command of the army on the news of his brother's illness, claimed the regency as his right ; and, upon a hearing before the parliament, it was allowed him ^h. The duke of *Berry*, less able but not less ambitious, being for the present excluded, the care of the king's person and education was committed to the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bourbon*, the former his uncle by the father, and the latter his uncle by the mother's side. The young king was, with great splendour, crowned at *Rheims*, and the duke of *Burgundy* took place of his elder brother, the regent, at table, as being the first peer of *France* ⁱ. The sword of constable was given to *Oliver de Clifton*, and most of the heavy taxes were suppressed ; but this was only for a little time. The regent,

^h Ancien. Chronique de France, Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.

ⁱ FROISSART. P. ÆMIL.

of his predecessors, or rather he considered it in another point of light, making the public utility his sole aim; and giving himself very little trouble about what the bulk of his courtiers either said or thought. He was very determined, with a great appearance of irresolution, taking his measures while he seemed to deliberate; by which he frequently defeated oppositions that could not otherwise have been overcome: he was more solicitous about discipline than numbers in his armies, and took care himself about magazines and provisions, which former princes thought beneath them; and had so perfect a comprehension of whatever might happen, that he never wanted resources, either for repairing a loss or improving an advantage (8). His consort *Joan*, the daughter of *Peter* duke of *Bourbon*, was a princess

of exquisite beauty, admirable parts, and exemplary in her conduct; for which reason the king took her into his councils, and advised with her about every thing he did, with a view chiefly to enable her to act as regent during the minority of her son; but she died before him in labour, in 1378. He had by her *Charles*, who succeeded him; *Lewis* duke of *Orleans*, from whom descended the two royal houses of *Orleans* and *Angoulême*; five daughters who died young; *Katherine*, who espoused *John* count of *Montpensier*, son to his brother the duke of *Berry*, by whom she had no issue (9). His body, by his own direction, was interred at *St. Denis*, his heart at the cathedral of *Rouen*, and his entrails at the abbey of *Maubuisson*. Theatrical entertainments were first introduced into *France* in his reign.

(8) *J. de Serres, Du Tillet, P. Daniel, Le Gend. Abbé de Choisy, Guini Hist. Duplex, Menetray, Le Gend. Abbé de Choisy.*

(9) *Ga-*

whom *Joan* queen of *Naples* had adopted, and who, upon her decease, determined to assert his pretensions to that crown, seized all the late king's treasure, which amounted to many millions, his jewels, plate, and whatever else he had of value, to defray the expence of this expedition ^k. The dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy* plundered also; and tho' not with equal success, yet, taking all they could, the heavy taxes, so lately laid aside, were again to be imposed. The late king's servants were ill-treated; the chancellor, who had opposed the duke of *Anjou's* regency, was glad to resign and retire ^l. The bishop of *Amiens*, whom the young king hated, fled to *Avignon*, with an immense sum which he had amassed; and a gentleman of the old king's chamber was forced to discover where his private treasure, consisting of many ingots of gold, lay concealed between two walls; this, however, he did not do, till the duke of *Anjou* sent for an executioner to put him to death. In fine, all things fell into confusion, the duke of *Bourbon* alone acting in a manner becoming his rank, and his near relation to the young king; and even his good intentions were, in a great measure, frustrated by the duke of *Burgundy*, who, tho' he had promised to take care of the young monarch's education, made his court to him by flattering his humour, and indulging him in all kind of diversions, in which lay his sole delight; and this proved, in the course of his life and reign, one principal cause of his misfortunes ^m.

*The people in
Languedoc, and
the inhabitants of
Paris, rise
in arms,
and are
punished
in pursuance.*

In such a situation as this, the *English* might have done much towards restoring their affairs, if the general policy, or rather perfidy, of the age, had not prevented them. The earl of *Buckingham*, with *English* forces, had passed the winter in *Bretagne*; where, at the request of the duke, they had laid siege to *Nantes*, the only place of consequence in this duchy that was still in the hands of the *French*; but, while they were thus employed, he took the opportunity of treating with the crown of *France*; and, having obtained as good terms as he could desire, agreed to quit the *English* interests, and oblige them to return into their own land; which, without much difficulty, he performed ⁿ. The duke of *Berry*, tired of living like a private man, demanded, or was put upon demanding, the government of *Languedoc*, in which he was supported by his brother the duke of *Anjou*, from whom it had been taken in the late reign, on account

^k DUPLEIX, LE GENDRE. ^l Ancien. Chronique de France. ^m Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. ⁿ P. EMIL.

of the exorbitant oppressions of which he had been guilty, and bestowed on the count of *Foix* : but when the duke of *Berry* came to take possession of it, the people peremptorily declared, they would not receive him ; upon which it became necessary to reduce them by force °. The young king, who had a martial spirit, proposed to have marched in person ; but this the duke of *Burgundy* hindered : however the duke of *Berry* prosecuted his design with the greatest strength he could collect, but was beaten by the count *de Foix* ; who reflecting on the consequences of his own victory, and how dear he might be made to pay for this triumph, compromised matters in time, and, withdrawing into his own dominions, left the government in dispute to the duke of *Berry* P. The people of *Paris* enraged, and unable to pay the old and new taxes that were laid upon them, broke out into an insurrection ; in which, having armed themselves with mallets, they were from thence stiled *Mailletins*. They rendered his capital unsafe for the king and his council, and, in the first transports of their resentment, were guilty of some cruelties and violences not to be excused q. The more substantial inhabitants, taking their measures in the night, assembled such a force as dispersed these rioters, and restored the public tranquillity : but the duke of *Anjou*, who knew there was nothing to be got by prosecuting beggars, made these burghers accountable for the mischiefs done by those they had dispersed ; and, having engaged the king his nephew to act against them, in the end extorted one hundred thousand livres for their pardon ; which was all that he wanted. Thus the king's guardian plundered his subjects r.

A.D.
1381.

AN eager desire to gain possession of the crown of *Naples* Charles was what induced the duke of *Anjou* to act in this rapacious manner. When he had accumulated all he could, he proceeded to *Avignon*, to the great joy of the whole nation ; and from thence into *Italy*, with a better army than either of the two last kings had been able to raise ; where, without performing any thing remarkable, except wasting all his treasure to the last shilling, he died of chagrin *. Upon his departure the duke of *Burgundy* had almost the sole management of the king, whom he led with an army of twenty thousand gens d'arms, and sixty thousand foot, to the assistance of his father-in-law *Lewis* count of *Flanders*,

° Ancien. Chronique de France, GAGUINI Hist. P Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. q Ancien. Chronique de France. r Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. * Ancien. Chronique de France.

A.D.
1382.

who were in arms, on account of the enormous taxes he levied to maintain a dissolute court, and to squander on his mistresses and parasites¹. The chief of the commons was *Philip Artevel*, the son of *James* the famous brewer of *Ghent*; and though he was forced into these troubles, yet, being once engaged, he acted with great spirit and prudence, but it may be with too much ferocity, when he ordered no quarter to be given to the *French*, except to the little king *Charles*, whom he directed, if taken, to be brought to him, that being bred up at *Ghent* he might learn to speak good *Flemish*². The first operations of the war were favourable to the *Flemings*, but in a general action at *Rosebecque* they were entirely defeated, with the loss of twenty-five thousand men, amongst whom was their chief. This was followed by the most outrageous acts of severity; and the king having humbled the *Flemings*, as well as restored their count, returned into his own dominions with a victorious army, disposed to obey any orders, without presuming to distinguish whether it could be for the king's service to cut the throats of his subjects, who were in no condition to resist³.

Returning with a victorious army, he chastises those who he thought turned his victory into a calamity. IN their young king's absence the people of *Paris* had fallen into fresh tumults, and been guilty of various acts of indiscretion, urged by the weight of their taxes, and the scandalous manner in which they saw them consumed. They knew the king, or rather his uncles, were exceedingly displeased, and therefore they dreaded his return: but to put the best face they could upon the matter, they armed thirty thousand men very completely, and marched out to meet their monarch by way of parade, but in reality in hopes of making some impression⁴. In this, however, they lost their aim, their force was despised, and the insult was punished. The little king marched into his capital at the head of his forces, took possession of it as if he had entered it by storm, broke some of their gates, beat down the chains, and shut up their streets, compelled them to deliver up their arms, arrested between two and three hundred of their principal townsmen, put some of them to death every day for a fortnight, and amongst them the advocate general, who had been often a mediator between the crown and the people, who was upwards of seventy years old, and whose greatest offence consisted in having been of the party of the duke of

1383.

¹ Ancien Chronique de France.² J. DE SERRES. LEGEND. ³ Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.⁴ GAG.

Hist. FERRERAS.

Anjou ¹. After this the king deprived the city of its privileges; and having extorted an exorbitant sum from the rest of the Burgesſes, diſcharged ſuch of his priſoners as were ſtill in priſon, and had not been included in thoſe warrants by which others were put to death. Much the ſame conduct was uſed to the cities of *Rouen*, *Troyes*, and *Orleans*, and ſeveral other great towns, by which incredible ſums were extorted from the poor people, and ſo little of them applied to the king's ſervice, that the greateſt part of the army was diſbanded, without being paid. The *Engliſh*, under the command of the earl of *Buckingham*, now duke of *Glouceſter*, landing at *Calais*, marched through *Picardy* and *Artois* to the aſſiſtance of the *Flemings* (for the people of *Ghent* ſtill held out), and in conjunction with them beſieged *Ypres*; to the relief of which the king marched with a potent army, which the allies being too weak to reſiſt, raiſed the ſiege, and the *Engliſh* quitting the places they had taken, were at length obliged to fortify *Bourbourg*, where they made ſo gallant a defence, that at length it was agreed to permit them to retire, with all the honours of war, to *Calais* ². The duke of *Bretagne*, at whoſe requeſt it was done, was deeply cenſured, notwithstanding which he had credit enough to negotiate a truce between the two crowns for ſix months; and his power of doing this by dint of influence at the court of *London*, made him more ſuſpected and more hated ³.

THE year following was remarkable for the death of *The duke Lewis*, count of *Flanders*, which happened towards the end of *January*; by which the king's uncle, *Philip*, added to his duchy of *Burgundy* that county, together with thoſe of *Artois*, *Retel*, *Nevers*, and ſeveral other lordſhips, of which ^{in Flanders, and} he went in perſon to take poſſeſſion ^b. There was a negotiation at this time carried on between the dukes of *Berry*, *Burgundy*, and *Bretagne*, on one ſide, and the dukes of *Anjou*, *Lancaster* and *Glouceſter* on the other, for a peace; but it ^{the young duke of} ended only in a continuance of the truce ^c. The duke of *Anjou*, the firſt of the ſecond *French* line of the monarchs ^{king of Sicily.} of *Sicily*, died about this time, under circumſtances which have been before-mentioned: the king took his widow and his ſon under his protection, procured the pope to acknowledge the young prince in quality of king of the *Two Sicilies*, and ſent an army to eſtabliſh him in the county of *Pro-*

¹ Annales de France, P. ÆMIL.
richard II. ² D'ARGENTRE.

³ Anonym. vit. Ri-
^b L'Abbe de CHOISY.

^c DU TILLET.

venez, which he held by the same title. The king being now seventeen, of a very robust and sanguine constitution, his uncles thought it time that he should marry; and this being once declared, a great many princesses were mentioned, such as a daughter of the duke of *Lancaster*, a daughter of the Duke of *Lorrain*, and several others: but the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bourbon*, reflecting on the strict charge the late king had given them, that his son should espouse a princess of *Germany*, they were more inclined to the princess *Isabella*, daughter to the duke of *Bavaria*, of whose wit and beauty they caused a very high report to be made to their nephew ^d. The king declared that he would not follow the custom of princes in binding himself for life to a woman he had never seen; and therefore insisted upon an interview with this princess. This was at length stipulated should be at *Amiens*, where she was brought by her aunt, the duchess of *Brabant*, who took care to give her all the instructions necessary for securing the heart of the young monarch, which she did so effectually at first sight, that he declared immediately his resolution to conclude a marriage, which proved equally fatal to himself and to his subjects ^e.

A.D.
1384.

The young king makes all expedition into Flanders, and sends relief to the Scots.

THE fixing and celebrating the king's marriage did not so entirely occupy the thoughts of his uncles, and other counsellors, as to take off their thoughts from the war; on the contrary, conceiving that the possession of *Galais*, which put it in the power of the *English* to make an offensive war on *France* at their pleasure, was the true reason why they stood upon such high terms, and would not hear of peace without the restitution of *Normandy* as well as *Guienne*, they projected an invasion of *England*, as the most likely means to bring their enemies to reason. As this enterprize required long and vast preparations, they began early, and the port of *Sluys* was appointed for the place of rendezvous ^f. The inhabitants of *Ghent*, and the *Flemings* in general, who continued in arms against the duke of *Burgundy*, having intelligence of this, and having lived long in connection with the *English*, framed a project for burning the *French* fleet in the harbour. This scheme, which was so well laid by the inhabitants of *Dam* that it could scarce have failed, was discovered by one who had engaged in it, which so provoked the king, that he was very easily prevailed upon by the duke of *Burgundy* to transfer the seat of war into the *Low Countries*; where having in person made himself master of

^d J. DE SERRES, P. DAN.
^f BOULANVILLIERS.

^e GAG. Hist. P. HENAUULT.

that place, and punished the people severely, it so much affected the burghers of *Ghent*, that they entered into a negotiation with the duke of *Burgundy*, and submitting to him on certain terms restored peace to the *Low Countries* &. This was a point of great consequence to the duke, who, in the management of the king's affairs, took care to make them turn highly to his own advantage; for having married the king to a princess of *Bavaria*, he from thence took an opportunity of marrying his own son to the daughter and heiress of *Albert of Bavaria*, count of *Zealand*, *Hainault*, and *Holland*, by which he secured to his family that important succession, and vastly augmented his own power, which the *French* patriots considered as but too great before that accession ^h. The same year *John de Vienne*, admiral of *France*, was sent with a powerful succour to the assistance of *Robert II.* king of *Scots*, and, in conjunction with that prince, gained considerable advantages in the north of *England*; so that high and well-founded hopes were entertained of a peace, to be made on advantageous terms, in consequence of this diversion: but the admiral becoming amorous of one of the king's nearest relations, and his officers imitating his gallantry, they found themselves quickly upon so bad terms with their allies, that they were glad to seize the pretence of a short truce to return home, without having done any thing but discrediting their country ⁱ. Many of the *French* historians reproach the *Scots* with their coldness, stupidity, and clownishness, upon this occasion; but a modern writer very fairly owns, that the admiral and those about him were the only people to blame, and who sacrificed to their pleasures their interests and their duty ^k.

A.D.
1385.

THE duke of *Burgundy*, who both proposed and disappointed the expedition against *England*, the preceding year, in order to serve his own turn in the *Low Countries*, was now very forward to carry it into execution. Having disposed the king's forces in such a manner as to prevent any impression from being made on his dominions, he at length assembled a very numerous army in the neighbourhood, and a prodigious fleet in the harbour, of *Sluys*. Some writers say twenty thousand horse, twenty thousand cross-bows, and twenty thousand foot, differently armed, and, which is much more extraordinary, upwards of twelve hundred vessels ⁱ. There was besides a vast wooden edifice, or floating town,

^s Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.
Flandr. ⁱ JUVENAL DE URSINS.
^j FROISSART.

^h MEYER in Annal.
^k LE GENDRE.

which was contrived for the protection of the soldiers when landed; and yet all these stupendous preparations, which cost so much time, trouble, and expence, and of which such great expectations had been raised, came to nothing, thro' the indolence or rather the obstinacy of the duke of *Berry*, who, having been originally against this measure, carried on his part of the armament so slowly, that he did not arrive at *Sluys* till the middle of *September*, when it was found that the season was too far advanced, and that no invasion was then practicable ^m. A storm that happened soon after drove the greatest part of the fleet on shore, and beat the wooden edifice all to pieces; the remains of which the king bestowed upon the duke of *Burgundy*, to whom he also gave the port of *Sluys*, which was then very commodious, and of the utmost importance. This consoled him for the misfortunes of the campaign, and all kind of diversions were contrived to amuse the young king, and render him less attentive to the clamours of the people, who bore with great impatience the prodigious impositions laid upon them without pity, levied with the utmost violence, and then diverted to private uses, or squandered to no purpose ⁿ.

A.D.
1386.

The duke
of Bre-
tagne
seizes the
constable
accuseth
and after-
wards re-
leases him.

In a state weakly governed, every man, who has a high spirit and a competent proportion of power, is apt to fancy himself independent, and to act as if he really was so. The duke of *Bretagne* had long acted in this sort, and was much suspected of corresponding with the *English*; but he was possessed of great abilities as well as power, and he saw that these rendered him so much respected, that he ventured on an action as unaccountable as it was inexcusable. The constable of *Cliffon* had ransomed the two sons of *Charles de Blois*, and had given a daughter of his to the eldest, who continued to bear the arms of *Bretagne*, contrary to treaty; the duke resented this extremely. Having summoned an assembly of his estates, he cajoled the constable till he got him into his power, and then seized and sent him prisoner to a fortress near to the sea side, where, in the height of his passion, he more than once ordered him to be murdered, but those who received his orders were too wise to execute them: at length the duke, after obliging him to render the fortresses he had in his territory, extorted a vast sum of money from him, by way of ransom, and then set him at liberty ^o. The constable complaining to the king of this usage, he was inclined to do him ample justice; but his uncles, who dis-

^m Ancien. Chronique de France. P. ÆMIL.
SERRES, DU TILLET.

ⁿ J. DE
• JUVENAL DE URSINS, LE
GENDRE.

liked the influence of the constable over his young master, obliged the duke to restore the fortresses, refund the money, and let the thing rest there ^P. At this juncture the young king of *England*, *Richard II.* had made an entire change in his administration, not without exciting great commotions amongst his subjects, of which the constable thought to take advantage, by landing with a great body of troops in his dominions; which project was entirely overthrown by this management of the duke of *Bretagne*, who, it was thought, received an equivalent for the restitutions he had been obliged to make in *France* ^q.

THE duke of *Burgundy* prevented the king's attention to his own affairs the next year, by engaging him to turn his arms against the duke of *Gueldres*, who making a speedy submission, left *Charles* at liberty to return into his own kingdom, and to execute the design he had been long meditating, of becoming in fact, as well as in show, the sovereign of his people: he kept his secret till he found a favourable opportunity of doing what he proposed, and then confided it only to those who were to be employed in bringing it to pass: he called a council at *Rheims*, at which were present his uncles, the dukes of *Berry*, *Burgundy*, and *Bourbon*, the princes of the blood, the constable, the archbishop of *Rheims*, the chancellor, and many other persons of distinction in the church and of the robe ^r. The king then acquainted the assembly, that he was under great obligations to his uncles, as well for the trouble they had taken in giving him instructions, as for the pains they had been at in governing the realm, but that, for the future, he was determined to discharge his duty himself, with the assistance of such a council as he should think fit to appoint. The chancellor explained the subject more at large, and then collected the opinions, beginning with the cardinal of *Laon*, who, in a succinct speech, approved and applauded the king's intentions, and, in shew at least, his sentiment was approved by the rest; but the dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy* were extremely displeased, and the cardinal being the chief object of their malice, perished soon after by poison ^s. Of his uncles, the king only retained the duke of *Bourbon*, and the constable, the chancellor, with some other of his father's old officers, made up the new council. The face of affairs was immediately changed; a truce with *England* was concluded for three years, that the king might have leisure to look strictly into the state of his

A.D.
1387.

Charles VI. frees himself and his subjects by assuming the government, and naming a new council.

^P FROISSART, J. DE SERRES. ^q Ancien. Chroniqu: de France. ^r Anonym. vit. Richard II. ^s P. ÆMIL. L'Abbe de CHOISY.

affairs, and to give what ease he could to his people. He began by reforming the parliament and his household, lessened the number and expence of both, restored the liberties and privileges of *Paris*, abolished taxes and imposts, received whatever petitions were brought him, and redressed grievances of every kind with such alacrity, as plainly shewed, however his name might be employed, they did not take their rise from him. As all historians agree he was the best made, the best bred, and the best tempered man in his dominions, it is easy to conceive that, by this change of measures, he became highly popular, insomuch that his subjects bestowed on him the surname of *the Well-beloved*, which he certainly deserved. He was so far from being suspicious, that the most malevolent insinuations made no impression on him; "I had rather (said he) believe well of an ill man, than run the hazard of conceiving an ill opinion of one who behaves well." Being told that a courtier, to whom he had been very kind, spoke amiss of him, he answered, without emotion, "It cannot be true; for how can a man speak evil of us who have done him much good?" He had a very retentive memory, and as he passed through the streets, upon public occasions, not only returned the salutes of private persons, but spoke to them by their names, and enquired after their families. With all this affability there was nothing of artifice, and though he made many promises he never failed to make them good. So many good qualities scarce ever centered in one who made so indifferent a prince.

Makes a tour to Avignon, and in his return visits Languedoc, and redresses the people's grievances. HE loved spectacles; and to indulge this humour caused the queen to make a public entry into *Paris*, after which she was crowned with great solemnity: he then made a tour to *Avignon*, where he saw his cousin *Lewis*, duke of *Anjou*, crowned by pope *Clement* king of the *Two Sicilies*. In his return he examined strictly into the state of affairs in *Languedoc*, received all applications to him graciously, and, in redressing grievances, forgot that the duke of *Berry*, who was the author of most of them, was his uncle, tho' he treated him upon all occasions with great personal respect. In this progress also he visited the count *de Foix*, *Gaston Phœbus*, one of the most accomplished princes of that age; or, as others say, he was visited by him at *Thoulouse*. He was so well pleased with the respect shewn him by *Charles*, that, having no children, he declared him his heir: and as he died

* P. DANIEL.
GENDRE.

* P. ÆMIL. P. HENAULT.
* Anonym. vit. Richard II.

* LE

soon after suddenly, the king might have annexed that county to the domains of the crown, if he had not, at the intercession of the duke of *Berry*, regarded the rights of the count's nephew; yet the duke had not interest enough to preserve his own government, which the king gave away, to prevent his revenging himself upon those who had laid open his tyranny and oppression. The same year his brother the duke of *Touraine*, afterwards duke of *Orleans*, espoused *Valentina*, daughter to the duke of *Milan*, and his cousin german, after a great disappointment in regard to the heiress of *Hungary*, to whom he was contracted, and who by a real or pretended force was prevailed on to espouse another prince.

A D.
1389.

THE king, who was of a very active disposition, who delighted in feats of arms, and who was desirous of distinguishing himself in the field, had often great enterprizes in his head. Sometimes he thought of marching against *Bajazet*, emperor of the *Turks*; at other times he proposed putting an end to the schism which had subsisted for so many years, by putting pope *Clement* the seventh, who resided at *Avignon*, in possession of *Rome*: but his ministers, and more especially the constable, shewed him so clearly what dreadful consequences would follow in case he embarked in either of these enterprizes, that, being convinced, he acquiesced in their council. But they sent troops to the assistance of the *Genoise*, and other allies, and shewed all possible attention to whatever concerned, even in a distant degree, the honour of the crown. The dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy*, though they kept within the bounds of their duty, were extremely mortified by their exclusion from court, which they attributed entirely to the constable; and by their connivance at least, if not encouragement, the duke of *Bretagne* made no great haste in the performance of his treaty, and particularly in restoring the lands which belonged to the count *de Penthièvre*, son-in-law to the constable; upon which he invaded the territory of the duke, and great disorders were committed on both sides. The duke of *Lancaster* came over to negotiate a peace, in which finding much more difficulty than he expected, he contented himself with renewing the truce for another year. The death of the duchess of *Orleans* gave the king an opportunity of bestowing on his brother that title and duchy, not much to

1390.

7 GAGUINI Hist. P. HENAU. T.
DANIEL. 2 FROISSART, P. ÆMIL.
nique de France.

2 MEZERAY, P.
Ancien. Chron.

the satisfaction of the inhabitants, who were very unwilling to fall under the dominion of a prince of the blood ^c. This was chiefly owing to what had happened to the people of *Languedoc*, under the administration of the duke of *Berry*, and what they were still like to suffer; for that prince had obliged the baron *de Chevreuse*, his successor, to leave it, and resign the government into the king's hands, by threats of causing him to be assassinated ^d. At length, not without difficulty, the king restored peace on the side of *Bretagne*, or rather suspended the war; for the duke remained the irreconcilable enemy of the constable, who was no less hated by the dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy*, all the malecontents referring their supposed grievances to him, because he was at the head of the council and stood highest in the king's favour; and because that, from being a private gentleman, he had raised himself by his merit to such high honours, and by his prudence and œconomy had acquired an immense fortune; which his enemies not only envied, but in case of a confiscation were in hopes they might share ^e.

A.D.
1391.

P. Craon
attempts
to assassi-
nate the
constable
deClisson,
and leaves
him for
dead.

AMONGST the lords who made a figure at court, there was one *Peter Craon*, a man of parts and pleasure, but very profligate. He had been the confident of the regent duke of *Anjou*, and was intrusted to bring him supplies of money when he was in *Italy*; but he betrayed his trust, and lavished in his debaucheries at *Venice*, what should have supported his master and his friends at *Naples*, who perished for want of it ^f. At his return to *France* he was prosecuted, and paid a large fine; but being well with the rakes at court, and becoming the declared favourite of the duke of *Orleans*, he had more credit than ever. The knowledge he had of that prince's intrigues proved his ruin; for, hoping to gain the esteem of the duchess, he informed her of some things; she, to bring about a reconciliation, gave him up to the duke, who would have had him assassinated; but the whole tale coming to the king's ears, he forbid him the court, and ordered him to retire to his own estate, which he did ^g. There, distracted with his disgrace, which he attributed entirely to the constable, he took the cruel resolution of murdering him, and having dispatched a band of assassins, one by one, to *Paris*, he followed them thither. As the constable returned from court about midnight, with a few attendants,

^c Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. GAGUINI Hist. ^d MEZ-
ZERAY, P. DANIEL. ^e P. HENAUT, L'Abbe de CHOISY.
^f Anonym. vit. Richard II. JUV. DES URSINS. ^g DU
TILLET.

he attacked him with his band of ruffians, and left him for dead, after they had given him fifty wounds^b. *Craon* making his escape fled into *Bretagne*, where the duke, out of enmity to the constable, received and protected him. In a month's time that great man recovered, to the amazement of the court, and to the great joy of the king his master, who caused such of the assassins as could be seized to be put to death, condemned *Craon* to the like punishment, causing his house to be demolished, which has since been converted into a church-yardⁱ.

THE king having demanded *Craon* to be sent him in chains by the duke of *Bretagne*, that prince answered that he knew nothing of him; to which the king yielding no credit, marched with all the forces he could collect into his territories, notwithstanding the pains taken by the dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy* to appease him, who, after being so long kept from court, were recalled to accompany him in this expedition^k. The army arriving at *Mans*, the king was seized with a slow fever, but could not be prevailed upon to rest or take physic. On the fifth of *August*, having marched all day in the heat of the sun, a miserable, ragged, wild-looking fellow, darted from behind a tree, and laying hold of the bridle of his horse, cried out "Stop! where are you going king? you are betrayed," and immediately withdrew again into the wood. The king passing on, not a little disturbed, it happened that one of the two pages who rode behind him and carried his lance, overcome with heat, fell asleep, and let it fall upon the helmet which was carried by the other; the king, hearing a tinckling noise, looked behind, and seeing the page lifting the spear killed him immediately; then riding furiously with his sword drawn, he struck on every side and at every body, till having broke his sword, one of his gentleman leaped up behind him and held his arm^l. He fell soon after, and lay as if he had been dead; so that being taken up and tied in a waggon, he was carried back to *Mans*, where he fell into a lethargy that lasted for two days, and then he came a little to himself^m. This accident put an end to the war. The dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy* seized the government, excluding the duke of *Orleans*, whom his brother, at the time he became frantic, had like to have killed. At their return to *Paris* they sent the king's principal ministers to several prisons, bestowed the office of

The king marching into Bretagne, is attacked with a sudden phrensy.

A.D.
1392.

^b P. ÆMIL. J. DE SERRES.

ⁱ GAGUINI Hist. LE GPND.

^k DUPLEIX.

^l JUV. DES URSINS.

^m Ancien. Chronique de France,

constable on *Philip de Artois*, count *d'Eu*, *Oliver de Clifson* having retired into *Bretagne*, where he defended his lands against the duke with such spirit and courage, as at length forced him to seek a reconciliation ⁿ. In the winter the king so far recovered, as to save the lives of his ministers, whom his uncles had procured to be condemned, but he was obliged to banish them, to gratify those in whose hands he was ^o.

His indisposition is augmented by another singular and unfortunate accident.

HISTORY scarce affords any parallel of a court or country more corrupt, and at the same time more miserable, than that of this unfortunate prince and his subjects, in consequence of his misfortune: all was discord and confusion, intrigues, debauchery, and dissension. The dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy* ruled the kingdom, excluding the duke of *Orleans*, under pretence of his youth, from any share in the government, and even from the shadow of power. It was not so with his duchess, the daughter of the duke of *Milan*, and the grand-daughter of king *John*; young, beautiful, and insinuating, she acquired such an empire over the king, that she governed him at her pleasure; and, which is more extraordinary, it was she only that could govern him, for in the time of his malady he knew nobody else, not even the queen ^p. This offended the duchess of *Burgundy* extremely, who could not endure to see so much court paid to that princess, for the sake of the influence she had over the distempered king; and, as is too frequently the case, the quarrels between the wives extended themselves to their husbands, and produced that furious and implacable hatred, which in its effects was so pernicious, and in the end was very near proving destructive to *France*. To render the duchess of *Orleans* odious to the people, it was given out that she had bewitched the king, and, to heighten the odium, it was said that the duke of *Orleans* had also bewitched the queen. But the most candid writers confess, that there was no ground to suspect any other kind of magic than what flowed from the assiduity of the young and handsome, when unrestrained by principle or sentiment they give a loose to their passions. When the king, through the care of his physicians, seemed to be tolerably well recovered, another unlucky and unforeseen accident deprived him again of his senses ^q. The queen married one of her ladies of honour, a *German*, to a person of distinction about the court, and the marriage was

ⁿ Ancien. Chronique de France. Du Tillet.

Hist. DUPLEIX.

^p J. DE SERRES.

^q Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.

to be kept with great solemnity at the palace of the queen dowager, relict of *Philip de Valois*. Amongst other amusements there was to be a masque, which gave occasion to some young lords to appear in the dress of savages, made of linen, which sat close to their bodies, covered with rosin, which while hot had been powdered over with down, that they might appear like satyrs; the count *de Joigny*, *Jobain* natural son to the count *de Foix*, the son of the count *de Valentinois*, *Nantouillet*, and *Guifai* one of the esquires of the body, were of this party, and the king made the sixth. This trivial secret was so well kept, that, when they came to the ball, they were not known, but their whim was mightily applauded; the duchess of *Berry*, seeing him robust and well-made, laid hold of the king, and told him she would not part with him till she knew who he was. In the mean time the other five began the dance, when the duke of *Orleans*, out of levity, making a shew of running a lighted torch against one of the savages, set his habit on fire, which quickly communicated the flame to the rest, and changed this scene of wanton mirth into sorrow and distress.

IN the midst of their torments, the masks roared out continually save the King, save the king. The duchess of *Berry* immediately recollected that he must be the mask which stood by her, and thereupon throwing her robes over him, and wrapping them close about him, put out the fire: *Nantouillet*, by jumping into cistern of water, saved his life; the other four were so terribly burnt that they died in two days; and the king was so much affected with the fright and with grief, that it caused a relapse. After this the king had four or five fits every year to the time of his death. He grew heavy and uneasy the evening before the fit, and the next morning, as soon as he awaked, appeared either furious or foolish. Sometimes he was boisterous and cruel, at others melancholy and full of tears; and sometimes he would laugh and play like a child, but knew nobody, and would take nothing, save only the duchess of *Orleans*, and from her hands. In his lucid intervals his uncles took care to amuse him with diversions of every kind, and, to the utmost of their power, hindered his addicting himself at all to business, under colour of concern for his health: this was of a piece with their politics in the time of his minority; but they acted more wisely in another respect, since, contenting

* JUVENAL DES URSINS. Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.
 † Ancien. Chronique de France. GAGUIN Hist. P.
 HENAUULT.

A. D.
1393.

themselves with the annual and entire revenue of the crown, they did not, as before, oppress the people with taxes; and perceiving that the passion which prevailed at court for gaming began to extend itself into the provinces, they took care, by good laws, to stop the progress of this malady, and to substitute martial and manly exercises, instead of such methods of consuming their leisure time ^u. They shewed likewise great respect to the parliament, which now began to sit through the year, with only some short vacations, according to the regulations prescribed by the king, who made several other rules, that were so prudent and useful as to be ever since retained ^w.

Accommodates all disputes with king Richard II. who espouses his daughter Isabel.

THE government of *France* did all that lay in their power to compose the schism that had so long disturbed the church, and laboured earnestly to persuade the two popes to resign their dignities, to facilitate a measure of so great importance. But the pontiffs, who never could agree in any thing before, understood each other's mind in this, and concerted their excuses so well, that *Clement*, who resided at *Avignon*, died in possession of the papal character; and, notwithstanding the opposition of the crowned heads, the cardinals of his faction chose *Peter de Luna*, a *Spaniard*, who assumed the name of *Benedict* the thirteenth, and proved even more intractable than his predecessor ^x. The truce with *England* was prolonged from time to time, till at length king *Richard II.* found it expedient to marry the princess *Elizabeth*, the daughter of *Charles*, though a child; upon which they had an interview with each other, and concluded a truce for thirty years. On this occasion *Charles* prevailed upon the king of *England* to restore the important fortress of *Brest* to the duke of *Bretagne*, who had mortgaged it to his grandfather for an immense sum of money: he also redeemed *Cherbourg* in *Normandy*, which belonged to *Charles the Noble*, king of *Navarre*, to whom he gave the duchy of *Nemours*, as an equivalent for his estates in that province, and for all his other pretensions ^y. On the other hand, the king of *England* procured the pardon of *Peter Craon*, and the restitution of his lands, who, at his return to *Paris*, shewed himself a most exemplary penitent, and employed his revenues in making satisfaction to a multitude of persons whom he had injured ^z. The *Genoese*, wearied with domestic troubles and foreign wars, put themselves under the protec-

^u GAGUINI Hist. LE GEND.

^w JUVENAL DES URSINS.

^x P. DANIEL.

^y J. DE SERRES.

^z Ancien. Chronique de France.

tion of *France*^a. On the contrary, the count of *Perigord* having assembled a considerable body of troops, made use of them to subdue by force several places to which he had pretensions, without respecting the arrears of parliament, or the king's orders. One of the marshals of *France* being sent against him, beat his troops, besieged him in one of his fortresses, and, having constrained him to surrender, carried him prisoner to *Paris*, where his process was quickly made, in consequence of which he was condemned to lose his head and his lands. The duke of *Orleans* interposed, and by that means preserved the one and acquired the other; for this young prince was yet more violent and more rapacious than his uncles, and one way or other had amassed prodigious wealth, besides many counties and seigniories, omitting nothing that could extend his power or augment his wealth^b.

A.D.
1395.

SIGISMUND, king of *Hungary*, being attacked by *Baja-Zet*, emperor of the *Turks*, demanded, in very humble terms, the assistance of the crown of *France*, to which indeed he had little pretence, since he had carried away by force, and espoused, the heiress of *Hungary*, at a time when she was contracted to the duke of *Orleans*^c. However, the great humility of the application having effaced the memory of the affront, the flower of the *French* nobility marched to his assistance. At the head of these forces was *John*, duke of *Nevers*, eldest son to the duke of *Burgundy*, the count *de Eu*, constable of *France*; the count *de la Marche*, prince of the blood, the marshal *de Boucicaut*, the sieur *de Coucy*, *John de Vienne*, admiral of *France*, the princes of *Bar*, the sieurs *Sempi* and *Tremouille*, *Rainald de Roie*, with upwards of two thousand gentlemen, at their own expence. It is agreed, that there never appeared a body of troops better equipped, more warlike, or more wicked^d. They forced king *Sigismund* to fight the *Turks* at great disadvantage; the battle was lost entirely through their imprudence, in which the admiral *John de Vienne* was killed upon the spot; the count *de Eu*, and the sieur *de Coucy*, died in prison; the count *de Nevers*, the marshal *de Boucicaut*, and the rest of the princes, were ransomed at a vast expence, which did not displease the Duke of *Burgundy* his father, who, under colour of his son's ransom, levied twice as much upon the people^e. This was

The count
of *Nevers*
and the
constable
d'*Eu*, go
with a
corps of
troops a-
gainst the
Turks.

1396.

^a Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. P. DANIEL. ^b GAG.
Hist. Du TILLET, BOULANVILLE. ^c JUV. DES URSINS.
Ancien. Chronique de France, LE GENDRE. ^d P. EMIL.
DUPLEIX, J. DE SERRIS. ^e Hist. Anonym. de Charles
VI. LE GEND,

the famous defeat of *Nicopolis*, which rendered the *French* equally odious in the eyes of the *Turks* and of their own allies. The office of constable was bestowed on the marshal *de Sancerre*^f. The next year the king had more frequent returns of his malady than ever, and was once surprized so suddenly, that he called to the duke of *Burgundy* to take his dagger from his side; adding, "I had rather die than injure any of my subjects." His daughter the princess *Mary*, a child of five years old, was sent to a nunnery, in pursuance of the king's vow; and the queen dowager *Blanch* of *Navarre*, widow of *Philip de Valois*, died universally regretted g.

The emperor makes a tour to Paris, and Henry IV. supplants Richard II. in England. THE emperor *Wenceslaus* made a tour into *France*, in order to visit the king, and to concert measures for obliging pope *Benedict* to resign, as the only effectual means for putting an end to the schism; but the king being attacked by his disease, during the emperor's residence at court, the projects concerted with him came to nothing. The marshal *de Boucicaut*, however, was sent to besiege the pope in his palace, which he did, but with very little effect; for the duke of *Orleans*, merely because he was attacked by the dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy*, became his protector, and in the king's lucid intervals set aside what they did by their own authority at other times^h. *Henry*, earl of *Derby*, son to *John of Gaunt*, duke of *Lancaster*, having been banished from *England*, after visiting other foreign countries came into *France*, where he was received very kindly, and treated with great marks of esteem; but returning into *England*, under pretence of demanding his inheritance on the death of his father, he found the affections of the people so much alienated from the king his cousin, that he found it no difficult matter to depose *Richard*, and to seat himself on his throneⁱ. The *French* were not much disturbed at this event, because they flattered themselves that the people of *Guienne*, and more especially the inhabitants of *Bordeaux*, where *Richard* was born, and where he was still exceedingly beloved, would have revolted. But they found themselves mistaken; upon which the king sent the sieur *Albret* to king *Henry* to demand his daughter, who with some difficulty was restored; but, as the *French* writers say, no part of her dowry was returned. The next year died *John the*

^f P.ÆMIL. J. DE SERRES, P. HENAUT, L'Abbe de CHOISY.

^g Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. Ancien. Chronique de France.

^h GAO. Hist. MEZERAY, P. DAN. ⁱ Anonym. vit. Richard II. LE GENDRE.

Vaudant, duke of *Bretagne*, full of years, and covered with glory ^k.

He left his children to the protection of the duke of *Burgundy*, and to the care of his old enemy, but older friend, *Bretagne Oliver de Clisson*, who, after his disgrace at the court of *France*, retired to his own estate in *Bretagne*, where, with the troops which his own reputation and the assistance of his friends, particularly of the duke of *Orleans*, enabled him to assemble, he defended himself so gallantly against the duke, that he proposed a truce and a conference, and sent his son to *Clisson* as a hostage for his safety. *Clisson* complied with the invitation, and carried the young prince with him. The duke, amazed and confounded at this act of generosity, after what had passed between them, frankly granted him his own terms, and ever after confided in him as his best friend, leaving to him the regency of his dominions when he went to the court of *France*, and, as the highest testimony of esteem, the care of his children at his death ^l. How well he merited this act of confidence immediately appeared. He was himself ill, and kept his bed at the time of the duke's death. His daughter, the countess of *Penthièvre*, who had married the competitor to the late duke, proposed to him roundly dispatching the duke's children to make room for her own. Instead of making her an answer, *Clisson* laid hold of the javelin that stood at the head of his bed, and threw it after her as she ran down stairs; she tumbling thro' fear and haste broke her thigh, and, by her lameness ever after, testified her father's honour and her own disgrace ^m. The duke's eldest son succeeded, and from his care received an excellent education,

A. D.
1399.

Wenceslaus, emperor of *Germany*, being deposed by the electors, who sent the duke of *Bavaria*, the queen's father, to the court of *France*, to justify what they had done, the duke of *Orleans*, notwithstanding his regard for the queen, declared in favour of *Wenceslaus*, and led an army into *Germany* to restore him; but having secured the duchy of *Luxembourg*, which that prince had sold him, and finding that *Wenceslaus* himself was content with the kingdom of *Bohemia*, he returned without performing any thing of importance ⁿ. About this time also the marshal *de Boucicaut* returned from *Constantinople*, which city he most gallantly defended against the *Turks*; and not long after came the em-

^k Ancien. Chronique de France. GAG. Hist.
SERRES. ^m Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.
GENÈRE.

^l J. DE
ⁿ LE

A.D.
1400.

peror *Manuel Paleologus* himself, to intreat farther assistance against *Bajazet*; from whom, for the present, he was delivered by the famous *Tamerlane*, who, after his victory, is said to have written letters to king *Charles*, and to have made a treaty with the crown of *France*. *Archambaude de Grailli*, brother to the famous captal *de Buch*, by the death of the count *de Foix*, inherited that country: but having taken possession of it without the king's consent, the constable was sent against him with an army; and though he was not very successful, yet the count thought fit to come to *Paris*, where having made great submissions, and done homage to the king, he was received into high favour, the rather, because he frankly declared that he never would have quitted the *English* interest, but for the murder of *Richard of Bourdeaux*, the son of his beloved master the *black Prince* °. The king's disease was now grown to such a height, that, even during his lucid intervals, his brain was so weak, that it was improper to trouble him with business. In this situation he granted commissions to the proper officers, for executing justice and expediting public affairs †. The duke of *Burgundy* making a tour into his own dominions, the duke and duchess of *Orleans* made so good use of that opportunity, and of the influence they had over the king and queen, that they prevailed upon *Charles*, who was then in his senses, to grant a commission, creating the duke his brother lieutenant-general and governor of the realm, at such times as, through the visitation of God, he was himself unable to administer public affairs ‡. The duke of *Orleans*, in virtue of this commission, imposed a general and heavy tax, from which even the ecclesiastics were not exempted: the weather being very unseasonable, and the scarcity of necessities great throughout the whole kingdom, this gave the duke of *Burgundy* great advantage, inasmuch as, at his return, he vowed publickly in parliament, that what was alleged of his consent to that edict was an absolute falsity, since, notwithstanding an offer had been made him of an enormous sum of money, he had constantly refused it §. The two dukes arming, and each of them having his allies, the kingdom was in great danger of being torn by a civil war. At length the duke of *Bourbon* interfering as their common friend, engaged them both to quit the court till things could be adjusted. When the king was next in health he put the

° Ancien Chronique de France. Du TILLET. † GAO.
Hist. P. DAN. ‡ Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. MEZ.
§ Du TILLET.

question in his council, his uncle and his brother being absent, so that their votes were free; in which situation the majority of votes was for the duke of *Burgundy* *.

IN quality of tutor to the young duke of *Bretagne* and his brothers, the duke of *Burgundy* certainly rendered a very considerable service to the crown of *France*, by bringing the three young princes, *John*, *Arthur*, and *Giles*, to *Paris*, which entirely defeated the views of *Henry IV.* of *England*, who, by marrying their mother the duchess dowager, had in view strengthening the *English* interest in *Bretagne* †. The duke of *Orleans*, who, tho' inferior in age and prudence, was to the full as ambitious as the duke of *Burgundy*, sent a challenge to king *Henry*; who answered, that, as a king, he could not take notice of such letters if they did not come from a crowned head. The duke replied that he was no king, but a traitor, a murderer of his prince, and a usurper. *Henry* rejoined in the same language, that the duke was a turbulent and ambitious prince, who had bewitched his brother that he might seize the royal authority, which he was unable to manage. These disputes occasioned animosities, and even hostilities, between the two nations; which, tho' entirely founded in pique and self-interest, yet both sides endeavoured to colour by specious pretences †. The *French* exclaimed, that the marriage portion received with queen *Isabel* was not restored, which the *English* admitted, but offered to deduct it out of what was still due for king *John's* ransom †. The constable *Sancerre* dying, the king bestowed the sword upon *Charles*, lord of *Albret*, his cousin, a young man very nobly born, but without experience. The queen was delivered of son, who succeeded afterwards to the crown †. The marshal *de Boucicaut* was sent to command in *Genoa*, where he governed with so much severity that he rendered his nation odious. The death of the duke of *Milan*, father to the duchess of *Orleans*, weakened the interest of the *French* in *Italy*; and the schism still continuing, served to disturb and distract their affairs; so that the residence of one of the pretenders to the papacy at *Avignon* did them no good †.

THE close correspondence between the duke of *Orleans* and the queen, which was not without scandal, enabled them, however, to maintain their authority, and to plunder the people, which they did without mercy. On the other hand, the duke of *Burgundy*, either grown wiser from ex-

The duke of Burgundy secures the duchy of Bretagne and his brethren to the French interest.

A. D.
1040.

Beginning of those disputes between the houses of Orleans

* Ancien. Chronique de France.
Charles VI.

† Hist. Anonym. de
THO. WALSHING-

HAM. † GAGUINI Hist.

† P. HENNAULT.

and Burgundy, which proved so fatal to France.

perience, or out of a desire of opposing them, was a constant enemy to the imposition of new taxes, and laboured all he could to relieve and protect the people; and this occasioned his death, which happened at *Hall* in *Hainault*, to be exceedingly regretted² (E). He was succeeded in the greatest

² DU TILLET, MEZERAY.

(E) *Philip the Hardy*, duke of *Burgundy*, was going to take possession of the duchy of *Brabant*, in the name of his second son, when he was seized with an epidemic distemper, which then prevailed, at an inn, that had for its sign the great hart, in the town of *Hall* in *Hainault*, where he deceased on the 27th of *April*, 1404, in the sixty-third year of his age. He was the favourite of his father; and some historians have thought it a weakness in his brother *Charles the Wise*, that he so earnestly laboured to procure him the heiress of *Flanders*, by which he became at least as rich, and very near as potent, as himself. These historians did not certainly consider, that, in whatever light it appeared to them, both king *John* and his son *Charles the Wise*, esteemed it a great act of policy; and it is but reasonable to suppose, that, in their own times, they could judge better of their own affairs than we at this distance. It may not be amiss to observe, that his consort *Margaret*, daughter to *Lewis III.* count of *Flanders*, though a maid, was the widow of *Philip de Rouvre*, the last duke of *Burgundy*, of the former line; so that it was probably with a view to this match, and at the same time to gratify the affection that he had for his favourite son, that, after

solemnly uniting *Burgundy* to the crown of *France*, king *John* separated it again in favour of *Philip*, though he did not live long enough to accomplish this marriage. *Lewis*, count of *Flanders*, had been always in the *English* interest, and proposed marrying his heiress to one of the sons of *Edward III.* which he knew would have been very acceptable to his subjects, and which, as *Charles the Wise* very rightly foresaw, would sooner or later have been the ruin of *France*; which shews us that, after all, his confirming the duchy to, and procuring this marriage for, his brother, was no such solecism in politics as has been pretended. Yet, whether a right or wrong step, it had never been compassed but for the zeal of the young heiress's grandmother, who was so zealous in the cause of her country, which was *France*, that she told the count her son, if he persisted in his design of marrying his daughter to a son of *Edward*, she would cut off the breast that suckled him; which shews what a point was made of this marriage, and of what consequence it was esteemed. By this marriage he became very powerful, and had as large a revenue as any monarch of his time; but he had a mind still greater than his fortune, and the magnificence

greatest part of his dominions by his son *John*, count of *Nevers*, who, in point of ambition, was equal, in courage superior, but in abilities, or at least in moderation, very unlike his father. The queen and the duke of *Orleans* excluded him entirely from the government; and if they had acted with any tolerable temper and prudence, they might very probably have preserved the authority they had gained; but while they had nothing so much at heart as this, they acted as if it had been their intention to lose it. They took all possible methods, mean as well as oppressive, to amass wealth, and, when they had acquired it, they spent it as unworthily^a. The queen was said to send large sums into *Germany*, that, in case of any accident, she might have wherewithal to subsist: as for the duke, he was continually purchasing lands, tho' he would never pay his debts. Their courts were numerous and splendid, while those of the king and his children were so ill provided, that the people began to murmur. The king, in one of his lucid intervals, hearing how his children were used, sent for the dauphin's governors, and upon her owning that they sometimes wanted

A. D.
1404.^a *Annales de France* MONSTRELET, P. ÆMIL.

cence with which he lived swallowed up all, insomuch that, when he came to be buried, as he was with great magnificence in the chartreuse at *Dijon*, of which he was founder, the duchess his widow, according to the practice of those times, took off her girdle, with the purse and bunch of keys hanging to it, and laid it by his effigies, which had been carried in state, signifying thereby that she renounced, for herself and children, all claim to his personal estate, which came to, and was divided amongst, his creditors. *Philip the Hardy* had by this princess three sons and as many daughters; - *John*, who succeeded him in the duchy and county of *Burgundy*; *Anthony*, who became duke of *Brabant* and *Limburg*; and *Philip*, who became

count of *Nevers* and *Rethel*; *Margaret*, who was the second consort of *William* of *Bavaria*, count of *Holland* and *Zealand*; *Mary*, who espoused *Amadeus* VIII. duke of *Savoy*; and *Katherine*, who became the consort of *Leopold* III. duke of *Austria*. It is necessary to observe, that *Margaret*, his widow, died of an apoplexy, on the 20th of *March* following, at the age of fifty-five; on which her son *John*, duke of *Burgundy*, succeeded to *Flanders*, and all its dependencies, which rendered him as formidable as ever his father had been, and inspired him with the hopes of governing *France* in the same manner he had done, without considering that himself was the cousin only to the reigning monarch, whereas his father *Philip* was his uncle.

A.D.
1405.

food, and often cloaths, the king, fetching a deep sigh, gave her a gold cup, out of which he drank, adding, that pomp was ridiculous were necessities were wanting ^b. He ordered, however, a general council to be called of all the princes of the blood, to which the duke of *Burgundy* was expressly summoned. He came accompanied with a considerable force; and then the dukes of *Berry* and *Bourbon*, the kings of *Navarre* and *Sicily*, declared openly against the queen and the duke of *Orleans*, who thereupon withdrew to *Melun*, and attempted to carry away the dauphin and the king's children: but the duke of *Burgundy*, to whose daughter he was contracted, and whose son was to marry his sister, pursued and brought him back ^c. Things continued for some time in very great disorder, insomuch that a civil war was apprehended; the duke of *Orleans's* party having attacked the duke of *Berry* in his house in the night; but being repulsed, and finding his party too weak, and himself too much hated, to do any thing by force, he acquiesced in a provision, that, during the times of the king's absence (which was a phrase they made use of to express his madness), the kingdom should be governed by a council of state, composed of the princes of the blood; upon which a kind of outside reconciliation ensued ^d.

Duke of
Orleans
murdered
by the
command
of the duke
Burgun-
dy, who
is forced
to with-
draw.

As the two dukes continued to hate one another as passionately as ever, and were reciprocally framing plots to each other's prejudice, the other princes of the blood persuaded them rather to shew their courage and their power by expelling the *English* out of the kingdom: pursuant to this advice, the duke of *Orleans* marched into *Guienne*, where the constable had already taken several places, and extorted a great sum of money from the inhabitants of *Bordeaux*; and the duke of *Burgundy* at the same time, at the head of very numerous forces, entered *Picardy* ^e. They could not have a more favourable opportunity of achieving what they proposed; for *Henry IV.* found himself so embarrassed by secret conspiracies and open rebellions, that it was not in his power to carry on the war with *France* as he would otherwise have done. Yet both the princes failed; the duke of *Orleans* rising before *Blaye*, which he had besieged, and, on his return to *Paris*, procuring the king's orders to the duke of *Burgundy* to quit the siege of *Calais*, in which he had made very little progress ^f. These disappointments made

1406.

^b MONSIELET, MEZ.^c JUV. DES URSINS.
WALSINGHAM, P. ÆMIL.^e MEYER in Annal. Flandr.^f GAGUINI Hist.^g THOM.

the princes more furious; the duke of *Burgundy* attributing his disgrace entirely to the duke of *Orleans*, and the latter affirming, that, during his campaign in *Guienne*, he had not been properly supplied with money: new intrigues were commenced, new violences committed, and a new civil war was on the point of breaking out, when the duke of *Berry* interposed, who had been very ill treated by the duke of *Orleans*, and who had no great cause to be satisfied with the duke of *Burgundy*: but they were both his nephews, and his intercession was so cordial, and his whole conduct so impartial, that, overcome with his importunities, they consented to a reconciliation, which was sealed with the solemn rites of the altar, both of them swearing, in the presence of God, to live in perfect friendship and fraternal unity for the future &c. Within three days after this solemn act, the duke of *Orleans* being, as usual, at the queen's lodgings, where he spent his evenings, a person came in haste to inform him that the king desired to speak with him immediately, on an affair of importance; the duke, mounted on his mule, preceded by two pages, and followed only by two of his domestics, set out for the *Hotel de St. Pol*, where the king lodged, and in his passage was attacked by a company of about twenty ruffians, commanded by one whom he had removed from a trifling office in the king's service, who with his pole ax cut off his hand that rested on the side of his mule ^b. He cried out immediately, "I am the duke of *Orleans*!" It is he, replied the assassin, for whom we wait, and with a second blow cleft his skull. One of his servants, a *Fleming*, endeavoured to cover his body with his own, and was dispatched with him. The assassins then made their escape with such expedition and address, that they were none of them known ⁱ. This execrable action was committed on the twenty-third, or, as some say, on the twenty-second of *November*. The author for some days was not known or suspected, appearing publicly, and assisting at the funeral of the duke (F). But

^e GAGUINI Hist. POLYD. VIRG.
DANIEL.

ⁱ BOULANVILLIERS.

^b MEZERAY, P.

(F) *Lewis* of France, duke and *Chateaubierri*, was in his of *Orleans*, count of *Valois*, person the most amiable man of his time, more elegant and less robust than the king his brother. He had great natural parts, and these were improved by a good education, under the

But the provost of *Paris* being sent for by the council, to know what discoveries or what enquiries he had made, he demanded leave to search the houses of the princes themselves, which was given him *. The king of the *Two Sici-*

* GAGUINI Hist. MEZERAY.

the care of his uncle the duke of *Bourbon*; so that he was, in all respects, a most accomplished prince: but thro' the licentiousness and corruption of the times, his manners were wholly spoiled, and he had not only great but opposite vices. He was ambitious and indolent at the same time, avaricious to a degree of rapacity, and yet profuse to the utmost degree of extravagance; amassing all he could, and by all means; but so void of justice, that he paid nobody, and treated his creditors with scorn and ridicule. By fits, and as he was alarmed by any untoward accident, religious, we should have said superstitious, but that his last will plainly shews, in his serious moments, he made a right judgment of things, knowing very well that foundations and alms were not acts of piety, when not accompanied with justice and equity: but his great vice was women; and, as if this had not been sufficient to render him odious, he is said to have kept a cabinet, in which were the pictures of his mistresses, and to have celebrated his success in amours by poems and songs. The scandal he was under, with respect to the queen, did him great hurt, and the violent methods he took to enrich himself made him universally hated. On the other hand, his duchess *Valentine* was

wonderfully handsome, had a great deal of wit, and such an ascendancy over the king, that she alone was known to and approached him safely in his madness, fell under a greater load of odium than he, from the vulgar persuasion, that she had enchanted him, as if beauty, wit, and youth, stood in need of magic. The clamour, however, ran sometimes so high, that she was obliged to be absent from court, where she was not much beloved by the queen, and mortally hated by dukes of *Burgundy*. By this princess, when murdered in the flower of his age, the duke of *Orleans* left three sons and one daughter; *Charles*, duke of *Orleans*, count of *Vertus*, contracted to the daughter of the duke of *Burgundy*, but not married, who left only a natural son, styled the bastard of *Vertus*, and *John* count of *Angoulême*. The daughter, *Margaret*, became the wife of *Richard*, count of *Epampes*, son to *John V.* duke of *Bretagne*. This duchess *Valentine* survived the duke little more than a year, and is much celebrated for her affection for his natural son *John*, styled the bastard of *Orleans*, whom he had by *Mariette de Enghein*, the wife of *Aubert de Cail*, a gentleman of *Picardy*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak very largely in the course of this history,

lies looking at this time upon the duke of *Burgundy*, saw him change countenance; and soon after he confessed to that prince, and to the duke of *Berry*, that it was by his order the duke of *Orleans* was killed; upon which they advised him to retire, which he did, accompanied only by five persons. The admiral assembled a company of one hundred and twenty knights, with whom he would have pursued him, but the council interposed, and obliged him to desist^l. The duke of *Bourbon* expressed great displeasure that he was not arrested; and equally abhorring the wickedness of some, and ashamed of the pusillanimity of others, left the court, and retired to his own estate. The council being informed that the duke of *Burgundy* was raising troops, and had published a manifesto, in which he avowed and justified the murder, were much alarmed. The king, who had a long lucid interval, went to the parliament, and held his bed of justice on the twenty-sixth of *December*, and there published an edict, by which he directed that the eldest sons of *France*, of what age soever, at the time of their accession, should be esteemed kings, anointed and crowned, and that all public acts should run in their name, and not in that of any regent whatever^m. This seems to have been calculated to secure the crown to his sons, then all of them children.

A. D.
1407.

THE duke of *Berry*, and other great lords, were sent to persuade him not to add the insult on the king's authority to the death of the duke of *Orleans*, but to qualify things in the best manner possible, and to demand in general terms a royal pardon. The duke making use of his superior force, rejected all propositions of accommodation, marched triumphantly to *Paris*, demanded and forced an audience from the king, insisted upon justifying himself publicly, which he did by the mouth of his apologist Dr. *John Petit*, who, in the presence of the dauphin and the princes of the blood, defamed the deceased duke of *Orleans* as a tyrant and a traitor, inferring from thence, that, instead of considering the duke of *Burgundy* as a criminal, they ought to respect him as the king's best subject, and the deliverer of the kingdomⁿ. This was heard with silence and secret dislike; and the queen and most of the princes of the blood withdrawing, the duke, who had the king in his power, obtained from him as full a pardon as he could desire or devise. He was not satisfied with this, but obliged him likewise to remove the admiral,

^l Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.
GAGUINI Hist. P. EMIL.
TILLET.

^m Recueil de Pieces,
ⁿ Annales de France. DU

and to appoint the *Sieur de Chatillon* to that office, who was in his interest ^o. A sedition at *Liege*, where the people had expelled his brother-in-law, who pretended to be their bishop without being a priest, induced the duke of *Burgundy* to march with all his forces to his assistance. On his retiring from *Paris*, the queen and the princes of the blood returned with what forces they could raise, and sent for the duchess dowager of *Orleans*, who entered with a great train all in deep mourning. A week after came the young duke, who had espoused the queen dowager in *England*, with the same marks of distress; the process against the duke of *Burgundy* was formed in the accustomed manner, his pardon declared null and void, and himself a public enemy ^p. As this change was very sudden and surprizing, so it lasted not long; for the duke of *Burgundy* having defeated the people in *Liege*, slain twenty thousand of them in the field, and left his brother-in-law, who stiled himself bishop, to murder some thousands more, for having dared to dispute his claim to that title, returned once more into *France*, with a numerous army ^q. At first the queen and the princes of the blood thought of fortifying *Paris*, of raising an army and meeting him in the field; but finding the citizens were most of them in his interest, and that it would be difficult to raise the supplies necessary for carrying on a war, they judged it more prudent to retire, with what forces they had, to *Tours*, which they executed with great prudence, and carried the king with them. The duke of *Burgundy* sent the count of *Hainault* to treat with the queen and dauphin, to whom the king had committed the management of public affairs ^r. He was well received, and sent back with the lord *Montague*, who had the direction of the finances, and who offered to him, as the final resolution of the court, two propositions; first, that he should make a clear and satisfactory submission to the king in public, and next, that he should abstain from coming into his presence for some years; which offer he rejected with contempt, and so terrified *Montague*, that, to make his peace, he promised to render him all the service that was in his power ^s. The duke proceeding to *Paris*, entered it with his forces; and having remained there for some time, received, by the indefatigable endeavours of *Montague*, such terms as he thought fit to accept, and which perhaps had not been obtained, if the duchess dowager

A. D.
1508.

* Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. * GAGUINI Hist.
 † P. EMIL. P. HENAUULT. † JUVENAL DES URSINS.
 ‡ P. DANIEL.

ger of *Orleans* had not died of grief[†]. But, notwithstanding he gave law in this manner to the king and the princes of his family, he lost that credit which hitherto he had maintained through the greatest part of his kingdom, by the licentious behaviour of his troops, and by the miseries which this civil war occasioned, which was now imputed to his ambition, and the desire he had of ruling all[‡].

A SUBMISSION in general words to the king, and a desire *Dismal* of being reconciled to the duke of *Orleans* and his brothers, *fate of the* expressed in the same manner, and supported by a short de- *Sieur* *Mon-*claration from the duke himself, that the person who spoke *rague,* them expressed his sense, was all that could be exacted from *after be-* the duke of *Burgundy*: but in hopes of rendering real a re- *ing many* conciliation, supported by solemn oaths and promises, not *years at* only of the parties, but of the princes and great lords on *the head* both sides, the duke of *Burgundy* gave his daughter to *of the fi-* the duke of *Vertus*, brother to the duke of *Orleans*, with *nances.* an annuity of four thousand livres, and a portion of 150,000 crowns in ready money[¶]. The whole court returned to *Paris*, where the duke of *Burgundy* finding it extremely difficult to maintain himself by mere dint of superior force, began to practise on the princes, and by a great shew of respect drew over the duke of *Berry*, as, by fair promises of doing him justice, he also did *Charles the Noble*, king of *Navarre*, who had been neglected and hardly treated. The queen, seeing the duke's authority so well supported, practised in her turn on the mind of the dauphin, and engaged him to retire with her to *Melun*^{*}. The duke took the occasion of her absence, and a relapse of the king, to seize the lord of *Montague*, master of the king's household, who had the supreme direction of the finances. This man was immensely rich, excessively vain, and universally hated; his process was made, the rack forced him to become an evidence against himself, and, being thus convicted, he was publickly beheaded. At the time of his death he declared his confession to be false, and extorted by pain; vindicated the memory of the duke of *Orleans*, and shewed more firmness than could have been expected from his former course of life[†]. He had two brothers, the one archbishop of *Sens*, and chancellor of *France*, the other bishop of *Paris*; and his daughters were married into great families, but were unable to save him: however, the sentence was afterwards reversed, and his

[†] GAGUINI Hist.

[‡] Annales de France, P. ÆMIL.

[¶] MEZERAY, P. HENAUULT.

^{*} BOULANVIL.

[†] CHA-
LONS, L'Abbay de CHOISY.

A.D.
1409.

The duke
of Bur-
gundy af-
sumes, as
governor
of the
dauphin,
the direc-
tion of the
kingdom.

memory vindicated, by a judicial process, at the expence of a convent which he had founded; who sold their plate to defray the expences of the suit; a circumstance that deserved perpetual memory². When the king recovered, he was amazed at the fate of his minister; but, being told that he suffered by due course of law, he was, or at least seemed to be satisfied. The queen also, which is still more extraordinary, having a part of his forfeiture, and her brother Lewis duke of *Bavaria* another part, was reconciled to the duke of *Burgundy*, tho' *Montague's* greatest crime was his attachment to her service. The privileges of the city of *Paris* were entirely restored, and particularly the power of the militia; but the inhabitants were become so very wise, that they thanked the king for his favour, and declined accepting it: abundance of unnecessary pensions were suppressed, and several extravagant grants were resumed: the truce with *England* was on neither side observed, and yet no war declared. The city of *Genoa* revolted, and the *French* lost their influence in *Italy*³; which had been principally useful in their commerce.

A GREAT council of the princes and peers being summoned in the king's presence, it was decided therein, that, for the future, when the king was indisposed, all acts of government should run in the name of the dauphin. This made it not only proper but necessary that he should be taken out of the hands of the women, and consequently it grew to be a point of the highest importance who should be intrusted with the care of this young prince, because it was, in effect, to trust them with the government^b. In point of decency, the king demanded first the advice of his uncle the duke of *Berry*, who, with much warmth, and without the least hesitation, recommended the duke of *Burgundy*, to whose daughter the young prince was contracted; but when, in consequence of his nomination, he saw this office on the point of being conferred upon him by common consent, he grew uneasy, and would have substituted himself; but it was too late, the duke of *Burgundy* was appointed; and the duke of *Berry*, unable to shew his resentment any other way, retired from *Paris*^c. This very probably gave him little disquiet at the time; but it very soon appeared that this prince was no insignificant enemy. The duke of *Orleans*, who had lately lost his consort, the queen dowager

² Annales de France.

³ MONSTRELET, P. ÆMIL. DU

TILLET.

^b Ancien. Chronique de France.

^c Hist.

Anonym. de Charles VI. GAGUINI Hist.

of *England*, quickly repaired to him, and declared his resolution to revenge his father's death. The duke of *Bourbon* joined him also, with several other persons of the highest quality; but, while they meditated the means of restoring the government, the duke of *Bourbon* died. He maintained to the last that excellent character he acquired in his youth. He suffered with the state; but was so far from deriving any thing to himself from the distress of the crown, that he declared the duchy of *Bourbon*, which was his proper hereditary estate and appenage, revertible to the crown, in case a failure should happen of heirs male^d. His piety was sincere, but without any mixture of bigotry; his friendship warm and disinterested; yet, in a particular instance, it proved highly beneficial to his family. He protected the lord of *Beaujeu* against the count of *Savoy*; and that lord dying without issue, bequeathed to the duke's posterity *Beaujolois* and the sovereignty of *Dombes*^e. The duke of *Berry*, finding his own strength, published a manifesto, and marched towards *Paris*: the duke of *Burgundy* also assembled an army, and had the king on his side; but when things were on the point of coming to extremities, it was proposed, as the only certain and effectual method of preserving peace, that all the princes should quit the court, and that the king should appoint new ministers of his own choice. The duke of *Burgundy* executed this treaty fairly; and, after taking leave of the king, with great testimonies of duty and respect, withdrew into his own dominions; but the duke of *Orleans*, tho' often summoned, would never dismiss his troops, but, on the contrary, secretly omitted nothing that could be done to extend his party, and to augment his forces^f.

A. D.
1410.

AT *Paris* the king and his people were in great hopes they should, at length, enjoy some degree of quiet; the new ministry were frugal and circumspect; they were sensible, that not only their authority but their safety depended on their behaving as they ought; and, from this principle, they were very attentive to their duty. But, while they were thus employed, the court was alarmed by letters from the duke of *Burgundy*, assuring them that the princes were about to raise new troubles, in order to make themselves masters of the persons of the king and dauphin, and of the government; for which reason he advised the king to make a new governor of *Paris*, and to provide for his own security^g. The inhabitants of *Paris* opposed this, because the duke of

between the two factions runs higher, and is productive of greater mischief than ever.

^d P. ÆMILIUS. ^e J. DE SERRES, LE GENDRE. ^f GAGUINI Hist. P. DANIEL. ^g Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.

Berry was still their governor. The king laboured to compose these troubles; the queen undertook to mediate; and the duke of *Orleans* seemed to acquiesce, as the duke of *Burgundy* really did. But the former, when he found himself strong enough, challenged the latter; and, throwing off the mask, declared war ^h. The queen also espoused the cause of the duke of *Orleans*; which so enraged the *Parisians*, that they now desired the duke of *Berry* might be removed, and the count *de St. Pol* appointed in his stead ⁱ. They had their desire, and had very soon after reason to repent it. The first act of the count's government was raising a kind of guard, consisting of five hundred butchers, who, having once arms put into their hands, made the whole city tremble. All *France* was now divided into two parties; such as favoured the duke of *Orleans*, who, from his father-in-law (for he was again married) were stiled *Armagnacs*, and those who adhered to the duke of *Burgundy*, who, from one *Caboche*, were stiled *Cabochines*; the former, by way of distinction, wore a white scarf, with what we call a *St. George's cross*, the latter a red one, with the cross of *St. Andrew* ^k. The dauphin, on the march of the duke of *Orleans* and his forces towards *Paris*, wrote to the duke of *Burgundy* to come to the assistance of himself and his father, and was quickly obeyed. The duke of *Orleans* advanced towards him with a numerous army; but, when they were on the point of engaging, the duke of *Burgundy* decamped; for many of his *Flemish* lords, having served their time, began to retire: the duke of *Orleans*, laying hold of this opportunity, caused his forces to block up *Paris*, which he must have reduced, if, when it was least expected, the duke of *Burgundy* had not suddenly entered it with a small body of choice troops. This succour soon changed the face of affairs, the people of *Paris* recovered their spirits, and, having joined the duke of *Burgundy*, recovered several places, and at length constrained the duke of *Orleans* to decamp and retire ^l.

A. D.

1411.

Charles
puts him-
self at the
head of an
army a-
gainst his
uncle and
his ne-
phew.

THE king, who had been out of his senses the best part of the time his capital was blocked up, shewed very strong resentment when he recovered, and declared his resolution to punish his uncle and his nephew to the utmost. He was so hurried by his passion, that he took no kind of offence at the duke of *Burgundy's* having demanded succours from *England*, tho' that step had alarmed the people of *Paris* prodigiously;

^h Ancien. Chronique de France.ⁱ MEZERAY, P. DA-

NIEL.

^k GAGUINI Hist. P. HENAUT.^l J. DE

SERRES, DU TILLET.

more especially when they saw, that the best part of the succour he brought consisted in these troops ; but they behaved so well in the field, and observed such an exact discipline in the place, that they were quickly reconciled to them^m. The king, to shew how much he was in earnest, removed the constable *Albret*, and bestowed the sword upon the count *de St. Pol*. He made some other changes of the same nature ; and, as soon as an army could be assembled, marched directly into the duchy of *Berry*, with an intent to besiege *Bourges*. The dukes of *Berry* and *Bourbon* were there in person, with a good garrison ; sent to make their compliments to the king ; but, notwithstanding that, defended the place with great vigour. They had some persons near the king, who promised, upon a sally made into his quarter, to seize and put him into their hands ; but this scheme miscarried, and their confederates, being discovered, were publicly executedⁿ. The siege still went on ; the duke of *Orleans* had no army in the field, yet the duke of *Berry* never stooped to propose any terms of accommodation. The mystery was soon revealed, by the landing of the duke of *Clarence* in *Normandy*, with a complete army from *England*. The princes, who, while they blocked up *Paris*, accused the duke of *Burgundy* of treason, for having accepted a body of six thousand *English* auxiliaries, commanded by the earl of *Arundel*, had notwithstanding concluded a treaty with king *Henry* in the month of *May*, by which they promised to obtain the restitution of all the places he claimed in *France*, and many other things, provided he sent an army to their assistance ; and upon this relief, which was now come, they depended^o. In the situation things now stood in, both parties were inclined to peace, but neither would propose it. The count of *Savoy*, who was nearly related to the duke of *Berry*, and who had espoused the duke of *Burgundy*'s daughter, drew them out of this difficulty ; and, the terms being previously settled, the dauphin had the honour of dictating a peace. The old treaties were renewed, and sworn to afresh ; the duke of *Berry* gave up the place, and had it restored to him again ; the princes renounced their treaty with *England*, and their league against the duke of *Burgundy* : and, on the other hand, the king reinstated those whom he had removed. It was also agreed, that all names of reproach should be abolished, and great rejoicings were made for this new re-

^m JUVENAL DES ŪRSINS, GAGUINI Hist. France, P. ŒMIL. ⁿ Annales de France, P. ŒMIL. ^o Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. MEZ-
RAY.

A. D.
1412.

conciliation; which was sealed with fresh oaths and protestations on both sides^p. There still remained one great difficulty: this was, how to dispose of the *English* army, which had committed great devastation, and was now advancing in full march towards *Bourges*. The duke of *Orleans* had sent for them, and he was to pay them; but he had no money; he was constrained to give his brother the count of *Angoulême*, and other nobles, as hostages, till he could raise it; and the duke of *Clarence*, having accepted these, directed his march to *Guienne*. By this time, or at least soon after, *Henry* the fourth had breathed his last, and his son *Henry* the fifth was seated in the throne^q.

The Burgundians become obnoxious to the dauphin Lewis duke of Guienne.

HOWEVER short the struggle may be, the miseries of a civil war are long felt; the dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy* returned with the king to *Paris*, and seeing clearly, that a war with *England* was likely to ensue, for which they were totally unprovided in all respects, they called, or advised the king to call, an assembly of the states; which had no other effect, than to learn from them the disagreeable news, that the whole nation was so totally exhausted, and at the same time so generally dissatisfied, that in this way they had nothing to expect^r. The assembly being dismissed, *Lewis* dauphin of *France*, a very high-spirited young prince, resolved to take the actual as well as nominal direction of affairs upon himself; and, having some persons about him of good sense, and it is not improbable of good intentions, began to make various regulations, which had an air of public spirit. This, like all the attempts of reformation during the present reign, commenced with the persecution of those who had been employed in the finances, and of whom the states had loudly complained^s. At the head of these was *Pierre*, or *Peter des Essards*, the creature of the duke of *Burgundy*, who had been raised to the supreme direction of the finances by the destruction and death of *Montague*. *Essards*, finding himself pressed for two millions of crowns, produced to the dauphin the duke of *Burgundy's* receipts, and at the same time acquainted him, that the duke had formed a design of assassinating all the princes of the house of *Orleans*, or, as others report, the three dukes of *Berry*, *Orleans*, and *Bourbon*^t. This discovery restored him to the dauphin's good graces, who thereupon made use of him to secure the city of *Paris*; which he was to do by taking possession of

^p Ancien. Chronique de France. ^q P. ÆMIL. CHALONS.
^r JUVENAL DES URSINS, DUPLIX, DU TILLET. ^s MEZÉRAY, P. DANIEL. ^t Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.

the bastille with a body of men that might be depended on. *Effards* was so cautious, that he would take no step without the order of the duke of *Burgundy* as well as of the dauphin; and, the latter applying to the former for such an order, he presently divined the truth, but signed it at the same time as if he had not had the least suspicion ^u.

THE affair being conducted with great silence and secrecy, *Wlo*, at *Effards* became master of the fortress without the least disturbance; but he was scarce master of it, before he found it ^{length, is} too hard ^{for them,} invested by an infinite croud of people, with the band of ^{and brings} *Simon de Cadoche*, and *John de Troye*, a surgeon. These were quickly after ^{back the} joined by two knights, who were declared partizans of the ^{duke of} *Orleans* duke of *Burgundy*; which made it evident enough from ^{and his} whence the storm came. The dauphin, therefore, was forced ^{friends.} to have recourse to that prince to allay it; and he, pretending to use his influence on the people on his behalf, persuaded *Pierre de Effards* to surrender; to whom he gave assurances of friendship and protection, till he came to the scaffold, where, notwithstanding this usage, he behaved with great decency and dignity, without uttering any complaints but of himself, for having, through a principle of ambition, been instrumental in *Montague's* death ^w. The same ruffians surrounded and attacked the palace, in which the dauphin resided, tore several of his friends and servants from his presence, amongst whom was his uncle *Lewis of Bavaria*, and put one of them, *James de la Riviere*, his chamberlain, to death. The same insolent rabble constrained the king, who was now in his senses, with the dauphin, the dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy*, to go to the parliament, and register edicts of their framing; and so low were they fallen, that, either to make their court to, or for fear of, the populace, they wore white hoods ^x. On this occasion, *Arnold de Corbie*, chancellor of *France*, was deposed, and several other persons of rank, were replaced as these reformers thought fit. *Helion de Jaqueville*, whom they had made captain of *Paris*, hearing fiddles one evening in the dauphin's apartment, broke in, with a croud of his attendants, and, tho' the duke of *Burgundy* was present, treated him, and those about him, with the utmost indignity, and even put them in danger of their lives, tho' the duke pretended all the time to pacify them, and often whispered the dauphin, that he should not

^u DUPLEIX, CHALONS, BOULANVILLE.

France, MONSTRELET.

Anonym. de Charles VI.

^w Annales de

^x JUYENAL DES URSINS, Hist.

let the people see he was afraid^y. It is no wonder that prince should think a life like this insupportable, or endeavour at all events to free himself. The method he took was to write in his father's name, and with his consent, to the duke of *Orleans*; who, communicating his letter to the rest of the princes, they speedily assembled a sufficient force, and advanced towards *Paris*. The king declared his inclination to peace; conferences were, for this purpose set on foot, and *John Juvenal des Ursins*, advocate general, having disposed the better sort of people in *Paris* to exert themselves, the citizens declared for peace. The *Cabochins* endeavoured to revive the old spirit; but it was too late, and, some of them being slain, the rest quitted the city, and withdrew into *Flanders*, whither they were quickly followed by the duke of *Burgundy*; who, having failed in an attempt he made to seize the king while he was hunting, and the dauphin having frightened him in his turn, thought it most convenient for him to retire^z.

The duke of Burgundy sets on foot fresh intrigues, in order to recover the administration. UPON this revolution, the dukes of *Bavaria* and *Bar*, who were both prisoners, recovered their liberty; the former was made governor of the *Bastile*, and the latter of the tower of the *Louvre*. The rest of the princes repaired speedily to *Paris*; where they were well received, and the duke of *Burgundy* as universally condemned as he had been lately admired. This the duke of *Anjou*, called by courtesy king of the *Sicilies*, carried so far, as to send him back his daughter, whom he had contracted to the prince his son; which created an irreconcilable hatred between the two families^a. In the mean time a treaty of marriage was set on foot between *Henry* the fifth of *England*, and the king's daughter the princess *Katherine*, which was managed, on one side, by the duke of *York*, and, on the other, by the princes lately returned to court; but, for the present, this produced nothing more than a truce. Before the close of the year came ambassadors from the duke of *Burgundy*, to make his excuses to the king for quitting *Paris* in so abrupt a manner, and to assure him of his duty and submission^b. The true design of the embassy, however, was to know the disposition of the courtiers and citizens, and to encourage and keep up the spirit of his friends; which he did by assuring them, not only there but in several other great towns, that he was raising forces secretly, in order to come to the deliverance of the

A. D.
1413.

^y GAGUINI Hist. MEZERAY, P. HENNAULT.
Anonym. de Charles VI. ^z Annales de France.
Chon. de France.

^a Hist.
^b An-

king and dauphin; the latter having written him, as he affirmed, letters, in very strong terms, representing the confinement and distress in which they were, and importuning him, without delay, and without paying any respect to letters of another tenor that he might receive from them, to assemble an army, and come to their assistance^c. This had its effect; his friends believed all that he said, while those of the duke of Orleans and the princes, and even the princes themselves, knew not well what to think with respect to his assertions, or what measures to take to prevent his bringing about another change, as sudden as that which themselves had effected^d.

As the king was at this time indisposed, the queen called a Charles great council, in which the dauphin, the princes of the ^{puts him-} blood, the great lords, and particularly the count de Ar- ^{self at the} magnac, the chancellor of France, the heads of the univer- ^{head of an} sity, which in those days had great weight, and some of the ^{army, and} principal citizens of Paris, were present. The first step that ^{marches} was taken was to impose an oath of secrecy; and then the ^{against the} chancellor, in a long speech, laid open the misfortunes of ^{duke of} Burgundy, insisted on the dauphin's youth, the vivacity of ^{dy.} his spirit, his proneness to pleasure, his neglect of business, and the facility with which he was misled by some idle young men who were about him. The dauphin was surprised, and on the point of shewing his anger, when the princes and great lords, in their turns, spoke to the same purpose, and declared, that the safety of the state depended upon some speedy and effectual remedy. This was presently applied, by removing those from about him who were suspected, and especially one who was believed to have prevailed on him to write to the duke of Burgundy^e. The dauphin was forced to acquiesce, to write letters, requiring the duke to lay down his arms, and others to the principal towns in the kingdom, denying and disavowing the facts contained in the duke of Burgundy's manifesto. The king, recovering, acted with still greater warmth; the university condemned the apology of Dr. John Petit for the murder of the duke of Orleans, as full of heretical and detestable doctrine. The duke of Berry, as governor of Paris, disposed every thing in a proper manner for its defence, by the advice of the count de Armagnac, ^{father-in-law to the duke of Orleans.} It was by his persuasion that the better sort of people took arms and did duty,

^c Annales de France, Du TILLET. ^d JUVENAL DES
URSINS, GAGUINI Hist. ^e J. DE SERRES, LE
GENDRE.

and by his persuasion the princes of the blood, in their turns, went their rounds every night. The dauphin, to clear himself from all suspicion, was remarkably active and steady ^f. The duke of *Burgundy* proceeded in his own way; advanced with a great army; made himself master of *Compiègne* and *Soissons*; had *St. Denis* betrayed to him, and brought his army within sight of *Paris*. He next sent a herald to acquaint the citizens, that, at the express desire of the king and dauphin, he was come to deliver them out of a shameful confinement, and therefore demanded admittance. The count *de Armagnac* received the message with contempt, and sent the herald back without answer. The duke approached the gates with his army in order of battle; but finding every thing in perfect order, and not the least tumult or confusion, tho' he continued there some hours, withdrew, and soon after retired into his own territories ^g. The king then published a manifesto; in which, beginning with the murder of his brother, he represented him as the great author of the calamities of *France*, declared him a public enemy, and exhorted all his good subjects to treat him in that light. A potent army being quickly formed, the king, accompanied by the dauphin, put himself at the head of it, reduced *Compiègne* by capitulation, and, having taken *Soissons* by assault, caused two persons of distinction, who defended it, to be beheaded. He proceeded from thence into *Artois*, where he was met by the duke of *Brabant* and the countess of *Hainault*, brother and sister to the duke of *Burgundy*; who interceded for him, and assured the king, that he desired nothing more than to come and justify himself to his majesty. The king answered, with great firmness, if that be all, let him come with a proper train; if he has any thing to demand we are ready to do him justice; if he will confess his errors, and demand pardon, he shall have it ^h. The king then wrote to the states of *Flanders*, to know whether they meant to make the quarrel of their count their own; upon which they sent deputies, who declared roundly, that, whatever conduct the duke of *Burgundy*, their count, thought fit to pursue, they would behave themselves as his majesty's good subjects. The duke of *Burgundy*, upon this, sent the duke of *Brabant*, and the countess of *Hainault*, with full powers to make peace, which was signed on the sixteenth of *October*, upon the king's terms. The dukes of *Orleans* and

A. D.
1414.

^f GAGUINI Historia, DUPLEIX. ^g MONSTRE. Hist.
Anonym. de Charles VI. ^h Annales de France, JUVENAL
DES ŪRSINS, GAGUINI Hist.

Bourbon, with the archbishop of *Sens*, refused to subscribe; alleging they had never broke the former peace,^o which was the basis of this; but the dauphin, sensible of his own power, said, "My lords, if you mean to keep the peace, you must subscribe;" which they did, tho' with a bad grace. The king returned in triumph to *Paris*, and his subjects once more entertained hopes of seeing the public tranquility settled on a solid basisⁱ.

THERE had been, ever since the accession of *Henry* the *Henry V.* fifth, a kind of negociation between the two crowns for a *negociates* general peace; in which, without doubt, the *French* were in *with* earnest. *Henry's* ambassadors, who were many, and some *Charles*, of them persons of the first quality in the kingdom, expressed the like disposition in very strong terms; but, from *in order to* the propositions they made, one might be led to suspect their *discover* sincerity; for having first demanded the crown of *France*, *the state of affairs* in *Fiance..* and afterwards many vast concessions, they at length stuck to three points^k. The first was the entire restitution of all that was stipulated by the treaty of *Bretigny*, which, thro' this whole negociation, was stiled the great treaty; next a moiety of the county of *Provence*; and lastly, what was still remaining of king *John's* ransom; which points once adjusted, the king would treat of a marriage with the princess *Katherine*, then about fourteen, provided he might be assured of having with her a round million. The *French* court was exceedingly embarrassed, as perceiving plainly, that the *English* were well apprised of the distracted state of their affairs; and therefore they offered great cessions, together with the princess *Katherine*, and a fortune of six hundred thousand crowns^l. The *English* ministers acknowledged they had no power to conclude the marriage, and desired to return home by the way of *Honfleur*, which was granted them. They were presently followed by a splendid embassy from *France*, at the head of which was the archbishop of *Bourges*, who gradually advanced the fortune to within fifty thousand crowns of what had been demanded; but, perceiving that the *English* ministers only amused him, as their ambassador had been amused at *Paris*, and that they were on the point of invading *France*, he demanded an audience of leave, and returned with his colleagues^m. This prelate acquainted king, that the parliament, influenced by the clergy, had

ⁱ Ancien. Chronique de France.

^o Charles VI.

^l T. WALSHINGHAM,

^k Hist. Anon. m. de

^j JUVENAL DES URSINS, T. DE EMBLON,

^m Annales de France.

embarked the *English* monarch in a war to preserve their own power and possessions; that there was no doubt to be made of his reviving his claim to the kingdom, and very great reason to believe, that the duke of *Burgundy* still held a correspondence in *England*. Before any great use could be made of this intelligence, *Henry*, embarking with a potent army at *Southampton*, landed in *Normandy*, after beating a *French* squadron, and invested *Harfleur*, at the mouth of the river *Seine* ⁷. It is highly probable the *French* ministers had depended upon a party they had in *England*, at the head of which was *Richard* earl of *Cambridge*, the lord treasurer *Scroop*, and Sir *Thomas Grey*: most of our historians say, that their design was to kill the king; but it is more probable, that they meant to carry off a part of the army, and to proclaim the right heir of *Richard* the second; for the support of which project they had stipulated with the court of *France* an advance of a million of livres; but, the whole business being discovered, the *French* saved their money, and the persons engaged in this plot lost their heads ⁸.

*He makes
a descent
in Nor-
mandy,
takes Har-
fleur, and
marches
toward
Calais.*

THE constable *d'Albret*, who commanded in *Normandy*, had a considerable army under his command, in the neighbourhood of *Rouen*, with which he did nothing considerable; yet, the garrison of *Harfleur* defended themselves with great courage and spirit, but were at length compelled to capitulate, and to agree, that, in case they were not relieved, they would render the place on the 18th of *September*; but, when the day came, they very imprudently endeavoured to elude the promise they had made, which so provoked *Henry*, that he caused a general attack to be made, carried the place sword in hand, reserved a few persons of distinction prisoners, put the rest to the sword, and gave the town to be pillaged by his army ⁹. His satisfaction at this success was very much qualified by the miserable condition in which he found his army, harrassed and diminished in a moist climate and marshy soil, the flux prevailing amongst them, the season advanced, and the weather so bad, that the best part of his fleet was retired into *Calais* road. In these circumstances he took a resolution of marching thither by land; the little opposition he had hitherto received persuading him, that he should meet with nothing to impede him ¹⁰. He quickly discovered his mistake; for the king, the dauphin, and the rest of the princes of the blood, having taken the field, he

⁷ GAGUINI Hist. BOULANVIL. ⁸ T. DE ELMHAM Act.
Pub. tom. viii. ⁹ Ancien. Chron. de France: ¹⁰ MON-
MAYNET, JUVENAL DES URSINS,

saw his forces in a manner surrounded. He passed, however, the river *Sonne*, where he found it fordable; but, when he was on the other side, he discovered the *French* army in the plain near the little village of *Agin-court*¹. The king being ill, the dauphin and the duke of *Berry* were forced to remain with him; so that the command devolved upon the constable, who made but an indifferent choice of the field of battle, which was, in truth, little better than a quagmire; but he took his measures to hinder the enemy's march so effectually, and king *Henry* found the dispute so very unequal, that he had recourse to a negotiation, in which he offered to restore *Harfleur*, and to pay the expences of the war, provided he was allowed a free passage to *Calais*. The constable, the marshal de *Boucicaut*, and most of the old officers, were for accepting this offer; which, they said, was gaining a victory without blood: but the young nobility, particularly the duke of *Bourbon* and *Alençon*, were of another opinion, and the herald was sent back without answer².

THE constable, however, would not fight till he had the king's express orders, who was by this time recovered. His army consisted of about sixty thousand men, tho' some ^{the French} writers make them double that number. The *English* were ^{to fight,} about twenty-two thousand, of whom near one half had the ^{gains a} flux. On the 25th of *October*, about nine in the morning, ^{complete} the armies were in sight; the *English* had their archers in the center, the gens d'arms on their right, and the infantry on their left, all perfectly well posted, and twelve hundred choice archers in different ambuscades³. The army of *France* had so many dukes, counts, and great lords, who were above being commanded, that all was in confusion from the very beginning. To shew that their courage was equal to their rank, they were all in the first line; so that the bulk of the army was without any officers of distinction. They marched precipitately as to an assured victory; whereas the *English* advanced very slowly, and discharged such flights of arrows⁴ as did great execution. When they drew near, the archers, perceiving they were out of breath, charged them with great vigour, broke them in less than half an hour, and then fell upon the main body, which made very little resistance, as having no body of consequence to command them. *Henry*, with his gens d'arms, put an end to the dispute, bearing down such separate corps as here and

¹ Annales de France, Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. ² T. DE ELMHAM, LE GEND. ³ DU TILLER, J. DE SÈRES.

there endeavoured to remain firm ^u. On the part of the *English*, fell the duke of *York*, uncle to the king, very few persons of distinction besides, and about seventeen hundred private men; on the other side, the constable, the admiral, the duke of *Alençon*, the duke of *Brabant*, the count of *Nevers*, both brothers to the duke of *Burgundy*, three princes of the house of *Bar*, the count *de Vaudemont*, brother to the duke of *Lorraine*, the archbishop of *Sens*, one hundred and twenty lords carrying banners, eight thousand gentlemen of family, and about two thousand private men ^w. There were likewise fourteen thousand prisoners, and amongst these the dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, the counts of *Eu*, *Vendôme*, and *Richmond*, the marshal *de Boucicaut*, and about two thousand knights. The news of this defeat being carried to *Rouen*, amazed the king and those who were about him. The surprise was still greater at *Paris*, from an apprehension that the duke of *Burgundy* would return into *France* with an army ^x. The duke *de Bretagne*, with a great body of troops, joined the poor remains of the *French* army within 15 miles of the field of battle; and if, without loss of time, they had attacked *Henry* again, they might very probably have repaired the mischief; but, no attempt of this sort being made, he arrived safely at *Calais*, where he began instantly to take measures for the next campaign ^y.

The duke
of Bur-
gundy la-
beurs to
turn the
public mis-
fortune to
his own
advantage.
265.

A. D.
1415.

In the mean time the duke of *Burgundy* acted a double, or at least a perplexed part; he sent *Henry* a defiance for the death of his brother the duke of *Brabant*, at the same time he marched, with a great body of cavalry, towards *Paris*; which augmented the public confusion. He sent deputies to desire an audience of the king, who were to see in what situation the court stood, which was now returned to *Paris*; they were haughtily treated by the dauphin, who charged them to command their matter, in his name, to disband; but, before their departure, the dauphin was seized with a dysentery, of which he died in a few days, not without suspicion ^z. He was about nineteen, tall, robust, and active in his person; eager and desirous of having a great measure of power, tho' at the same time he hated business; much given to wine and women, and if not the victim of his father-in-law, that of his own vices. The queen to support herself, and to secure the public tranquillity, sent for the count of *Armagnac*, to whom, on his arrival at *Paris*, the king

^u M^oNSTRELET.
^x M^oNSTRELET.
de Charles VI.

^y Annales de France, T. DE ELMHAM.
^z T. DE ELMHAM. ^u Hist. Anonym.

gave the sword and the envied title of constable of *France*; and never was it bestowed on one more able to discharge it.

a. In critical conjunctures things seldom fail of taking a great turn, when men of real abilities are called to employments, to which these employments are suited. The count *de Armagnac* had so deep a judgment, so quick a penetration, and was withal so active and so vigilant, that, as it were in an instant, he brought order out of confusion, obliged the duke of *Burgundy* to retire into his own territories, and so harassed his army in his retreat, as to render him contemptible even in the sight of the people of *Paris* ^a. In the king's lucid intervals, the constable gave him so true an insight into his affairs, made him comprehend so clearly how they might be restored, and so fully convinced him of his own fidelity, that he made him superintendant of the finances; to that, in effect, the whole power civil and military was lodged in his hands ^b. He acted so resolutely, that he broke intirely the faction of *Burgundy* in *Paris*, executed several of the duke's emissaries, purged the university, and dissolved such of the corporations as were devoted to his interest ^c. He also made a tour into *Normandy*, where he gained some advantages over the earl of *Dorset*, caused *Hurflour* to be blocked up by sea; but the *Genoese* vessels, being but half-manned, were beaten by the *English*, and the place relieved ^d. The emperor *Sigismund* made a tour to *Paris*, in order to engage the king to concur in the measures taken in the council of *Constance* to put an end to the schism, by deposing all the three popes, *Gregory* the seventh, *Benedict* the thirteenth, and *John* the twenty-third; he was received with all possible marks of respect, and treated, during his stay, with all imaginable marks of kindness and esteem, in hopes that, by his influence, a peace might be concluded with *England*; but, taking offence because he was not allowed to act as a sovereign while in the *French* dominions, he made a short turn, and, instead of remaining a mediator, became the ally of *Henry* the fifth, and sent his old friend *Charles* a letter of defiance ^e. But what embarrassed the court most was the behaviour of *John* duke of *Touraine*, who, by the death of his brother, was become dauphin. He was at this time in *Hainault*, where he married *Jaqueline* the daughter and heiress of the count, who afterwards espoused the duke of *Bedford* ^f. He was about eighteen, and, being either persuaded or awed

The count de Armagnac ruins the faction of Burgundy, and restores the king's affairs surprisingly.

A. D.
1416.

^a Annales de France. ^b JUVENAL DES URSINS. ^c Ancien. Chronique de France. ^d JUVENAL DES URSINS.
^e MONSTRELET. ^f MEZERAY.

by the count of *Hainault*, entered into the interests of the duke of *Burgundy*, and came with his father-in-law, escorted by a body of troops; but refused to go to *Paris*, to pay his duty to his father, unless the duke of *Burgundy* was recalled; or rather the count of *Hainault* made this declaration, in his name, to the queen ^g.

By his means the queen is banished, who demands then upon the protection of the duke of Burgundy.

AT his return from *Paris*, where he was very near being arrested, to *Compiègne*, the count of *Hainault* found the dauphin dying. This young prince had an imposthume in his ear; which, breaking inwardly, had choked him. The faction of *Burgundy*, being able to make no more use of him living, charged his death upon the constable *de Armagnac*, without either proof or probability. The constable, to pay them in their own coin, asserted, that the emissaries of the duke of *Burgundy* had poisoned the dauphin *Lewis* ^h. But the duke, seeing that stories of this kind made no lasting impression, digested all the grievances of the nation into a kind of manifesto. This he sent to most of the great towns in the kingdom, inviting them to join with him in a league for the public good; which had the greater effect, as the dukes of *Berry* and *Anjou* were lately dead, and the rest of the princes of the blood prisoners in *England* ⁱ; but, after all, perhaps his schemes had failed, if, in the midst of these miseries and misfortunes, there had not happened a new division at court ^k. The dauphin, entirely governed by the constable, consented to seize great quantities of plate and jewels, which the queen his mother had deposited in various convents and churches, and applied it for the public service. The queen, in high discontent, retired to *Vincennes*; where she kept a very gay splendid court, the expence of which little suited the state of the kingdom, or the diversions which were such as could not be reconciled either to the dignity of her rank or the modesty of her sex ^l. The constable, an austere man, could not see his master thus dishonoured in silence; he mentioned it to him therefore, and the king, making a tour to *Vincennes*, received such satisfaction from his enquiries, that he caused one of her gallants to be put to death, and banished her and her daughter *Katherine* to *Tours* ^m. *Henry* the fifth, landing with a new army in *Normandy*, conquered a great part of that province, the constable having been obliged to recall the greatest part of the troops from thence, in order to oppose them to the duke of *Burgundy*; whom he

^g P. ÆMIL. I. E. GENDRE.

^h Annales de France.

ⁱ TILLET.

^k DUPLEIX.

^l GAGUINI Hist. J. DE

^m P. ÆMIL. DU

Annales de France.

baffled in various attempts, and might probably have obliged to retire once more into his own dominions, if the queen had not, forgetting her rank, her duty, and her character, to gratify her revenge, written to him, and demanded his protectionⁿ. In this expedition he was fortunate; he delivered her from her captivity, and, in return, she co-operated with him for the destruction of the king and kingdom. In order to this she republished an old edict, by which, in the minority of her eldest son, the king had declared her regent; of which she now resumed the title and authority. She fixed the seat of her government at *Troye*, where she created a new chancellor, a new parliament, and formed a new great seal. She gave the title of constable of *France* to the duke of *Lorrain*, declaring the count *de Armagnac* unworthy of that dignity; but, tho' she was bountiful in bestowing titles, yet all the power was reserved to the duke of *Burgundy*, who made a very bold attempt to surprize *Paris*; which, tho' very well concerted, did not succeed^o.

A. D.
1417.

It would require a volume of no inconsiderable size to explain all the dark and insidious practices that were at this time carried on, and which plainly demonstrate, that the extreme misery brought on the *French* nation was owing to nothing but the corruption of their manners; which having, on the one hand, introduced a luxury unknown to former times, excited, on the other, a passion for wealth and power, which quickly stifled all principle^p. Hence the very end of negotiating was lost; for instead of seeking to put a stop to prevent disputes, by an amicable and equitable decision, the parties aimed only at deceiving each other, and kept faith no longer than they thought it their interest to keep it. The duke of *Burgundy* had, by letters patent under his hand and seal, acknowledged *Henry* the fifth for the lawful owner of the *French* crown, tho' certainly he never intended to set it on his head^q. The *French* princes were so uneasy at their imprisonment, and saw so little hopes of being delivered, that they likewise entered into a negotiation with *Henry*, the basis of which was their beginning to have a good opinion of his title, and the object of it the procuring leave for the duke of *Bourbon* to go to *France*, there to negotiate a peace upon the king's terms; and, if that could not be brought about, then to acknowledge his title, and do homage to him as their lawful prince^r. The duke went, and

ⁿ J. DE SERRES, DUPLEIX.

^o P. ÆMIL. MEZERAY.

^p Ancien. Chronique de France.

^q T. DE ÉLMHAM.

^r DU TILLET.

failed;

failed; but, at his return, himself and the rest of the princes refused to perform their engagements, for which they were all closely imprisoned, and *Henry*, against his will, was forced to depend upon his sword. This reluctance of his did not at all proceed from his diffidence of beating the *French* army, of which, in the present state of things, he was in a manner sure; but conquest was not to be obtained but by a numerous army, and he was already so effectually undone by the expence, that he had been forced to pawn his crown and all his jewels to furnish the necessary supplies for the next campaign; and this, notwithstanding he had received from his subjects all that it was in their power to give. In the mean time a negociation had been set on foot for reconciling the queen and the dauphin's party in *France*; in which such difficulties occurred, that the ministers employed on both sides agreed to leave the terms to be prescribed by the legates of pope *Martin* the fifth; and their decree was, that the king should devolve his authority on the dauphin and the duke of *Burgundy* jointly, to which both parties willingly agreed; yet this did not produce a peace; for the constable de *Armagnac*, tho' he could not open the eyes of the dauphin, prevailed upon the chancellor to declare that he would not put the seal to such a treaty. For this he is highly blamed by most of the *French* historians, as if he had manifestly sacrificed the public to his private interest; but sure, if they had attended to his reason, they could scarce have done him this injustice; for he alleged, that he could not think of delivering the royal person and power into the hands of one who had made a treaty against both; which, being denied by the duke of *Burgundy*, was the cause that the writers of those times censured the constable, as supposing that he invented this as a pretence; but, since we are now sure of the matter of fact, we are certainly better judges of that point than they, and it is but just, that we should speak of things as the light of history directs us.

Paris sur- The constable, perceiving that not only the dauphin but
presided by the people were displeased, judged it necessary, towards
the duke of keeping up their spirits, to send out a part of his forces to
Burgun- recover *Montlheri* and *Marcouffi*, which they performed;
dy'stropt, but nevertheless this success proved his destruction. There
and the was one *Perrinet le Clerc*, the son of an ironmonger, who
constable had been ill-treated by the domestics of one of the king's
 counsellors, of which he had complained, without being

* P. ÆMIL. LE GENDRE.

† Ancien. Chronique de France.

‡ JUVENAL DES URINS.

able to obtain redress: his father, in right of his post in the *murdered* militia, had the keys of the gate of *St. Germain*, which, to *by the* gratify his revenge, the young man stole from under his head *populace*. when asleep, opened that gate, and admitted eight hundred of the *Burgundians*, under the command of the lord *Lisle-Adam*, on *Saturday* the 28th of *May*. The very day after the populace, in spite of the constable and the chancellor, had proclaimed peace*. The *Burgundians* were quickly joined by several thousands of low people, who surprised the chancellor, several prelates, and at length the constable, who was discovered by a mason, to whose house he fled for shelter; and these, together with two archbishops, they conducted to prison. But a few days after, that they might have an opportunity to plunder, they took arms again, forced the prison doors, and murdered the greatest part of them, by throwing them from the top of the edifice upon their companions pikes, and afterwards dragged the bodies of the constable and the chancellor *de Marle* about the streets†. The duke of *Burgundy* returned soon after with the queen, and the king, either through weakness or fear, received them very kindly. It was not long before the duke found himself under great difficulties from the very spirit which, in so unlooked-for a manner, put him in possession of the capital, the people assuming a liberty of doing what they pleased, which at first he durst not prevent. This was carried to so great a height, that the common people walked about the king in his robes; and, when they had a mind to plunder any rich family, those about him cried they were *Armagnacs*; upon which he dispatched some of the house, and perhaps his sons, and the people took all that they had. This executioner had the folly to go to the duke of *Burgundy's* palace, and the impudence to shake him by the hand; but the duke, sending the best part of the city troops to recover the towns the constable had taken, laid hold of this opportunity to hang the hangman; and, by bringing in a body of his own troops, kept the people in better order‡. He would have treated with the dauphin, whom his mother earnestly invited back to *Paris*; but that prince was either not inclined, or was persuaded by those about him not to trust her. He fixed himself therefore at *Poitiers*, where he assembled the remains of the parliament of *Paris*, appointed a new chancellor, besieged and took *Tours*, with many other places.

A.D.
1418.

* Annales de France, P. ÆMIL. MEZERAY, P. DANIEL.

† MONSTRELET, Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. J. DE SERRES.

‡ Ancien. Chron. de France.

The queen
and the
duke of
Burgundy
treat with
Henry
about a
marriage
and a
peace.

WHILE these strange adventures happened in France, king Henry reduced the greatest part of Normandy, but offered at the same time to treat with the dauphin and with the duke of Burgundy, though both these treaties were mere amusements; the king telling the pope's legate, that he might see the finger of God in the chastisement of France; and that having himself a good title to the crown, Providence seemed to have opened him a fair path to the possession of it ². In all these treaties, therefore, there was nothing of sincerity on any side; the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy vainly deluded themselves with the hopes of gaining Henry as an ally; whereas the king of England meant to close with neither, but, by treating with both at a time, to thrust himself like a wedge between them, and thereby hinder their coalition, which was the single event he had to fear. It may suffice, therefore, to say, that, tho' on the part of the duke of Burgundy the treaty was managed by the queen in person, who carried with her the princess Katherine, to whose beauty the king was far from being insensible, yet he was so much a hero and a politician, that in spite of his passion his interest prevailed; so that, notwithstanding many propositions were made, they separated without coming to any conclusion ³. Henry, during the time of this treaty, remained at Mante, and the French court at Pontoise, the conferences being held in a place at a convenient distance between these two towns, and terminated in the beginning of the month of May, very little to the satisfaction of the duke of Burgundy, who saw plainly, that he began to lose his interest with the French, and that at the same time he was less considered by the English. A circumstance that led him to repent the contributing as he had done to their invasion and success ^b.

In this
confusion
the dau-
phin enters
into a
treaty
with the
duke of
Burgun-
dy;

THE dauphin, alarmed at his mother's treaty with the king of England, and knowing to how great a degree he was hated by her, resolved, if possible, to accommodate matters with the duke of Burgundy, as the most effectual means to repel the English, or at least to procure somewhat milder terms. He sent Tannegui du Chastel, who had been governor of the bastille, and who (taking him out of bed in his shirt) had preserved him the night that Paris was surprized, to Pontoise, to propose an interview with the duke, which was brought about through the persuasion of madam

² Annales de France, JUVENAL DES URSINS, P. DANIEL.
^a Histor. Anonym. de Charles VI. THOM. WALSHINGHAM.
^b Ancien. Chron. de France.

Giac, of whom the duke was passionately fond ^c. This interview was held the 11th of *July*, at *Souilly-le-Fort*, a league from *Melun*, with great marks of esteem and tenderness on both sides, and with the most profound submission on the part of the duke of *Burgundy*. They swore perpetual friendship and unity on a cross, presented by the bishop of *Laon*; and, at parting, agreed on another conference at *Montereau-Faut-Yvonne* ^d. *Henry* was quickly apprised of this, and that both parties had agreed to carry on the war against him with vigour, which seemed to be a most perfidious act in the duke of *Burgundy*, considering the terms on which he stood with that monarch; yet, in reality, the king of *England* had no great reason to complain, since in treating with the dauphin he had offered to join with him in the conquest of *Flanders*, provided he might retain the sovereignty after it was reduced; with which proposition the dauphin acquainted him in their interview ^e. By way of revenge, the king sent a strong detachment of his forces to surprize *Pontoise*, where the marshal *Lisle Adam* commanded, who made his escape, with some difficulty, in his shirt, together with six thousand men, the greatest part of them in the same condition. The news of this greatly qualified the joy which the people of *Paris* had expressed upon proclaiming the peace, and with good reason, for the *English* took all the treasure, equipage, and baggage, of the court in that place, to the value, as it was computed, of two millions ^f. In *Lower Normandy* the forces of the dauphin recovered several places; and in a brisk action at *Mortain* were victorious, and killed the *English* about four hundred men, the duke of *Burgundy* remaining all this time in a state of confusion and inactivity, as if he knew not which side to take.

IN this situation the dauphin sent to put him in mind of ^{who is} his appointment, and of the necessity of their conferring together at *Montereau*. The duke went thither unwillingly, ^{murdered} and by the persuasion of his mistress ^{by his con-}. The conference ^{nivance at} was upon a bridge, with ten persons of confidence on a side. ^{least, if} The duke, on the approach of the dauphin, bent his knee, ^{not com-} and in that action threw his sword too far behind him; upon ^{mand, at} this he laid his hand on it to pull it right, on which ^{a confer-} *Tanne- ^{ence at} *gui du Chastel*, who had been a domestic to the duke of *Montereau*.*

^c *Annales de France*, P. V^{re} G.

^d *Ancien. Chron. de*

France, MONSTREL.

^e *Act. Pub. tom. ix. T. LIVII, vita*

Henrici quinti.

^f *MEZERAY, P. DAN,*

^g *P. EMIL.*

J. DE SERRES.

Orleans, cried with a stern voice, "It is time," and immediately, with his pole ax, cut off the duke's chin as he was kneeling, and, before he was able to rise, or put himself in a posture of defence, he was dispatched by several mortal wounds. *Noailles*, who was the nearest him of any of his own party, drawing his dagger, was killed upon the spot; eight more of his friends secured, and only *Montague*, by leaping the barriers, which was thought impossible, made his escape. This tragedy was acted on the tenth of *September*^b. Most writers say it was in the dauphin's presence; others, that two of his own people withdrew him before the duke was killed; certain it is, that he disavowed it by a manifesto, and as certain that this was generally believed. At *Paris* they expressed the utmost horror and indignation; and the queen's chancellor, for there were now double officers of every denomination, prevailed to have the first president sent to the new duke, to condole, in the name of the king, the queen, and the city of *Paris*, on the loss of his fatherⁱ (G). On the 17th of *October* a treaty of union was signed,

^b Annales de France, JUV. DES URSINS.
J. DE SERRES.

ⁱ DUPLEIX,

(G) *John*, surnamed the *Fearless*, duke of *Burgundy*, was the heir as well of *Flanders* as of his father's territories, which rendered him able to support his party in *France*, and to carry his pretensions as high as his father had done, though they were not so well founded (1). He had all the good qualities requisite to render a prince admired and beloved: he was prudent, liberal, eloquent, affable, and brave: his great, indeed his only, foible was ambition. After the murder of the duke of *Orleans*, he was never easy. Whenever any strangers approached him, he took them for assassins: he increased the number of his guards: he grew jealous and

suspicious: he made treaties with a view solely to his personal interest, without regard to the welfare of the state, or of posterity: he quickly saw the ill consequences of these engagements, declined executing, and even acted contrary to them (2). By these steps his misfortunes were brought on; and, in respect to his death, he was under a kind of infatuation, for he had intelligence of what was designed against him from more than one quarter. He hesitated, and even stopped, at the several barriers; and at last put himself into the hands of the servants of the duke of *Orleans*, whom, with the same treachery, and with the like false assurances upon

⁽¹⁾ *Meyers Annal. Fland. Le Gendre. Amilii de rebus Francorum, lib. ix.*

⁽²⁾ *Gaguini Hist. Pauli*

signed, by deputies from several great cities, at *Arras*, for revenging his death; and on the second of *December* a truce, between the kings of *France* and *England*, under the mediation of the duke of *Burgundy*, that all parties might act with the greater vigour against the common enemy, that is, against the dauphin^k.

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IN the spring of the succeeding year, the court being at *Troye*, the duke of *Burgundy* came thither with a numerous attendance, and was received with the greatest kindness and respect; soon after came the king of *England*, attended by Henry V. his brothers the dukes of *Clarence* and *Gloucester*, a great number of *English* lords, and an escorte of sixteen hundred men; and after a few days spent in visits and ceremony, proceeded to ratify on the twenty-first of *May* a treaty, which had been settled the preceding year at *Arras*, by which the whole constitution of *France* was overturned^l. This treaty contains thirty-one articles; the chief of which were, that *Henry* should espouse madame *Katherine* of *France*; that after the death of *Charles* he should succeed him as his next heir; that, in the mean time, he should exercise the regal

By the treaty of Troyes, Henry V. is declared regent and heir of France, and the dauphin Charles is proclaimed an

^k Ancien. Chron. de France, P. ÆMIL.
vita Henrici quinti, MONSTREL.

^l T. LIVII,

oath, he had drawn to the like dismal kind of death (3). Some of his murderers were punished; but *Tannegui du Chastel* disavowed any intention to assassinate him, which his son accepted as a justification; and there were others also who escaped (4). He was not fifty at the time of his decease. He espoused *Margaret* of *Bavaria*, daughter to the count of *Hainault*, who, as a certain *Flemish* historian affirms, was forced by the duke of *Orleans*, and who, in resentment of this injury, instigated her husband to the assassination of that prince (5): but the *French* writers, who mention her amour with the duke of *Orleans*, are silent

in respect to the violence, and only suggest that jealousy was one of the principal motives to that bloody action (6). He had by this princess *Philip the Good*, his successor; *Margaret*, who espoused *Lewis* the dauphin, and afterwards *Arthur* of *Bretagne*, constable of *France*; *Katherine*, who died unmarried; *Mary*, who espoused *Adolph*, duke of *Cleves*; *Isabelle*, who married *Olivier de Blois*, son to the count of *Ponthièvre*; *Anne*, the consort of the regent duke of *Bedford*, and *Agnes*, who became the wife of *Charles*, duke of *Bourbon* (7). *Margaret*, duchess of *Burgundy*, deceased *January* 23, 1214.

(3) *Annales de France Duplex*. (4) *C. de Boulainvilliers, Le Gend.*
(5) *Chalons, vol. ii. p. 40.* (6) *P. Daniel.* (7) *Pantius Æmilii de*
rebus gestis Francorum, J. de Serres, Duplex, Du Tillet, P. Hénault, M. x.
Abbe de Coubly.

and the army, and the chief direction of affairs, was committed to his brother the duke of *Clarence*. The duke of *Burgundy*, at the same time, returned likewise into his territories; and the truth was they both stood in great need of forces, those they had brought from *England* and *Burgundy* being wore out, either by sickness or service, and they were afraid of trusting to an army composed for the most part of *French* troops ^w. Henry was likewise desirous of seeing his queen crowned in *England*, obtaining the sanction of parliament to his treaty of *Troye*, which he considered as the constitution of his new monarchy, and a large supply of money, that he might be able to complete the conquest of *France*. He succeeded in most of these points; but had the misfortune to be told by his parliament, that *England*, exclusive of same, was so far from being a gainer by his conquest, that the acquisition of *France* was like to become her ruin, which chagrin'd him exceedingly; for he sincerely loved his country, and saw he had impoverished it with regret. He loved his family likewise, with a tenderness not altogether governed by prudence: a strong instance of this appeared in permitting his brother, the duke of *Gloucester*, to steal *Jaqueline*, duchess of *Brabant*, from her husband, on account of the great dominions which she possessed in her own right; for this gave a great disgust to the duke of *Burgundy*, as well on the score of the outrage done to his cousin, as because the establishment of this young prince in the *Low Countries* would have been very unacceptable to himself, as the king might easily have foreseen ^x.

The Scots THINGS in the mean time took a new turn in *France*; for the dauphin having received a supply of six or seven thousand *Scots*, under the command of the regent's son *John Stuart*, earl of *Buchan*, he sent them to defend his frontier on the side of *Angou*, and appointed the *Sieur de la Fayette*, with a corps of *French* forces, to assist them ^y. These *Scots* being quartered at *Bauge* by themselves, the duke of *Clarence* had intelligence of them; and making no doubt that he should be able to surprize them, marched with fifteen hundred men at arms, and the best archers he had, with that

^w *Annales de France*, THOM. ELMHAM, T. LIVII, vita Henrici quinti, POLYD. VIRGIL. L' Abbe de CHOISY, P. ÆMIL.

^x MONSTRELET, JUVENAL DES URSINS, HISTOR. Anonym. de Charles VI. P. ÆMIL. LE GENDRE. ^y Ancien. Chronique de France. Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. CRAWFORD's Peerage of Scotland, p. 259. GAGUIN's Hist.

new, leaving orders for the earl of *Salisbury* to follow him, as soon as he conveniently could, with the rest of his forces. The earl of *Buchan*, having posted his troops as advantageously as he could, received him gallantly; and the duke, being desirous of obtaining an undivided victory, exposed himself in such a manner, that, after performing all that could be expected from his birth and courage, he was slain upon the spot, and his troops defeated: there fell likewise the earl of *Kent*, lord *Grey*, the lord *Ross*, and about three thousand men; the earls of *Somerlet* and *Huntingdon*, with some other persons of note, were taken prisoners. This victory, though it cost the lives of fifteen hundred *French*, was, as their writers very justly observe, of great consequence, since it proved that the *English* were not invincible; and it did great honour to the earl of *Buchan*, who killed the duke of *Clarence* with his own hand ^a. The *French* army next besieged *Alençon*; the earl of *Salisbury* marched that way to raise the siege; but finding the enemy too strong he retired, and though he did it with great caution, his rear suffered in his retreat. *Henry* landed at *Calais* with twenty-eight thousand men, of which four thousand were horse; he marched directly to the relief of *Chartres*, which was besieged by the dauphin, who retired at his reproach, and he followed him as far as *Orléans* ^a. On his return, at the request of the people of *Paris*, he besieged *Meaux*, which held out for eight months, and, when it surrendered, the king caused the governor to be beheaded. This, and some other instances of rigour, particularly sending the marshal *de Lisle Adam* to the bastile, for something he took amiss in his looks, chagrined the *French* exceedingly: but, notwithstanding this, they thought it prudent to make great rejoicings on the news of queen *Katherine*'s being delivered of a son at *Windsor*, who was considered as the successor of both kingdoms ^b. As for the unfortunate *Charles*, he would have been more pitied if he had shewn any sense of his misfortunes; but he seemed to be altogether without feeling: and as for the queen, her implacable aversion to the dauphin, her particular kindness for the princefs *Katherine*, who very

A. D.
1421.

^a *Annales de France.* MONSRELET, THOM. ELMHAM, PAUL. ÉMIL. LE GENDRE. ^a JUVENAL DES URSINS, Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. PAUL. ÉMIL. P. HENAUT. ^b *Ancien. Chronique de France,* JUVENAL DES URSINS, T. LIVII, vita Henrici quinti. MEZERAY, P. DANIEL.

much resembled her, and the respect paid her by her son-in-law, who was the first prince in *Europe*, kept her from seeing the real misery of her condition; so that, upon all occasions, she appeared with a freedom and spirit, which, at the same time that it raised the odium of the *French*, made her contemptible to the *English* ^c.

Both the kings, HENRY resolved to open the next campaign with driving all the dauphin's garrisons out of *Picardy*, and took the field for this purpose in the month of *June*, having with him the poor infirm king and the two queens. He staid sometime at *Senlis*, while the earl of *Warwick* cleared the adjacent country; but was suddenly recalled to *Paris*, by intelligence that the dauphin had friends there, who meant to put him in possession of the place. On his arrival he found a woman, who had been apprehended with letters to such as were privy to this design; and, as she acknowledged her fault, he directed that her accomplices, being secured, they should be all thrown together into the river ^d. After this detection and disappointment of his enemies, he returned again to *Senlis*. The dauphin, in the mean time, invested *Con* upon the *Loire*, with twenty thousand men, and obliged the governor to consent that he would render the place into his hands, if it was not relieved by the duke of *Burgundy* by the middle of *August*. The duke, piqued at this, challenged the dauphin to name a day of battle; which being accepted, *Henry* resolved to be present, and with that view ordered his forces to march from *Paris* and *Picardy* through *Champagne*, to join those of the duke of *Burgundy*; but finding himself very much indisposed at *Melun*, he directed his brother, the duke of *Bedford*, and the earl of *Warwick*, to join the duke of *Burgundy* as soon as possible, and retired himself into *Vincennes* ^e. There his distemper increased to such a degree as left little hopes of recovery: this distemper was a fistula, the nature of which being then little understood, was so ill managed that a mortification ensued. In his last moments he recommended to the lords

^c Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. MONSTRELET, THOM. ELMHAM, P. ÆMIL. LE GENDRE, GAGUIN. Hist. J. DE SERRES. ^d Annales de France. DUPLEIX, MEZERAY, T. LIVII, vita Henrici quinti. P. ÆMIL. GAGUINI Hist. L'Abbe de CHOISY. ^e JUVENAL DES URSINS, T. WALSINGHAM, DUPLEIX, THOM. ELMHAM, P. HENAUT, P. DANIEL. DU TILLET, MEZERAY, Ancien. Chronique de France.

that were about him three things; the first was to preserve, by all means possible, the friendship of the duke of *Burgundy*, and to give him, in case they could engage him to accept it, the regency of *France*, which, if he refused, he confided to the duke of *Bedford*: in the next place, he forbid them to set at liberty the *French* prisoners, till his son should be of full age; and, lastly, he commanded them, in case they should ever be forced to make a peace with *Charles de Valois* (so he called the dauphin), to secure the duchy of *Normandy*, and annex it, as an independent sovereignty, to *England*^f. He declared *Humphrey*, duke of *Gloucester*, regent of *England*, and appointed the earl of *Warwick* governor of his son's person. This done he prepared for death, with great calmness and constancy, ending his days on the last of *August*, in the thirty-sixth year of his age^g. The duke of *Burgundy* having refused the regency, the duke of *Bedford* assumed it, but governed entirely by his and the queen's advice. The unfortunate *Charles* was daily declining in his health; and, being seized with a quartan ague, died on the 21st of *October* (H), in the fifty-fourth year of his age,

^f Ancien. Chronique de France. DUPLEIX, T. ELMHAM, DU TILLET, T. LIVII, vita Henrici quinti. GAGUINI Hist. L'Abbe de CHOISY. — ^g JUVENAL DES URSINS, T. LIVII, vita Henrici quinti. T. ELMHAM, THOM. WALSHINGHAM. POLYD. VIRG.

(H) We have already described the person of this monarch, and observed that he was one of the handsomest men of his age. At the age of seventeen his strength was so great, that he was able to break a horse-shoe: he wrestled, vaulted, ran at the ring, and performed every sort of manly exercise, with great dexterity. • His misfortune was, that, becoming a king before he arrived at years of discretion, he could not be prevailed upon to bestow a proper degree of application upon any thing that was serious, though his uncle, the duke of *Bourbon*, who was charged with his education, la-

boured all that was in his power to make him sensible of the misfortunes that would attend this neglect; which at length obliged him to divert his care to his younger brother the duke of *Orleans*. Yet the natural good qualities of *Charles*, gained him the affection, and, in some degree, the esteem, of his subjects. He caused the body of the constable *du Guesclin* to be buried with great splendour at *St. Denis*: neither was he grateful only to the dead, but to the living, insomuch that he never forgot any personal services that were rendered him, but rewarded them amply, some say profusely. He was

age, the forty-third of his reign, and the thirtieth from the loss of his senses : he was little deplored by his subjects, still

prodigious, given to shews and spectacles, and was never better pleased than when he could find an opportunity to exhibit them. His uncles encouraged all this, which was at the same time very acceptable to the queen *Isabella*, who loved such amusements more than he. There has been discovered, of late years, an old manuscript of that time, containing the roll of a gallant society, entitled, *La court (cour) amoureuse*, that is, *The amorous court*, in which all the principal lords and gentlemen are ranged, under a great variety of titles, taken from the officers of the state and government; so that it appears this was a kind of association for promoting pleasure, and, at the same time, burlesquing business, and every thing solemn and serious. A sure and sad symptom of national ruin! for as families sink first into distress, and then to destruction, when those who are at the head of them neglect their duty to follow amusements, the same thing happens in kingdoms, and discontents, dissension, and dissipations, follow a series of gaudy pomp and idle pageantries, often in the same reign, but always in the next, as it fell out here. The king, after his senses were disturbed, enjoyed sometimes three or four months of health, and tolerable understanding; during which he assisted at council, and issued ordinances, which perhaps were contradicted by the ordinances of the next

interval of good health; because, in the mean time, a new set of ministers had got into power, insomuch that it was hard to say whether the king's sickness or long life, his own weakness, or his wife's gallantries, the want of experience in his sons, or the boundless ambition of his uncles, were most prejudicial to his realm; but the conjunction of them all, and the loss of the battle of *Agincourt*, brought it so low, that it is not impossible *Henry V.* if he had lived, might have established a new line. His death, which was followed by that of *Charles*, who lingered but a small time of a quartan ague, increased the public confusion for the present, but made way for a favourable revolution. By his queen *Isabel* of *Bavaria*, whom the *French* represent as equally vicious and cunning, the king had many children; two princes of the name of *Charles*, who died young; *Lewis*, duke of *Guienne*, and, by their death, dauphin, who married *Margaret*, daughter to the duke of *Burgundy*, and died at the age of nineteen without issue; *John*, duke of *Touraine* and *Dauphine*, who espoused *Jaqueline*, daughter to the count of *Hainault*, who also died without issue, about the same age with his brother; *Charles*, who succeeded his father; and *Philip*, who died the same day he was born, and was the child of whom the queen lay-in when the duke of *Orleans* was murdered; the princess

still less by the English, and there was not so much as a single prince of the blood to attend his funeral ^h.

Auct. supra citat.

Vid.

cess *Joan* died at two years old; *Isabel* espoused first *Richard* then king of England, and *Anno-* *Charles*, duke of Orleans; *John*, her *Joan*, the consort of *John*, who duke of Bretagne; *Mary*, became a nun; *Michella*, duke of married to *Philip the Good*, duke of Burgundy; and *Isabel*, their daughter, who married *Henry V.* and, after his decease, *Queen Isador*, a gentleman of *Nantes*, by whom, amongst other children, she had *Edmund*, earl of *Richmond*, who was the father of *Henry VII.* king of England. As for queen

Isabel, we shall have occasion to mention her death, and the circumstances that attended it, hereafter. In those seasons that the king was delirious, the queen, who pretended that she was afraid of being with him, suffered a young woman, whose name was *d'Odette de Champdivers*, to supply her place, by whom he had a natural daughter *Margaret de Valois*, stiled the lady of *Belleville*, who was married to *John de Harpedene*, lord of *Belleville* and *Poitou* (1).

Auct. supra citat.

